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# JUNKER REVOLT IN GERMANY

## Story of the Kapp-Luettwitz Counter-Revolution and the Causes of Its Failure—New Communist Revolt

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 20, 1920]

**T**HE Ebert Government of Germany suddenly found itself facing complete overthrow by a Junker counter-revolution on March 13.

While it had been generally conceded that a serious danger threatened the republic from the Communists in the event of acute economic distress, the strength of the reactionaries was supposed to have dwindled to an impotent quantity. Thus, as late as March 1, Minister of Defense Noske, in response to a question relative to the possibility of a reactionary uprising, remarked: "Even in France the militarists and monarchists are not all dead. In Germany they will never endanger the republic if the victorious countries do not continue to maltreat the German democracy." He added that every day the officers and men of the Reichswehr were becoming more republican in spirit. The sudden coup d'état of the 13th seemed for a time to indicate that Noske had spoken from a false sense of security.

The incident which brought the plotting of the militarists and monarchists to a head was, at the moment, supposed to be merely an outburst of "rowdy patriotism," as it was termed by Minister Noske. On March 6 some members of the French Military Mission were dining at the Hotel Adlon. At another table were seated Prince Joachim Albrecht of Prussia, a cousin of the former Emperor, and Baron von Platen. At an order from the Prince the orchestra played "Deutschland über Alles." When the French officers refused to rise with the rest of the company Prince Joachim began to hurl bottles, plates and other missiles at them, and a general scrimmage ensued. Subsequently the Prince was arrested, and when this incident was followed by others at Breslau and Bremen the Government issued a proclamation

threatening punishment for "such militaristic excesses."

Meantime the Government had discovered a reactionary plot of serious proportions, rapidly gaining impetus from the arrest and probable punishment of the Hohenzollern Prince, Joachim Albrecht. Thereupon Minister Noske ordered the arrest of Dr. Wolfgang von Kapp and Captain Pabst, charged with attempting a reactionary revolution, and directed that the public security forces and the Reichswehr be confined to barracks for an emergency. Dr. Kapp was President of the Fatherland Party and had been prominent in all reactionary movements of the monarchists, and Captain Pabst had been a cavalry officer of the Guard and had taken a leading part in suppressing the last Spartacan revolt. But Noske's order came too late to check the plot. The two arch conspirators, associated with a third—Major Gen. Baron von Lüttwitz—had established secret headquarters at Döberitz, twelve miles west of Berlin, and had at their service the former Baltic Army, which had always been of doubtful allegiance to the republic.

Not until the 12th did the Ebert Government know of the intended move of the Döberitz garrison. It then issued a communiqué which was so optimistic and misleading that practically all Berlin went to bed thinking the Government had the situation well in hand. However, toward midnight Minister Noske began distributing his troops. Through the sparse night traffic rolled armored cars and field kitchens, while infantry and artillery were observed taking up positions.

Meanwhile the Ebert Government had received an ultimatum from the rebels demanding a new Government and new elections; also the withdrawal of the



warrants against Dr. Kapp and others. The Cabinet met and made an attempt to negotiate. It sent Admiral von Trotha to Döberitz, but there he met with a blank refusal. He was handed a new rebel ultimatum, demanding the resignation of the entire Ebert Government by 7 o'clock in the morning. Failing that, a force would advance and occupy Berlin.

On receipt of this information another Cabinet meeting was held at an early hour of the 13th. It had then become clear that the Government had not a sufficiently strong military force behind it to offer any effective resistance. Consequently orders were issued to the Ebert Government troops to withdraw eastward and avoid a conflict.

### ENTRY OF REBEL TROOPS

At midnight the rebel troops at Döberitz, augmented by two naval brigades, were on the march to Berlin. Hasty efforts made to induce them to return to their quarters were ineffectual. Equally so was a display of Government troops in Berlin under Colonel Thyssen, and barbed wire entanglements stretched around the Reichstag building and the imperial printing works.

Early in the morning of the 13th the revolting Junker troops marched into Berlin and waited at the Brandenburg Gate for the expiration of the ultimatum time limit. The Imperial Guards offered no resistance, and the rebels proceeded to occupy the city without encountering even a show of opposition. When the first citizens abroad encountered these helmeted and heavily armed soldiers posted in groups along Unter den Linden and Wilhelmstrasse, and inquired whether they were the Government contingents awaiting the Baltic troops from Döberitz, they were answered with derisive laughter and told that the Ebert Government had fled overnight. Thus had the reactionaries gained control of Berlin, and the Ebert Government seemed suddenly to have melted away. Crowds soon filled the streets, but no conflict or disorder was reported.

President Ebert had been among the first members of the Government to leave Berlin. He departed at 5 A. M. for

Dresden, intending to establish the headquarters of the republican Government in the Saxon capital. Simultaneously the Majority Socialist Party issued a manifesto for a general strike. It was signed by President Ebert, Premier Bauer, Defense Minister Noske, Labor Minister Schlike; also by Dr. Schmidt, Minister of Food; Dr. Eduard David, Minister without portfolio, and Dr. Herman Müller, Minister of Foreign Affairs; these were the Social Democratic members of the Government. The manifesto was signed also by Otto Wels for the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party. The text of this document, which proved a powerful and effective weapon, was as follows:

Workmen, Comrades: The military revolt has come. Erhardt's naval division is marching on Berlin to enforce the reorganization of the Imperial Government. The mercenary troops who were afraid of the disbandment which had been ordered desire to put the reactionaries into the Ministerial posts.

We refuse to bow to this military constraint. We did not make the revolution in order to recognize again today the bloody Government of mercenaries. We enter into no covenant with the Baltic criminals. Workers, comrades, we should be ashamed to look you in the face if we were capable of acting otherwise.

We say "No!" And again "No!" You must indorse what we have done. We carried out your views. Now use every means to destroy this return of bloody reaction.

Strike. Cease to work. Throttle this military dictatorship. Fight with all your means for the preservation of the republic. Put aside all division. There is only one means against the return of Wilhelm II. Paralyze all economic life. Not a hand must move. No proletariat shall help the military dictatorship.

Let there be a general strike along the entire line. Let the proletariat act as a unit.

### KAPP AS "IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR"

Among the few high officials of the Government to remain in Berlin were Dr. Schiffer, Minister of Justice, and Dr. Albert, Under Secretary of State. These two received the rebel leaders. Dr. Wolfgang von Kapp proclaimed himself Imperial Chancellor and Prime Minister of Prussia, and immediately appointed Major Gen. Baron von Lüttwitz to be Commander in Chief of the Army. He





PRESIDENT EBERT AND FRAU EBERT

(© International)

also announced the Oberfinanzrat Bank as Minister of Finance and Dr. Traub as Minister of Justice. A proclamation was then issued by Kapp and Lüttwitz, of which the main features read:

The overthrow of the Government must not be taken as reactionary. On the contrary, it is a progressive measure of patriotic Germans of all parties, with a view to re-establishing law, order, discipline and honest government in Germany. It is an overdue attempt to lay the foundations for the economic resuscitation of Germany, enabling her to fulfill those conditions of the Peace Treaty which are reasonable and not self-destructive.

Inspired by zeal and a desire for the benefit of all the German people, the new Government invites heartily the acceptance and co-operation of the Independents for the creation and elaboration of laws for the betterment of the working classes.

The manifesto charged the Socialist Government with overburdening the people with taxation, failing to create conditions for an increase of production in all lines, suppressing papers which criticised it and otherwise interfering with personal liberty and refusing to dissolve the National Assembly and issue writs for new elections.

"Last but not least," said the manifesto, "a Government whose chief spokesman is Erzberger must be swept away."

#### NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED

Another proclamation, prepared in advance, was delivered to the people by cavalymen, heavily armed and helmeted. It promised freedom and order and dissolved the National Assembly, declaring that its mission, which was to establish



a constitution and conclude peace, had been fulfilled. Elections to the Reichstag, it said, would be held as soon as quiet was restored.

"Chancellor" von Kapp also called the Berlin foreign correspondents together and told them his was not a monarchist movement, but one rendered necessary by the failing Ebert Government. He said in so far as the provisions of the Peace Treaty were just they would be enforced by his Government.

General Baron von Lüttwitz, on assuming the office of Commander in Chief, issued the following order:

I am personally taking over the executive power for Berlin and the Mark of Brandenburg. All decrees issued by Defense Minister Herr Noske in accordance with the decree of Jan. 13 will remain in force. The decree of Jan. 13 relative to the proclamation of martial law is maintained and extended to those parts of the imperial territory not yet affected thereby. The state of siege hitherto existing in the free State of Saxony is at the same time raised. The troops under command of the newly formed Government are charged with the execution of the requisite measures.

### ANOTHER PROCLAMATION

A proclamation made by the Imperial Office for Citizen Guards said that the new government of labor had taken the fate of Germany in its hands. Until the nation's decision was taken, it would continue to let all Citizen Guards work for the maintenance of peace and order. The hour demanded, it added, that every German of whatever party should exert himself in loyal performance of his duty to prevent civil war. In part this proclamation read:

The National Assembly, which continues to govern without a mandate, declares itself in permanent violation of the Constitution and postpones the elections until Autumn. A tyrannous party Government would deprive the people of the important fundamental right of electing a President. No means is left to save Germany but a government of action.

Finance, taxation and the sovereignty of the Federal States will be restored on a constitutional federative basis; the Government will safeguard war loans and will shortly begin their repayment. Rural and town landed property will be taxed for purposes of reconstruction. In order to put landed property in a po-

sition to meet this taxation economic freedom will be restored to it.

The Government will not be a Government of one-sided capitalism; it will rather shield the German worker against the fate of international servitude to large capitalists. \* \* \*

The Government is strong enough not to begin its rule with arrests or other violent measures, but any opposition to the new order will be unsparingly put down. \* \* \* The Government only knows German citizens, and every German citizen who in this grave hour gives to the Fatherland what belongs to the Fatherland can count on the protection of the Government.

Let every one do his duty, for Germany shall be a moral community of labor.

Berlin advices of the 14th stated that the Berlin municipal government had been dissolved and Vermuth deposed. The Conservative Herr Vonderborght was appointed as the new Mayor of Berlin. It was also reported that Herr Heische, Minister of Labor in the Ebert Cabinet, and Herr von Berger, former Minister of Public Safety, had been placed under arrest in their homes. Dr. Kapp was taking steps to have Ebert and Bauer arrested on the charge of high treason.

### ATTITUDE OF SOUTH GERMANY

In the States of South Germany, almost without exception, there was immediate opposition to the new Kapp-Lüttwitz Government. The old Government in Dresden, Saxony, issued a manifesto in which it denounced the Berlin insurrection as the "work of Baltic adventurers," and predicted it would collapse of its own weight within a few days. It declared that all orders and decrees of the new Government were illegal and would not be recognized, and called attention to the army officers' breach of their oaths.

The Governments of Bavaria, Baden and Württemberg also issued proclamations in which they declared they were immovably opposed to the "unconstitutional machinery of reactionaries." The Democratic Party at Leipzig pronounced itself in favor of the old Government and the National Assembly. Advices from Frankfurt stated that the general strike was in progress there, and a great procession of workmen was parading the streets. The general strike was



also proclaimed at Osnabrück, Hanover. At Baden, General von Davans, Commander in Chief of the Army, asserted he would support the Baden Government against the Berlin Government.

On the other hand, Baron von Wangenheim, superior garrison officer at Al-

taking possession of the town hall, the Trades Union Building and other public places in order to demonstrate their support of the Ebert Government.

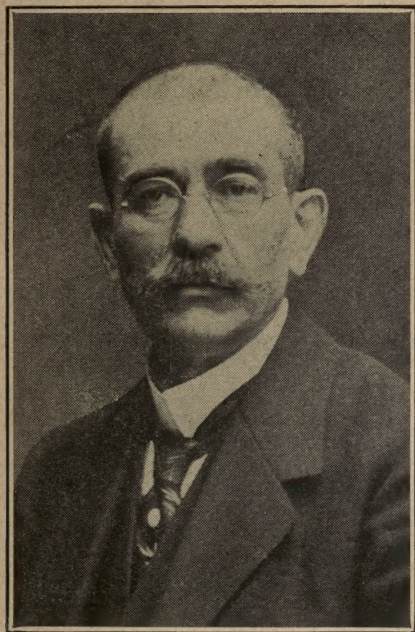
From other places, however, came reports of adherence to the new Government. In Breslau, Lieut. Gen. Count Schmeettow assumed the military command, and arrested thirty persons, including Oberpräsident Philipp. Hamburg reported Oberburgomeister Distel as having stated: "We will follow Berlin." From East Prussia the Governor, August Winnig, and General von Estorff, chief in command of the First Reichswehr, telegraphed Dr. Kapp as follows: "We of East Prussia, who are surrounded by enemy neighbors must welcome any development promising our province a chance of peace and work."

At Coblenz the American commander informed the Socialist leaders on March 13 that no general strike interfering with the functions of the allied forces of occupation would be permitted.

#### FALL OF REBEL GOVERNMENT

Until the afternoon of the 15th the reactionary Government kept up a bold front, though its utter lack of support was already evident. A defiant proclamation was issued against leaders of the general strike, threatening them with capital punishment; but by this time the strike had swept the country from end to end. Berlin experienced a complete paralysis of all its living and commercial facilities. Food and service could not be obtained even in the hotels, and the water supply was cut off. Railroad and other transportation came to a standstill. It thus became evident to the Kapp-Lüttwitz régime that whatever chance for success it might have possessed was lost. Its coup d'état had failed.

In this emergency Dr. Kapp's first move was to seek the assistance of Field Marshal von Hindenburg and the former Vice Chancellor, Dr. Karl Helfferich; but they had kept in the background and refused to be entangled in the abortive revolt. General Groener, the Prussian War Minister, was also credited with having telegraphed that, in his opinion, the Kapp-Lüttwitz scheme was impos-



GUSTAV NOSKE  
*German Minister of Defense*

tona, near Hamburg, issued a statement in which he announced the advent of the "Imperial Government," and declared that he assumed executive power over Greater Hamburg and the surrounding district.

#### PROGRESS OF THE STRIKE

The general strike proclaimed by President Ebert went into effect in Berlin on the 14th with the closing down of all the cafés, traction lines, and many other forms of public service. At Cologne, Essen and Düsseldorf the workmen adopted a resolution calling for a twenty-four-hour strike as a protest against the reactionary coup.

At Hamburg on the evening of the 14th Public Security troops succeeded in



sible, whether from the point of view of home or of foreign affairs.

With the guns of a counter-revolt beginning to thunder in his ears "Chancellor" Kapp next turned to placate those he had ousted. He ordered the release of the Bauer Cabinet members, who had been detained, but kept Prince Albrecht Joachim in prison. His efforts, however, to open negotiations with the Ebert Government at Stuttgart proved futile. He was again repulsed. As evidence of the power still retained by Ebert, the Imperial Finance Minister refused to turn over the money for the payment of the troops demanded by the revolutionary Chancellor, and other officials absolutely declined to take orders from the Kapp Government.

Thus Dr. Kapp, deprived of the support of the most influential men among the military party and rebuffed by the Majority Socialists, faced a tidal wave of the communist working classes to sweep his impossible Government out of existence. For a few hours more, however, he held on to the "rudderless ship" at the urging of Colonel Bauer, leader of the Royalist Party, and of General Ludendorff, who was believed to be the evil genius behind the whole movement.

After five days of doubtful rule the Kapp-Lüttwitz Government came to an end at 6 P. M. on March 17. Dr. Kapp announced his resignation in the following statement:

General Provisional Director Kapp has retired, with the object of bringing about internal peace. General von Lüttwitz has retired for similar reasons. The Vice Chancellor, in the name of the Imperial President, has accepted the resignations and has intrusted Major Gen. von Seeckt with the provisional conduct of affairs as Commander in Chief.

At the same time issued a communiqué in which he strove to place a patriotic aspect on his withdrawal. It read:

The Bauer Government having voluntarily decided to fulfill the most essential political demands addressed to it, the rejection of which on Saturday led to the establishment of the Kapp Government, Chancellor Kapp considers his mission fulfilled and retires, resigning the executive power again into the hands of the military Commander in Chief. In this he

is moved by the conviction of the extreme necessity of the Fatherland, which demands solid union of all against the annihilating dangers of Bolshevism.

### FINAL SCENE PICTURED

The last scene was described by a correspondent as pathetic. Already some of the Under Secretaries of the Bauer Cabinet had put in an appearance, and there were many handshakes of congratulation. Inside the palace door a small crowd of people waited to see the end. General von Lüttwitz had fled earlier in the evening. Most of the rooms were littered with straw for the housing of soldiers. Some of them actually slept through all the final acts. Documents were littered about in many rooms. Officials of brief authority were packing up their belongings. Confusion was everywhere. Orders were being shouted in echoing halls and machine guns and ammunition were being stored away. Here and there a motor car whirled and dashed away into the gathering gloom.

Presently Dr. Kapp and a few friends emerged from the Chancellor's palace and entered a gray automobile, heaped with baggage and bundles of documents. Out through the huge gates it went, scarcely any one in the crowd of civilians and soldiers being aware of who were in the car. Not a single soldier saluted. Thus the Kapp Government disappeared into the night of rain and mud from the scene of its astounding coup. "It was a fit setting for the final scene in one of the maddest, saddest and clumsiest revolutions ever staged. There had been nothing picturesque about it. A Central American republic could have staged something more thrilling."

### RETURN OF NOSKE

On March 17 Gustav Noske, Minister of Defense, arrived in Berlin to take charge of the Government on behalf of President Ebert. Together with Vice Chancellor Ochiffer, in whose hands the sudden retirement of Dr. Wolfgang Kapp had temporarily placed the administrative power, he proceeded to restore order. Regular troops, loyal to the Ebert Government, guarded the streets, while detachments of them be-



gan tearing down wire entanglements and barricades which the revolutionary soldiers had erected in profusion.

These latter took one last fling of vengeance before leaving the city. When lined up for their departure, they withstood impatiently for a time the hoots and jeers of the crowds in Wilhelmstrasse and Unter den Linden. Suddenly they opened fire and wounded several persons. The crowd rushed to take refuge in the Adlon Hotel, where the wounded were treated. Again, after passing through the Brandenburg Gate, the retreating revolutionary soldiers fired a parting volley with machine guns, wounding a score or more. The terrified mob once more rushed to the hotel, the gates of which were torn down in the ensuing panic.

President Ebert, Minister of Defense Noske and Foreign Secretary Müller, with other members of the Cabinet, had decided during the revolt that Dresden was too near Berlin for entire security, and had accordingly moved to Stuttgart on the 15th. At a Cabinet meeting on the following day, presided over by President Ebert, the report of General Merker relative to negotiations with Dr. Kapp was considered. It was decided that there could be no negotiations with the rebels, and that the Government's only response should be that Kapp and Lüttwitz must withdraw immediately from Berlin with their troops.

On the 17th the Council of the Empire assembled in the Castle of Stuttgart and unanimously approved the Government's attitude with strong condemnation of the coup d'état. The same place and date were set for the National Assembly to meet to consider the situation. As a precautionary measure the city had been garrisoned by several thousand loyal troops. By that time President Ebert was preparing to return to Berlin.

#### NEW COMMUNIST UPRISING

In the conflicts which rose out of the general strike between the supporters of the reactionary revolt and those faithful to the Ebert Government, the Communist "Spartacans" grasped the opportunity for their long-meditated uprising.

As the first revolution following the

war had begun with naval support, so now again the navy was on the side of the rebels, reactionaries though these were. On the 16th the cruiser Eckernförde bombarded Kiel with the object of destroying the quarters of workmen opposed to the Kapp Government. The cruiser fired through the streets from



GENERAL VON LUETTITZ  
Military leader of the Junker revolt  
(© Underwood & Underwood)



the harbor, killing hundreds and demolishing many houses.

Meanwhile the Independent Socialist Party, the trade union leaders and the Workmen's Council, who, in co-operation, had been busily engaged in trying to engineer the general strike to their own advantage, issued the following joint proclamation:

The counter-revolution has triumphed. It is through you that the freedom of the working classes, the revolution and the cause of socialism must be defended to the last man and the last woman. Every worker and every official in this hour of destiny must recognize that there is only one solution, namely, a general strike along the whole front. Workmen, workwomen and officials, away with party distinctions! Be united under the standard of revolutionary socialism! You have nothing to lose except your chains!

On the 15th a number of Spartacans seized the arsenal in Berlin, killing six officers and a number of soldiers. Kapp troops retook the arsenal, in turn killing about 200 rioters.

Advices of March 16-17 reported Spartacan activity throughout Germany, though, for the most part, the south was said to have remained less affected. In Westphalia battles took place between troops and bands of Spartacans, especially at Hagen, where the Radical Extremists had proclaimed a Soviet republic. All Rhenish and Westphalian industry declared itself ready to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet. At Halle and Ohligs, however, where the Spartacans had deposed the Mayors and hoisted the Red flag, British troops restored order and reinstated the Mayors.

In the eastern part of the industrial region of Bochum and in Dortmund, Gelsenkirchen and Unna, the proletariat was in charge. Armed laborers sped to various places to assist their comrades in the fighting, while Government troops vigorously used their artillery. At Münster 8,000 armed laborers disarmed two battalions of troops and directed heavy machine-gun fire upon airmen sent to observe them. Reserves, however, were concentrated at Söst and Weil, awaiting reinforcements. Forty-five persons were reported killed at Essen in street fighting, and one officer and nine men were

killed in a conflict with Spartacans at Wetter. In Leipsic the situation was very bad. While fighting with machine guns was proceeding, food was becoming scarce, and the water supply had been cut off, but the Ebert Government troops were holding their own against the revolutionaries. In the Charlottenburg and Steglitz suburbs of Berlin serious rioting was in progress. All Berlin viewed the situation with alarm, asking: "The White or Red terror, which?" Meantime the leaders of the general strike issued a hopeful proclamation, which said: "The general strike of the railway men has been completely successful, and, therefore, it is suspended forthwith."

### FIGHTING THE REDS

When these pages went to press, on March 22, the Kapp revolt was a thing of the past, but the Red rebellion that had followed in its wake was still a serious and bloody problem for the Ebert Government.

The Communist revolt had grown to alarming proportions, especially in the western districts. Essen had been captured by a Spartacan army after inflicting many hundreds of casualties. The Ruhr mining district was in a fierce ferment of radical revolt, and the Communists had a fully equipped army estimated at 70,000 men. Serious outbreaks were reported in Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden. By the 19th the dead in these local conflicts were estimated at more than 2,000.

President Ebert and the members of his Government returned to Berlin on March 21 after a week's absence and began taking vigorous measures to combat the Communist revolt, which had proved much more formidable than that of the militarists. Already the Ebert régime had taken an important step toward conciliation of the radicals by making a "swing to the left" in its announcement of its future policy. As the outcome of a conference with the Strike Committee in Berlin, which lasted all through the night of the 19th-20th, the following convention was signed early in the morning of the 20th. Its chief concession to the



radicals was the promise that Noske should be dropped from power:

1. The Government's representatives will intervene with the various political parties in order to reform the same. Prussian Cabinet Ministers will be nominated by agreement between the parties and the trade unionists.

2. The labor organizations will have a decisive influence in these nominations, respecting, however, the rights of Parliament.

3. Punishment of the leaders of the recent coup, including all officials and civil servants who supported the Kapp régime.

4. Democratization of all administrations and the dismissal of all who proved disloyal to the Constitution.

5. Immediate extension of existing social laws and the framing of new laws.

6-7. The immediate socialization of all industries, therefore nationalization of the coal and potash syndicates.

8. Confiscation of agricultural products and confiscation of land improperly and unintensively cultivated.

9. Dissolution of Reichswehr formations not loyal to the Constitution and their replacement by formations from the workmen, artisans and State teachers.

10. The resignation of Gustav Noske and Dr. Karl Heine.

The strike was declared off at noon, and the state of siege was ended the following day, but Noske's strong hand was still active in the work of combating rebellion, and it was agreed that he would not retire immediately. The disturbances everywhere were increasing in seriousness. The Reds had occupied Leipzig and fought a pitched battle there with Government troops on the 19th, resulting in the killing of 3,000 persons before the Government recaptured the city. Communist control was spreading in the Rhine districts, and the German Republic was facing the most serious crisis in its brief history.

### DOWNFALL OF ERZBERGER

The chief event of the month in Germany, aside from the attempted revolution, was the Erzberger trial. The voluntary resignation of Minister of Finance Erzberger on Feb. 24 had come as the sensational climax to a long series of attacks which culminated in accusations against his personal integrity. Herr Erzberger was said to have become the best hated man in Germany, even more

so than Minister of Defense Noske, though for different reasons.

In July, 1919, a veritable political storm swept upon Herr Erzberger when he published his first financial program to raise \$6,000,000,000, principally by taxation, almost by confiscation, of capital. As time went on the torrent of vituperation grew in intensity. He was charged with treason, profiteering, tax dodging, &c. In September former Vice Chancellor Dr. Karl Helfferich declared that Erzberger was "a menace to the purity of public life" and "a dangerous member of the Government." Thus, early in January, 1920, Erzberger was driven to the extremity of making a public defense. He chose a libel suit as his means and Dr. Helfferich as his target.

### SENSATIONS OF THE TRIAL

The trial began on Jan. 19, and one among several sensational incidents was the attempted assassination of Erzberger on the 26th by Hirschfeld, a former military cadet. He was seriously wounded. From the outset the nature of the defense placed Erzberger himself on the defensive. Dr. Helfferich pleaded "justifiable libel," and produced such an array of witnesses that Erzberger presented the figure of a man charged with a capital offense. Testimony went to show that he had been involved in numerous questionable transactions, and had used his official position to the end of personal gain. In the final scene State Attorney Messerschmidt testified that Erzberger had smuggled large amounts of private funds to Switzerland. In cross-examination he stated that he had come across Erzberger's trail in connection with an investigation of Michael Thalberg, a Zurich attorney, who, he testified, acted as transfer agent in financial transactions which he believed would total 15,000,000 marks.

The proceedings rose to the dramatic when Dr. Helfferich personally examined Erzberger, and forced the Minister to admit that he was acquainted with Thalberg, that the Minister's wife had been in communication with the attorney at Zurich, and that he had funds on deposit there. Herr Erzberger, in attempting to defend himself, asserted that the



money on deposit in Switzerland and was for political and church use, and that large amounts were used in defraying the cost of his family's sojourn in that country; further, that the transactions had been legally made through banks. Thereupon Dr. Helfferich exclaimed: "I know more than you care to admit."

This testimony left Erzberger no other choice than to tender his resignation to President Ebert. It was promptly accepted.

Subsequently the trial proceeded until March 11, when the court delivered judgment. Dr. Karl Helfferich was fined 300 marks and costs because he had failed to prove one point in his allegations against Mathias Erzberger, namely, the latter's intention to denounce Helfferich to the Entente. But, on the other hand, Presiding Judge Baumbach declared proved the following allegations against Erzberger: "First, mixing politics with business; second, untruthfulness; third, impropriety; fourth, political activity to Germany's disadvantage."

#### SCHEME TO CONTROL RUSSIA

The Minister's discomfiture was completed on Jan. 16 by the publication of a letter written by him six months after he had signed the armistice, in which he urged the Germans to bear in mind "the reasons for this war," which he defined as a struggle for world dominion between Continental Europe and the Anglo-Saxon race in England and the United States. In his opinion the "game" between London and Berlin was the same as that once fought out by Carthage and Rome. After disposing of France as weakened beyond recovery, he added:

If we succeed in keeping Poland down it will mean enormous gains for us. In the first place, France's position on the Continent is, in the long run, untenable. In the second, the way to Russia is then open. That is, even for a blind man, Germany's future. Russia is now ripe if planted with German seed to come into the great German future. Nothing must disturb us in the great problem before us. Poland is the sole but very powerful obstacle. Therefore we must not lose courage, \* \* \* but continue our work ceaselessly, and ever keep before our

eyes the gigantic reward which we hope to obtain. If we succeed in hindering the building up of a strong Poland, then the future is quite clear for us. Then the Anglo-Saxons cannot close the road to Russia for us. We will undertake the restoration of Russia, and in the possession of such support we will be ready within ten or fifteen years to bring France without any difficulty into our power. The march toward Paris will be easier then than in 1914. The last step but one toward world dominion will then be reached. The Continent is ours. Afterward will follow the last stage—the closing struggle between Continent and "overseas."

#### DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES

Announcement was made in Berlin on Jan. 17 of the resumption of diplomatic relations with recent enemy countries by the appointment of Dr. Shtamer, Hamburg Senator, as Chargé d'Affaires in London; Dr. Meyer, a Bavarian Parliamentarian, in Paris; the former State Secretary, Dr. Solf, in Tokio, and Freiherr von Lucius in Rome. It was pointed out that as neither Dr. Shtamer nor Dr. Meyer was a professional diplomat the Foreign Office took credit for this innovation. Diplomatic representatives sent to other capitals were former Imperial Minister Dr. Landsberg, to Brussels; Count von Oberndorff, Madrid; Professor Saenge, Prague, and Colonel Renner, The Hague. Colonel Renner was military attaché at the Dutch capital during the war, and was known as an opponent of the annexationist policy and of ruthless submarine war. It was also reported that Dr. Dresel had arrived in Berlin to take charge of American interests.

For the first time since the war a British warship saluted the German flag at Wilhelmshaven on Jan. 17, when the *Malaya*, with the Interallied Commission of Control on board, fired the customary peace-time twenty-one guns on entering the harbor.

#### COBURG JOINS BAVARIA

The formal union of the Coburg part of the tiny Duchy of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha with the State of Bavaria was effected on Feb. 15 by the signing in Munich of the treaty authorized by the people of both States. According to a



Munich dispatch, sent out by the semi-official Wolf Telegraph Bureau, the principal provisions of the agreement whereby the 216 square miles of Coburg, with their 75,000 inhabitants, are united to the territory of their big neighbor are as follows:

The territory of the Free State of Coburg is united to the Free State of Bavaria in a single territory. The political sovereignty over the territory of Coburg passes to Bavaria with this unification. The territory of the Free State of Coburg, with the exception of the domain of Königsberg, is attached to the district of Upper Franconia; the Königsberg domain is attached to the district of Lower Franconia. The cities of Coburg, Neustadt and Rodach remain "unmittelbar" [i. e., independent of the district Governments].

In the election for the Landtag in Bavaria following the union of Coburg with Bavaria the districts formerly belonging to Coburg will take part according to

the conditions obtaining in Bavaria. Until such election is held, the Coburg Provincial Assembly will send three members to the Bavarian Landtag, who will have seats and voices in it and enjoy the same rights as the Bavarian Landtag Deputies.

On the day of the act of union the Bavarian Constitution automatically enters into force in the territory of the Free State of Coburg.

The judicial union with Prussia and the Thuringian States in the Courts of Appeal and the Supreme Court is to be abolished.

The National Government is to be requested to incorporate in the national law a clause regarding the union of Coburg with Bavaria providing that the date of the going into effect of the national law will be set by an order of the Bavarian Government.

Other parts of the agreement regulate internal matters concerning the administration of justice, charity and welfare work, education, &c.

## Enforcing the Treaty Terms

### How Germany Is Meeting the Obligations Imposed on Her— Tendency Toward Modification

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 16, 1920]

THE question of Germany's fulfillment of the Peace Treaty continues to be a source of extreme difficulty and friction. In a stern note France declared in February that Germany, during December, 1919, had produced 10,450,000 tons of coal, and that, according to Article 429 of the Peace Treaty, she should have delivered to the Allies, notably to France, some 2,500,000 tons, instead of the 600,000 tons actually handed over. Because of this failure, the note added, the time limits for evacuation of the occupied territory were suspended; it also threatened reprisal measures.

In a statement issued on Feb. 16 by Erich Schmidt, German Minister of Economics, Premier Millerand was charged with misrepresenting the facts of the coal situation. The German coal output, Dr. Schmidt declared, was only half nor-

mal; furthermore, if Germany delivered the 2,500,000 tons demanded by the French Government she would fall below 50 per cent. of her peace-time supply. In these circumstances, he asserted, the allied coal demands on Germany simply could not be met. "This coal," he said, "the French must leave us, if they are to follow a far-sighted policy rather than a short-sighted policy of revenge. \* \* \* If she takes too much from Germany, France must bury her hope of further restoration."

#### REDUCTION OF ARMY

One concession which Germany received was an extension of the time limit within which her armed forces must be reduced. Premier Lloyd George shortly before Feb. 18 notified Dr. Shtamer, the newly appointed German representative in London, that the date when the Ger-



man Army must be reduced to the prescribed total of 200,000 men had been moved on to April 10, and that the ultimate reduction to 100,000 had been set for July 10. (According to Article 160 of the Peace Treaty, the full reduction to 100,000 was to have been effected by April 1, 1920.)

It was officially denied in Paris on Feb. 20 that this extension of time indicated any weakening of the allied determination to enforce the fulfillment of Article 160. Both France and Great Britain stood firmly for the final reduction by July 10. General Niessel, former head of the Baltic Commission, who had been charged by the French Government to make a report on Germany's military situation, issued at this time a statement, based on an elaborate analysis of the German police and military organization, to prove that Germany was secretly building up a large army, far beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty.

The transfer of the remaining German warships to the Allies was set for March 10, when eight battleships, eleven cruisers and forty-two destroyers were to be formally surrendered. Seventy per cent. of the ships transferred were to go to Great Britain, 11 per cent. to Italy and 8 per cent. to Japan.

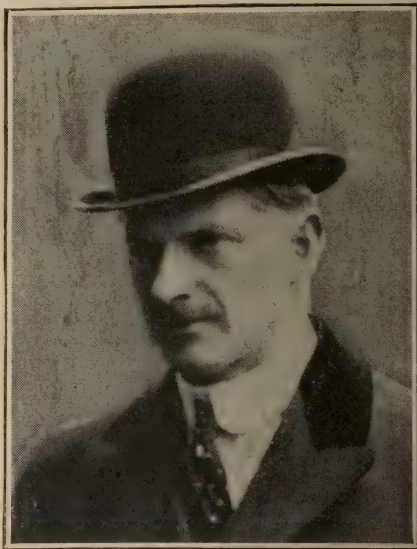
### EXTRADITION OF WAR CRIMINALS

Another important concession to Germany related to the extradition of the 900 Germans accused by the allied nations of war crimes. The text of the German note of Jan. 25, proposing the trial of those accused by the German Federal Court at Leipzig, and referred to in the allied reply accepting this proposal on Feb. 16 (printed in the March issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*), was not made public in Berlin until Feb. 4. It read as follows:

The German Government pointed out to the Governments of the principal allied and associated powers in the beginning of last December the fatal consequences that would be entailed by a carrying out of the conditions contained in Articles 228 to 230 of the Peace Treaty regarding the extradition of Germans. The reasons for this statement were listed in a memorandum handed to the representatives of

the principal allied and associated powers at that time, and now again included with this note.

In amplifying these expositions the German Government has again expressly and emphatically pointed out that the allied



LORD KILMARNOCK  
*British Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin*  
(Times Wide World Photo)

and associated Governments' insistence upon extraditions would doubtless be bound to cause the most violent convulsions, not only in the political but also in the economic field. In particular would the thoroughgoing measures which the German Government is about to undertake for the purpose of preventing an economic collapse, especially in the matter of increasing production, that of coal above all, be put in extreme jeopardy, if not made entirely impossible. This would naturally produce serious reactions in the matter of fulfilling the economic obligations of the Peace Treaty.

In the memorandum of Nov. 5, 1919, there was also indicated a way to arrange the matter that would be enduring for Germany and at the same time be capable of being carried out. Since then the principal allied and associated powers have also become acquainted with another act by the German Government again indicating its earnest intention of bringing to justice and proper punishment Germans guilty of war crimes or outrages. This refers to the law, enacted unanimously by the German legislative bodies on Dec. 18, 1919, providing for the



prosecution of war criminals, a copy of which is inclosed herewith.

The Peace Treaty has gone into effect without the allied and associated powers having made manifest any intention on their part to take into account the urgent representations of the German Government in this affair. In a clear conviction, only strengthened by the impression of the last few weeks, of the extraordinary seriousness of the situation, the German Government considers it its imperative duty once again to approach the allied and associated powers for the purpose of bringing about a settlement of the affair satisfactory to the interests of these powers, and possible of execution by Germany. Therefore, it repeats and defines once more the proposal already suggested, and accordingly makes the following declaration:

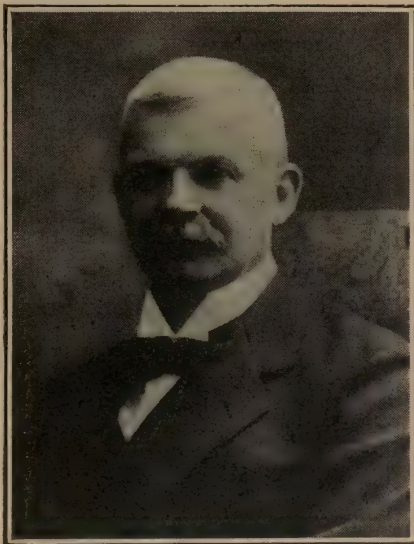
### THE GERMAN PROPOSAL

The German Government will instruct the prosecuting authorities to begin at once criminal action against all Germans against whom the allied and associated Governments bring charges of having violated the rules and regulations of war, as soon as the evidence upon which these charges are based is received. It will suspend all laws which might stand in the way of the beginning of such an action, particularly the existing amnesty acts, in so far as these cases are concerned. The highest German court, the Federal Court in Leipsic, will be competent to handle this criminal procedure. Furthermore, the allied and associated powers actually interested will receive the right to take part directly in the trial.

A special agreement could be reached regarding the extent of this participation. For example, it would be quite possible to arrange matters so that an allied power would send a representative of its interests to the trial, empowered to take note of all papers and documents concerning the case, to present new evidence, to name witnesses and experts, as well as to make proposals in general and to plead for the interests of the injured party. All proposals by this representative for bringing in evidence would be acceded to. Such witnesses and technical experts as were citizens of an allied or associated country would be heard, upon the demand of the allied representative, by the competent judicial authorities of their native lands, in which case the presence of the accused or of his attorney should be allowed. The decisions announced by the Federal Court would be published, together with their reasons. Furthermore, the German Government is ready to negotiate over the establishment of a second court.

The German Government is convinced that in this way, and only in this way, can the intentions of the allied and asso-

ciated powers upon which are based Articles 228 to 230 of the Peace Treaty really be carried out. If, on the contrary, these powers were to insist upon the extradition of the accused persons, it is



DR. SHTAMER

*New German Chargé d'Affaires at London,  
the first Teuton to occupy that  
Embassy in five years*

probable that only such persons would voluntarily present themselves before the foreign courts as felt themselves innocent and consequently could count upon an acquittal. The really guilty ones, on the other hand, would escape punishment, because the Government, as is pointed out in more detail in the accompanying memorandum, could not find any officials who would be willing to carry out the arrests and extraditions.

The memorandum referred to in the German note enumerated the various reasons, already recounted in the press, why the German Government felt sure it could not survive a real attempt to arrest and hand over the war criminals.

### EFFECT OF ALLIES' CONCESSIONS

The Entente's note transferring jurisdiction created much satisfaction in Germany, though the Government maintained an attitude of reserve, and the Reactionary Party sought to belittle what was in effect a triumph for the Ebert Government. Hints of further dif-



ficulty were made by Herr Noske at Bremen on Feb. 18, on the score that much that appeared to the Allies to be criminal was purely a general war measure ordered by superiors, which Germany would never acknowledge to be a crime. Minister of Justice Schiffer, however, made the following statement:

The German Government considers it a matter of national honor that those persons named in the allied extradition list who have been guilty of war crimes shall be punished. Should any of the accused fail to answer the summons to appear before the High Court at Leipsig for trial on the charges preferred against him, he will be promptly arrested and taken there.

A number of prominent Generals and Admirals who were among those listed issued a declaration on Feb. 27 which, while reiterating their refusal to appear before a foreign tribunal, expressed their willingness to be tried before a German Judge. The signers of this declaration were General von Ludendorff, former First Quartermaster General; Admiral von Tirpitz, former Minister of the Navy; General von Falkenhayn, former Chief of Staff; Field Marshal von Kluck, Admiral von Schroeder, and numerous other high army and naval officers.

#### ALLIES FAVOR TEST TRIAL

At a meeting of the Interallied Justice Committee, empowered to deal with this matter, held in Paris on March 2, a selection of some forty-six culprits was made, against whom the evidence was most conclusive. This list was sifted and slightly modified at a subsequent meeting, and then submitted to the Supreme Council in London for approval and transmission to Germany. Appended to each name was a brief outline of the charges. The plan proposed was that Germany should try these selected culprits as a test of her sincerity. As the trials proceeded the allied committee was to compare the case put forward by the prosecution with its own very complete dossiers. To prepare each case the Germans would be given every facility for collecting evidence in the localities where the crimes occurred, either in France or elsewhere. The Al-

lies retained the right to order a retrial or hold such retrial themselves if they considered the verdict unjust.

One German paper, *Vorwärts*, in its issue of Feb. 18, expressed great pessimism about the impartiality of the Leipzig judges, saying of them:

They have been life-long and faithful supporters of the old Prussian military domination. Evil things have happened. Civilians have been massacred for alleged franc-tireur attacks, villages have been burned down, men and women have been deported, but who will say this is impossible after having observed the spirit and practices of German militarism, even in peace times?

#### GERMAN COUNTERCHARGES

A note handed to Premier Lloyd George by the German representative in London on March 10, on the other hand, after asserting that the Imperial Court would be guided only by considerations of justice, and would conduct an impartial inquiry, demanded that the arrest of Germans in the occupied territories on charges similar to those listed should cease, and that those arrested should be delivered to German courts. The note further demanded that the Allies should abandon the right claimed of arresting and trying Germans not on the list if caught on allied territory, saying that incidents arising out of the war should be consigned to oblivion with the advent of peace. Otherwise, it continued, the resumption of normal relations would be made difficult, and the German Government would be obliged to take official cognizance of crimes committed against Germans by allied subjects.

Regarding this last possibility, Foreign Minister Müller, during the debate on the Leipzig trials in the National Assembly on March 5, stated that Germany did not intend to send the Entente at present a list of allied citizens accused of misdeeds, and expressed doubt as to whether the Allies would punish any of their citizens on the strength of German evidence; such a move, he added, would probably unite even more firmly the allied coalition. A list, however, he stated, had been drawn up, comprising 312 pages of indictments against French individuals, and sixty-



nine against British. All the data had been officially corroborated, but publication would be deferred. Germany, he declared, would never demand the extradition of allied Generals. As to war misdeeds, in general, he laid down the propo-



ELLIS L. DRESEL

*United States Commissioner and temporary  
diplomatic representative at Berlin  
(Times Wide World Photo)*

sition that "swinishness and crime" could be charged up to all the belligerents.

### THE REPARATIONS COMMISSION

The resignation of M. Jonnart as President of the Reparations Commission, on the score of ill-health, occurred on Feb. 18. Premier Millerand offered the post to M. André Tardieu, who declined it in order to have a free hand in pressing the execution of the Peace Treaty, which he had helped to frame.

The official announcement that ex-President Poincaré had agreed to represent France as President of the Reparations Commission was made on Feb. 21, and was received with much pleasure throughout the country, as it was believed that he, better than any other statesman, would be able to defend the interests of France.

The task which M. Poincaré assumed was a formidable one. The principal work of the commission, on which all the allied powers are represented, will be to establish by May 1, 1921, the total amount which Germany will be called upon to pay as compensation for the damage done by her armed forces during the war. Its powers are wide. It has the authority to transfer its sittings to Germany, if it deems this to be expedient. In case Germany fails to carry out her obligations, it has the right to propose measures of economic or financial reprisal. The four principal questions with which it will be called upon to deal are as follows:

1. To estimate the total amount of damage caused by Germany during the war.
2. To see that Germany restores all that she has stolen, seized and sequestered and to arrange for the manner in which this restitution shall be carried out.
3. To insure the payment before May 1, 1921, of the sum of £1,000,000,000 that Germany has undertaken to pay as a first installment of her debt, and to decide whether this sum shall be paid in gold, merchandise, shipping or securities.
4. To insure that from now onward the sums due to the Allies are made a preferential charge on the whole of the public revenue of Germany, and consequently to insure that the burden of taxation on the German taxpayer is at least as heavy as that which has been imposed on the British, French and other allied taxpayers as the result of Germany's aggression.

### CHANGE TOWARD GERMANY

A noteworthy development in early March was a change in the attitude of the Council of Premiers, indicating a belief that too severe demands would bring Germany to a point where she would represent a danger to Europe. This radical change in policy, inspired mainly by Mr. Lloyd George, had met with considerable opposition on the part of France, tenacious of the reparations allotted to her. Little by little, however, it was said, the French attitude was becoming more flexible.

One evidence of the new policy was seen in the Reparations Commission's note to the Berlin Government, inviting it to make use of funds it possessed in



neutral countries to obtain the food and raw materials it needed, and also to use the capital it has invested in neutral countries for the same purposes.

In a "Declaration on Economic Conditions of the World," issued by the Council of Premiers on March 9, the deplorable conditions prevailing throughout Europe were reviewed, and the fundamental economic unity of the war-devastated world was emphasized. To remedy these conditions, the following measures were advocated: increase of industry, reduction of individual expense, deflation of credits, purchase of raw materials through commercial credits, and allied co-operation in restoring the devastated areas, especially those of Northern France. Germany was to be allowed to raise abroad a loan to meet her immediate needs.

The German Foreign Minister, Herr Müller, in an interview given in Berlin, protested against the repeated assertion in the Entente press that Germany does not wish to fulfill the conditions of the Peace Treaty. The Minister asserted that neither in Germany nor elsewhere was it realized what tremendous obligations Germany had already met. According to the official estimates cited by him, the following values had been delivered:

	Marks in Gold.
Sarre mines .....	1,000,000,000
Enterprises liquidated abroad.....	12,000,000,000
State properties in surrendered regions .....	6,600,000,000
Commercial fleet .....	8,250,000,000
Coal .....	240,000,000
Machines .....	150,000,000
Railway material .....	750,000,000
Cables .....	66,000,000
State and army materials left behind .....	7,000,000,000
Expenses of foreign occupation..	666,000,000
Deliveries of cattle.....	390,000,000
Dyes .....	200,000,000
Claims on Germany's allies surrendered .....	7,000,000,000
Total .....	44,978,000,000

### TARDIEU DEFENDS TREATY

André Tardieu, in accordance with his announced intention, continued his press campaign in favor of complete fulfillment of the Peace Treaty without revision. Speaking *ex cathedra* as one of

the French Peace Commissioners, he discussed in *l'illustration* the whole question of revision, and criticised its advocates. In this article, which appeared toward the middle of February, he declared that such a demand had its root in a legend—"a legend that the most formidable treaty in the history of the world was improvised and patched up by four fallible and badly informed men, secluded in a dark room, and imposed upon the world according to the vagaries of their fancy." He added: "To this legend it is time to oppose some facts." Some of the facts he gave were as follows:

The treaty was studied, prepared and discussed for six months by fifty-two technical commissions, to which each country sent its best qualified specialists and which held 1,646 meetings. The conclusions of the commissions, verified by twenty-six inquiries on the spot, were discussed from Jan. 10 to June 28 by three bodies, the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which held 39 meetings; the Council of Ten, which held 72, and the Council of Four, which held 145.

These three councils heard the Presidents of the technical commissions and all the representatives of the allied and neutral countries interested. Finally, when at the beginning of May the texts were completed, a Council of Ministers of each of the great powers was called upon to deliberate upon them.

On May 7 the treaty was handed to the Germans, and three days later they began to discuss it. Between May 10 and June 28 the commissions in over 250 sessions and the Council of Four in 76 minutely revised all the articles. No criticism, whether formulated by Germany or not, was left in the background. Everything was discussed anew. By June 16 a reply was sent to the German notes, giving Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau a definite period in which to say yes or no. On June 28 the treaty was signed.

### CLAUSES ALREADY FULFILLED

In reply to the contention that the treaty cannot be fulfilled, M. Tardieu said:

The willing skepticism which for a long time united our royalist and our Bolshevik press banished the execution of the treaty into the uncertain future. But what do we see? The reduction of German territory by 84,000 square kilometers quietly executed; the return to France of Alsace and Lorraine, free and without the burden of expense; Posen, "the vital muscle of the Prussian body," as Bis-



mark called it, in the hands of Poland; the Walloon cantons given to Belgium.

Executed also are the rupture of the Government bond between the Sarre Valley and Prussia, the possession of the mines by France, the plebiscite of Slesvig, the installation of the plebiscite commission in Upper Silesia.

Allied troops occupy the left bank of the Rhine, which is under control of a French Commissioner. The fortresses in the neutral zone are dismantled. The fleet, of which France has received 600,000 tons, has been given up. The restitution of pillaged property is also being undertaken, and that means nine billions to France.

On retiring from the Presidency M. Poincaré accepted the post of chief political writer of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. His first contributed article, which appeared in the March issue, discussed the whole subject of the Peace Treaty. It arraigned severely the tendency of the treaty makers to change their minds, and referred to "the multitude of questions which have been the object of haphazard and contradictory solutions." Of this "ever-changing attitude of the Allies on many problems, notably the questions of the East, the Adriatic and the Soviets," M. Poincaré gave as an example the disposition of Constantinople, which kept the Quai d'Orsay and Downing Street "busy playing at cross-purposes." In this connection he cited a remarkable memorandum drawn up by Stephen Pichon—while he was still in the Foreign Office—which favored the maintenance of the Sultan in Constantinople.

#### "FRENCH MILITARISM"

Deep resentment was shown in Paris on publication of President Wilson's charge, in his letter of March 8 to Senator Hitchcock, that France in her methods of executing the Peace Treaty was actuated by a spirit of militarism. The criticism was denounced by the French press as unjust and an unwarranted interference by the Chief of State of one country in the internal affairs of another. The explanation of France's firmer attitude toward Germany was the sole desire to protect France, inasmuch as the League of Nations and the Anglo-French-American alliance promised no material results. As these substitute guarantees, which Mr. Wilson himself proposed at the

Peace Conference, have now come to naught, France, it is held, should not be blamed for wanting to stay on the Rhine until Germany comes to terms.

M. Stéphane Lauzanne, the editor of the *Matin*, on March 11 published a vitriolic attack upon the personality of President Wilson, calling him "the same university professor, meddlesome and ignorant, turning out phrases pretty in words but bad in meaning; the same pedagogue who, mixing into the greatest drama in history, understood nothing of it, and has learned nothing of it."

The *Temps* expressed its regret that President Wilson's health made it impossible for him to come again to Europe and see the situation for himself, and continued:

If he were before France, which counts on the treaty of peace, and before Germany, which is trying to escape it—before France, which is exhausting herself to repair the ruins of war, and before Germany, where a new war is openly preached—the President of the United States would not declare that a military party reigns in France.

Similar articles were published in other papers. M. André Tardieu pointed out in an interview that almost the whole burden of carrying out the terms of the treaty had fallen upon France. Most of the common military tasks imposed by the Versailles Treaty, including the occupation of the Rhineland and plebiscite regions, were being borne unaided by French troops. It was, therefore, he concluded, unjust in President Wilson to accuse the French of imperialism.

#### PLEBISCITES AND MANDATES

The result of the second plebiscite in Slesvig is given elsewhere in these pages. The Eupen and Malmédy districts on the German-Belgian frontier, allotted provisionally to Belgium, were entered by General Baltia, the Belgian High Commissioner, on Jan. 22. Proceeding through the gayly decorated streets of Malmédy, the Commissioner read from the steps of the Hotel de Ville a proclamation pledging equality to all in respect to language, religion and civic rights. Civilian employes were to be maintained in their old positions; Germans might return to



Germany if they so desired, with their families and personal property. Commerce with Germany would continue without customs borders. The plebiscite would be completed within six months and would be conducted with all guarantees of impartiality. An advisory body of twelve members, six from Eupen and Malmédy and six from Belgium, would form a local Parliament.

General Odry, allied High Commissioner, on Feb. 15 formally took over control of Memel—a narrow strip of territory lying between Lithuania and the Baltic—from Count Lamsdorf, the German representative. The Commissioner announced that he would keep supreme authority in his hands, but that the business committee for the Memel district, headed by Mayor Altenberg, would continue its administration of local affairs until further notice. Under the Peace Treaty Germany agreed to abide by whatever disposition the allied and associated powers might make of the Memel district.

It was announced on March 12 that the German Government had made an energetic protest against a series of decrees issued by the Commission for the plebiscite territories in Upper Silesia, West Prussia and East Prussia, which Germany contended would interfere with the judicial organization of these districts.

### RULING THE SARRE REGION

The Governing Commission of the Sarre Basin issued a proclamation on Feb. 26 announcing its assumption of control. The text of this document was given as follows in the German press:

To the Inhabitants of the Sarre District:

By virtue of the Peace Treaty of Versailles the Governing Commission assumes its high office today.

In the name of the League of Nations, which has created it, it will administer the territory of the Sarre Basin and exercise the same governing power there as used to be exercised by the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria. The Governing Commission is firmly resolved to carry out most exactly the regulations of the Versailles Treaty and to see that everybody obeys them, not only according to the letter, but also according to the spirit. Above all does it regard it as its duty to earn the confidence of the

population whose fate has been placed in its hands.

Furthermore, it is firmly resolved to maintain order and peace throughout the entire Sarre territory. Under the high supervision of the Governing Commission the inhabitants will be able to hold their usual local meetings, exercise their religious liberties and retain their societies, their schools and their language.

The Governing Commission, in full consciousness of its duties, is determined to create respect for its authority and ruthlessly to suppress all attempts, no matter whence they come, to disturb the population or mislead it into making mistakes. The rights with which the Governing Commission has been clothed by the treaty place it in a very good position to dedicate itself to its high task, without allowing itself to be handicapped by possible idle, or actually criminal, revolts. In allowing itself to be guided by the same basic principles from which the League of Nations is derived it is desirous of entering into closer relations with the population, in a hearty spirit of reconciliation. \* \* \*

The Governing Commission will make it its special object to promote industry and to elevate the condition of the workers. It will endeavor, with all the power at its command, to increase production and to assure to the office employees and workers all the advantages that are consistent with the maintenance of well ordered industrial establishments. Proceeding from this standpoint, it will take into consideration the wishes expressed by the organizations of employees and employers, and it will do so in accord with the principles of the League of Nations. So far as this point is concerned it is aware, besides, that it is of one mind with the French mining authorities. In this respect France insures it unlimited freedom of action, and does so exactly in the way provided for in the Peace Treaty. In the exercise of the high office with which it has been intrusted the Governing Commission counts upon the whole-hearted co-operation of the population, whose material welfare will depend in many ways upon its peaceful attitude and its display of good-will.

In this way the inhabitants of the Sarre country will have a chance to give expression to their confidence in the League of Nations and at the same time to show the proper obedience to the Peace Treaty. Through demonstrated perseverance in labor, and, indeed, in all lines of work, agricultural as well as industrial, they will have a great part in the economic restoration of Europe. \* \* \*

Done at Saarbrücken, Feb. 26, 1920, in the name of the Governing Commission.  
The President.

V. RAULT, Councillor of State.



# Rhineland Under Allied Rule

## Regulations Adopted by the High Commission Cause Friction —Some of Them Are Modified

**T**HE Interallied High Commission of Rhenish Territory, whose President is Paul Tirard, a Frenchman, took over supreme authority in the occupied region along the Rhine in the name of all the Allies on Jan. 11, 1920. The commission's headquarters are at Coblenz. It issued the following proclamation on the date just named:

In execution of the Treaty of Peace the Interallied High Commission of the Rhenish countries takes over on this day supreme representation of the allied Governments in the occupied territories. Following the instructions of the allied Governments, it wishes to make a light as possible for the Rhenish people the burden of occupation, provided only that the German Government shall diligently continue to carry out the reparations due to the peoples which were victims of the war.

The High Commission guarantees to the Rhenish people the fulfillment of the law of occupation—whose liberality is unprecedented in history—both in letter and spirit. In agreement with the High Command of the allied troops, however, it will see that the safety of its troops shall suffer no attack. It will suppress, without needless severity, but also without weakness, every action aimed at the security of those troops which, in 1918, crossed the frontiers in the heat of battle, still shaken by the emotion of seeing their homes devastated and by the horrible treatment inflicted on their wives, their parents and their children, yet who won over themselves the highest of all victories, and for more than twelve months have brought to the Rhenish people the benefits of order, aided them with food supplies, and given them the example of their discipline.

The Interallied High Commission counts on the collaboration of German officials and magistrates, acting in complete harmony with the commission, to insure the people of the occupied territories a régime of order, industry and peace. Responsible for public order, the maintenance of which is ultimately incumbent on the occupying troops, it intends to guarantee to the Rhenish people full justice, the exercise of their public and individual liberties, the development of their legitimate aspirations and of their prosperity.

The High Commission hopes that contact between the troops of the allied

nations and the Rhenish people will prove, not a source of friction, but a means of the various nations becoming better acquainted, and of progressing, in the union of labor, order and peace, toward the future of a better humanity.

This document was posted up in two columns, the French version, of which the above is a translation, on the left, and the German version on the right.

### RHINELAND REGULATIONS

Despite the idealistic note of this proclamation, ample evidence was found in the German press that the regulations set up by the Interallied Commission were regarded with deep dissatisfaction by the German residents. Some of these regulations, as printed in the German papers, were as follows:

All German authorities and all persons in the occupied territory must obey the commands of the foreign military authorities in the exercise of their powers and authority. German officials disobeying these orders will not only be punished, but they may also be removed from office by the High Commission.

All ordinances issued by the High Interallied Commission have all the force of laws upon being promulgated; the German legislative bodies and the German officials are not allowed to object to them. On the other hand, the High Commission reserves the right to decide which of the laws of the German Nation or of the States are to be applied in the occupied part of Germany.

Anybody who violates the ordinances of the foreign occupying force may be turned over to the military courts of the foreign troops of occupation. In case of necessity the German authorities must turn over all the official and other data necessary for this purpose.

Any person whose words, gestures or attitude in regard to the members of the High Commission or persons attached to it, or in regard to the occupying troops or any member of these troops, or in regard to the flag or any military emblem of the allied and associated powers, is characterized as insulting or unseemly will incur the punishments provided for the carrying out of the ordinances of the High Commission.

All uniformed German State employees,



including the police, firemen, customs officers and foresters, are obliged to salute the colors and the officers of the Entente. Any one who facilitates, or commits, an act aimed at causing discontent, discord, or lack of discipline among the occupying troops will be sent to prison for as much as five years.

The High Commission has the right, in certain circumstances, to expel persons from the occupied territory.

The compulsory passport system will be maintained for travel between the occupied and the unoccupied parts of Germany. In the occupied territory itself every person more than fourteen years of age must be provided with an identification card.

The postal, telegraph and telephone systems are under censorship. The officials named by the High Commission have the right to demand the handing over of letters and postal packages of all kinds. Such postal packages are to be dealt with according to the instructions of the High Commission. The High Commission reserves the right to forbid newspapers, circulars and any other publications, printed matter and reproductions of pictures, music and films in so far as they are calculated to endanger the maintenance of the public order or to militate against the safety or the prestige of the High Commission or of the occupying troops. Newspapers may be forbidden for a period of from three days to three months.

Political meetings must be announced forty-eight hours before they occur. The notice must give the object of the meeting and the names of its promoters.

There must be no strike in any vital industry before all the possibilities of agreement and adjustment have been exhausted and before the decision of the High Commission has been called for. This applies to strikes in the following industries: Railroads and their repair shops; telegraph, telephone and postal administrations; coal mines, navigation, gas, electric and water works. The High Commission can extend this ordinance to any other enterprise by issuing the proper order.

### OFFICIAL GERMAN PROTEST

That the German Government itself was by no means content with the rules and regulations laid down by the Inter-allied High Commission was evidenced not only by the comments of high officials, but by the action of the German Foreign Office in sending a formal protest to Baron von Lersner, the German representative in Paris. This message was summarized as follows in a Berlin

dispatch sent to the *Kölnische Zeitung* on Jan. 16:

In this communication the German Government takes its stand upon the principle that the powers of the occupation authorities in the districts to the left of the Rhine are defined in the Rhineland agreement which was signed on June 28, 1919, at the same time as the Peace Treaty of Versailles, and that not only Germany, but also the other parties to the treaty, are bound by the contents of this agreement, so that they have no right to restrict the German rights beyond the bounds laid down in the agreement. It is noted with surprise that the Rhineland Commission does not seem to share this opinion, and wishes, through issuing regulations, to establish conditions which would be in gross contradiction to the text of the Rhineland agreement and to the repeated assurances of the allied and associated powers, and which would represent encroachments of the gravest kind upon the administrative and judicial sovereignty of the German Nation as well as upon the civic political rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territory.

In a special memorandum the objections to the individual provisions of the Rhineland Commission's plan of regulation are brought together. In conclusion the note voices the Federal Government's conviction that an impartial investigation by the allied and associated powers will lead to the recognition of the fact that the regulations mentioned are not necessary to assure the maintenance and the covering of the needs of the occupying troops, especially as by the Rhineland agreement the High Commission is already empowered to resort at any time to any particular steps necessary for the insurance of safety. The regulations referred to, however, would not even promote the security of the occupying troops, but would be in sharp contradiction to the spirit of international reconciliation which now, after the conclusion of peace, ought to lead the nations to join in the common work of civilization.

### REGULATIONS MODIFIED

That the necessity of modifying these regulations was realized by the commission became apparent as early as Jan. 16, when the Cologne papers printed a summary of the changes introduced. The regulations regarding travel at night and automobile travel had become inoperative; only the regulations about closing hours and automobile licenses remained in force; the newspapers were no longer obliged to carry at the top of their front pages the statement that they were



issued "With the permission of the British (or French, or Belgian) authorities." All German newspapers and publications, even those formerly excluded, were allowed to appear.

A number of other regulations not mentioned above had also undergone modification or been eliminated, according to statements made by Sir Harold Stuart, the British member of the Inter-allied Commission, during a short visit to London about the middle of February. The attitude of the commission, whose function it was to secure the safety of the armies in the occupied territory, had been, he said, misrepresented in the German press, which was evidently seeking to convey the impression that the Central German Government was closely watching Rhineland interests. The attitude of the people toward the British was described by him as "quite friendly." The severity of the administration, he said, had been greatly relaxed by the commission. The censorship on postal, telegraphic and telephonic communications, as well as on the press, had been removed.

Restrictions on movement, both within the occupied territory and between the Rhineland and other parts of Germany, had been lifted. Germans were now subjected only to German jurisdiction, said Sir Harold Stuart, except as regards offenses against members of the allied forces and matters affecting their property. A surrender of allied military jurisdiction had been made to the extent that civil actions relating to members of the allied forces in their private capacity could be tried in the German courts; but appeals would be to an allied court, on which there would be one German lawyer.

As against these liberal concessions by the Allies the Germans, it was pointed out, had proclaimed a state of siege in unoccupied Germany. The German charge that the High Commission had forbidden strikes was declared to be quite unfounded. All that the High Commission had done was to require that before any strike took place among the railway men, postal or telegraphic officials and coal miners the case should be

submitted to a German Court of Conciliation. If the decision of this court is not accepted by the men they must give a week's notice of their intention to strike.

The Germans had complained that the Allies could punish and dismiss any German official who incurred their displeasure. The fact was that under Article 5 of the agreement annexed to the Peace Treaty the German authorities in the occupied territories have to conform, under penalty of removal, to the ordinances of the High Commission.

The regulation compelling all Germans in uniform to salute the Entente colors had been abolished. [See German cartoon on this subject in the present issue.] The word "seemly" ("inconvenant" in the French version) had been omitted in the English version of this regulation, and only cases of actual insult to the allied troops would be taken up, said Sir Harold Stuart.

#### FRICITION WITH FRANCE

At the time of the crisis over the question of extradition of German war criminals, Premier Millerand notified the German Government that because of the non-fulfillment of the treaty terms by Germany in failing to deliver the full amounts of coal to France, the time limits placed upon the allied occupation of the Rhineland had been suspended.

The German Government demanded that the independent principality of Birkenfeld, then occupied by French troops, be administered by high Prussian officials. It was stated by the *Echo du Rhin* on Jan. 10 that the French Government had replied to this in the negative, on the ground that it would be at variance with the German Constitution; the military authorities, said the statement of the commander of the French Army of the Rhine, General Degoutte, could deal only with the regular administrative authorities of the occupied territories.

Evidences of the complete harmony of the allied leaders in the Rhineland territory were seen by the *Echo du Rhin* in friendly and official visits paid General Degoutte, the French commander, by



General Robertson, head of the British Rhineland forces, and by General Allen, head of the American forces. The latter visit occurred on Jan. 30. The visit of General Michel, the Belgian commander, was announced at the same time.

A controversy between France and Switzerland concerning transportation on the Rhine between Basel and Strasbourg had aroused Swiss public opinion considerably by the beginning of February. The French plan to construct a seventy-mile canal along the Alsatian bank had been opposed by Switzerland and its commercial bodies, on the ground that it would reduce open traffic from 12,000,000 to 3,000,000 tons, would entail

controversies with French power stations, would allow the levy by the French of tolls, forbidden upon natural waterways by the Rhine transportation convention, would deprive Basel of the benefits of its natural geographical and commercial position, would unduly favor Upper Alsatian industry, would impair the activities of Rotterdam and result in increased freight charges upon necessary raw material required by Swiss industries.

The French plan depends upon the consent of the Rhine Traffic Commission, composed of international delegates, which is to meet within six months after the ratification of the treaty.

## Denmark and the Slesvig Plebiscite

### Germany Gets the South Zone

THERE was great jubilation throughout Denmark over the reunion with the first Slesvig zone on Feb. 10, which was hailed as the greatest event in a century of Danish history. Great public demonstrations were organized, and many exultant articles were published in the press, while enthusiastic speeches welcoming the repatriated people were delivered in both the Landsting and Folkething.

The fierce factional strife arising from the campaign in the second plebiscite zone almost precipitated a Cabinet crisis in Copenhagen, due to the Government's indorsement of the position taken by H. P. Hanssen-Norremolle, the new Minister for South Jutland, and President of the North Slesvig Electoral Society. Mr. Hanssen-Norremolle, on the occasion of his return from the victory in North Slesvig, when he was car-



SHADED PORTION BETWEEN SOLID BLACK LINES IS ZONE THAT VOTED MARCH 14 TO REMAIN IN GERMANY



FISHER FOLK OF SOUTH JUTLAND CELEBRATING THE RETURN OF SLESVIG TO DENMARK AFTER FIFTY-FOUR YEARS UNDER THE PRUSSIAN FLAG

(Times Wide World Photo)

ried by 20,000 rejoicing Danes in a gilt chair to the royal palace, voiced this view with the remark that he wished, in regard to the second zone, "to see Denmark go only so far south in Slesvig as Danish hearts beat." The Government, for its approval of this attitude, had been censured by the Landsting on Dec. 3.

Even after the departure of the Noske Guards from Flensburg, Jan. 25, and the substitution there of a Danish Chief of Police, the International Plebiscite Commission had a difficult situation to cope with, due to acts of violence and other efforts at intimidation by the Germans against the Danes. On Feb. 19 the commission passed several measures for the re-establishment of public order, and created a Commission Tribunal to deal with infractions of its regulations. A great demonstration was made in Copenhagen on March 8 in favor of the reunion of Flensburg with Denmark, and King Christian addressed, from a balcony, 50,000 people who had marched in a procession to the royal palace. This movement had gained many ad-

herents since August, 1919. When the plebiscite for the southern or Flensburg zone was held on March 14, however, the result favored Germany. With four districts still to be heard from at the time these pages went to press, the unofficial returns showed that the Danes were defeated in the Flensburg zone in practically the same proportion as were the Germans in the first Slesvig zone—about three to one. That is, 48,148 votes were cast for Germany and 13,025 for Denmark. Only the districts of Goting, Hedehusum and Utersum showed Danish majorities.

The International Commission had provided against election-day disturbances by planting machine guns at all strategic positions about Flensburg, and had detailed armed squads to patrol the town. But the next morning the Germans became very arrogant; a mob wrecked the newspaper office of the Flensburg Avis, and several Danes were threatened with shouts of: "Tomorrow all Danes must leave town—we will prepare a St. Bartholomew's night." The Copenhagen press agreed that it would be folly to



wish the return of the Flensburg area with such a German showing. Denmark had waived the right to a plebiscite in the most southern of the three zones originally offered by the Peace Conference, because of the obviously German majority there.

Meanwhile, the Rigsdag has been carrying on vehement debates over a Government proposition for an amendment of the Constitution and a revision of the electoral law. The bill is framed for the purpose of admitting the Slesviggers to representation under conditions as democratic as they would find under the German Republic. Men and women of Slesvig over 20 years old can vote on the reunion, but under present Danish law they would be excluded from the exercise of full citizenship rights until almost the age of 40 years. The proposed

change calls for a lowering of the voting age to 21 for the Folkething and 25 for the Landsting, and for an increase in the number of representatives in both houses. The Government further proposes a democratization of the Landsting and the abolition of the King's right to declare war and peace.

On March 10 the Governments of Denmark, Sweden and Norway announced their decision to become members of the League of Nations.

At the conference of the Premiers and Foreign Ministers of Sweden, Denmark and Norway at Christiania, which adjourned Feb. 4, they decided to call a meeting of financial experts of all their countries to study methods of remedying the fall in Scandinavian exchange. A proposal for an International Financial Congress at Amsterdam was approved.

## The Fiume Controversy

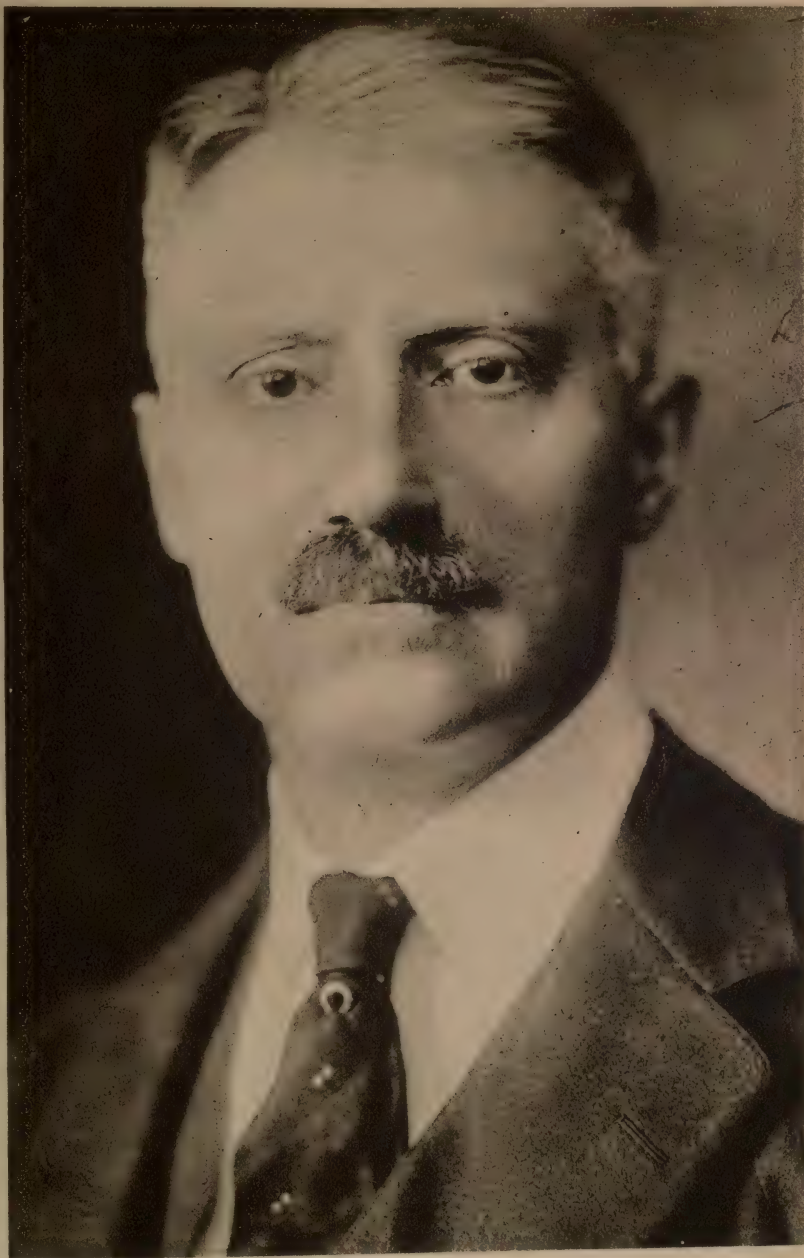
A SENSATION was created in Paris and London by President Wilson's note of Feb. 10, protesting in the most energetic terms against the new Adriatic settlement reached by the allied Premiers, and dictated in ultimatum form to Yugoslavia on Jan. 20. The President pointed out that this new arrangement was a complete reversal of the decision reached by the Allies in co-operation with America on Dec. 9, and insisted that this earlier solution be upheld, warning the Premiers that he would otherwise be compelled to recall the treaty with Germany from the Senate, and to withdraw from further participation in the European settlement. This drastic intimation elicited a reply which sought to defend the new arrangement, and earnestly appealed to Mr. Wilson not to "wreck the whole machinery for dealing with international disputes" by withdrawing the collaboration of America.

In his reply Mr. Wilson justified his objections to the new agreement, declar-

ing it to be in contradiction to the principles for which the war was fought; he suggested that new parleys be begun between Italy and Yugoslavia with a view to finding a solution acceptable to both. The allied Premiers' rejoinder, offering to withdraw both the decision of Jan. 20 and Dec. 9 to facilitate the reaching of such a new agreement, was met by the President on March 4 with a firm refusal to consent to the withdrawal of the earlier agreement or to the application of the Treaty of London, on which, in case no agreement was reached, the Allies insisted as an alternative.

New negotiations begun between the Italian and Yugoslav Ministers in London, following the President's letter of Feb. 24, were broken off on March 1, and no agreement was reached. The correspondence between Mr. Wilson and the allied Premiers, with all new documents and facts bearing on the case, will be treated fully in the May issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY

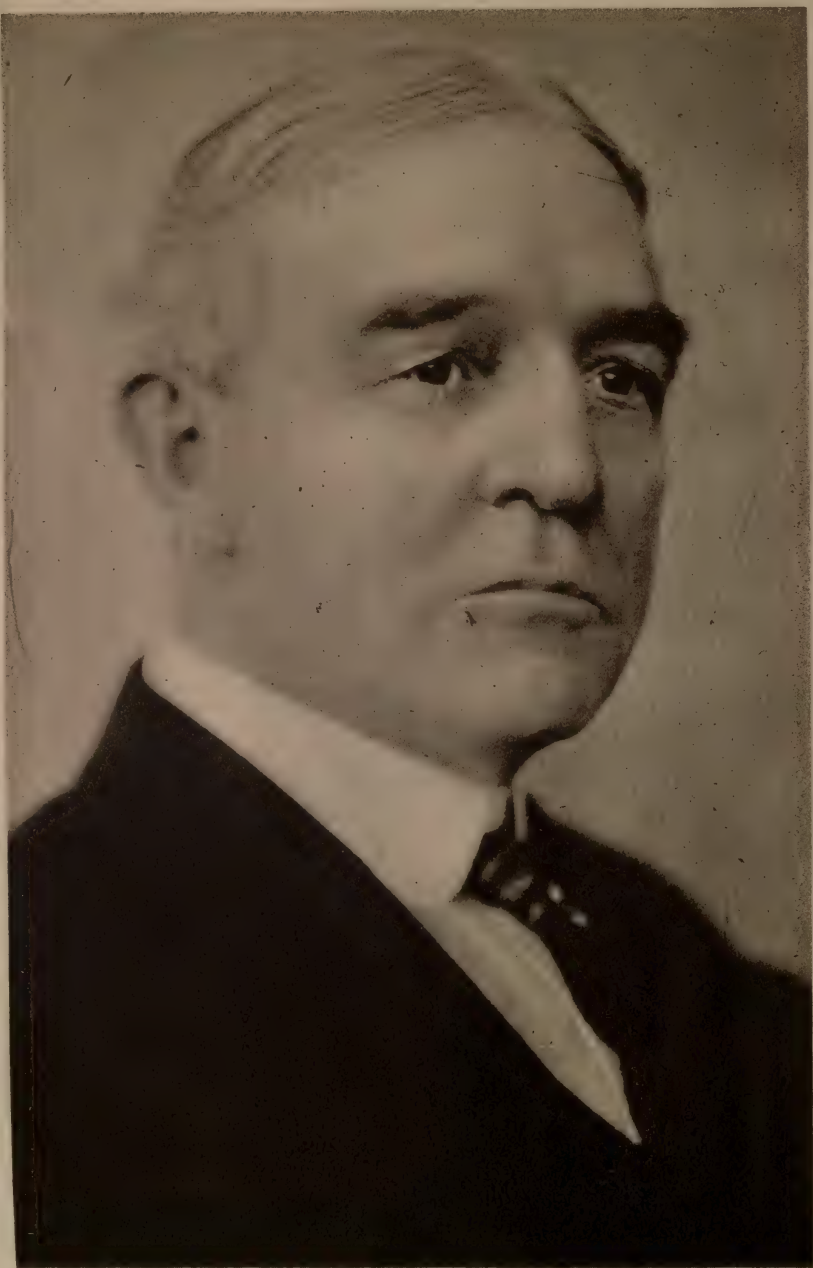


New York lawyer and former member of Shipping Board, appointed  
Secretary of State, succeeding Robert Lansing

(© Harris & Ewing)



JOHN BARTON PAYNE



Chicago jurist and former Chairman of Shipping Board, appointed Secretary of the Interior, to succeed Franklin K. Lane

(© Harris & Ewing)

CHARLES R. CRANE



Chicago manufacturer who has been appointed Minister to China, to  
succeed Dr. Paul Reinsch

(© Keystone View Co.)



SIR  
AUCKLAND  
GEDDES

Recently appointed British Ambassador to the United States. At the time of his appointment he was President of the British Board of Trade. Before that he had been Minister for National Service and Reconstruction. He put through the bill against post-bellum profiteering. Formerly a professor in McGill University, Canada. He is a graceful and fluent speaker and has been called the "mouthpiece of the coalition."

*(British and  
Colonial Press)*



HERBERT HENRY ASQUITH

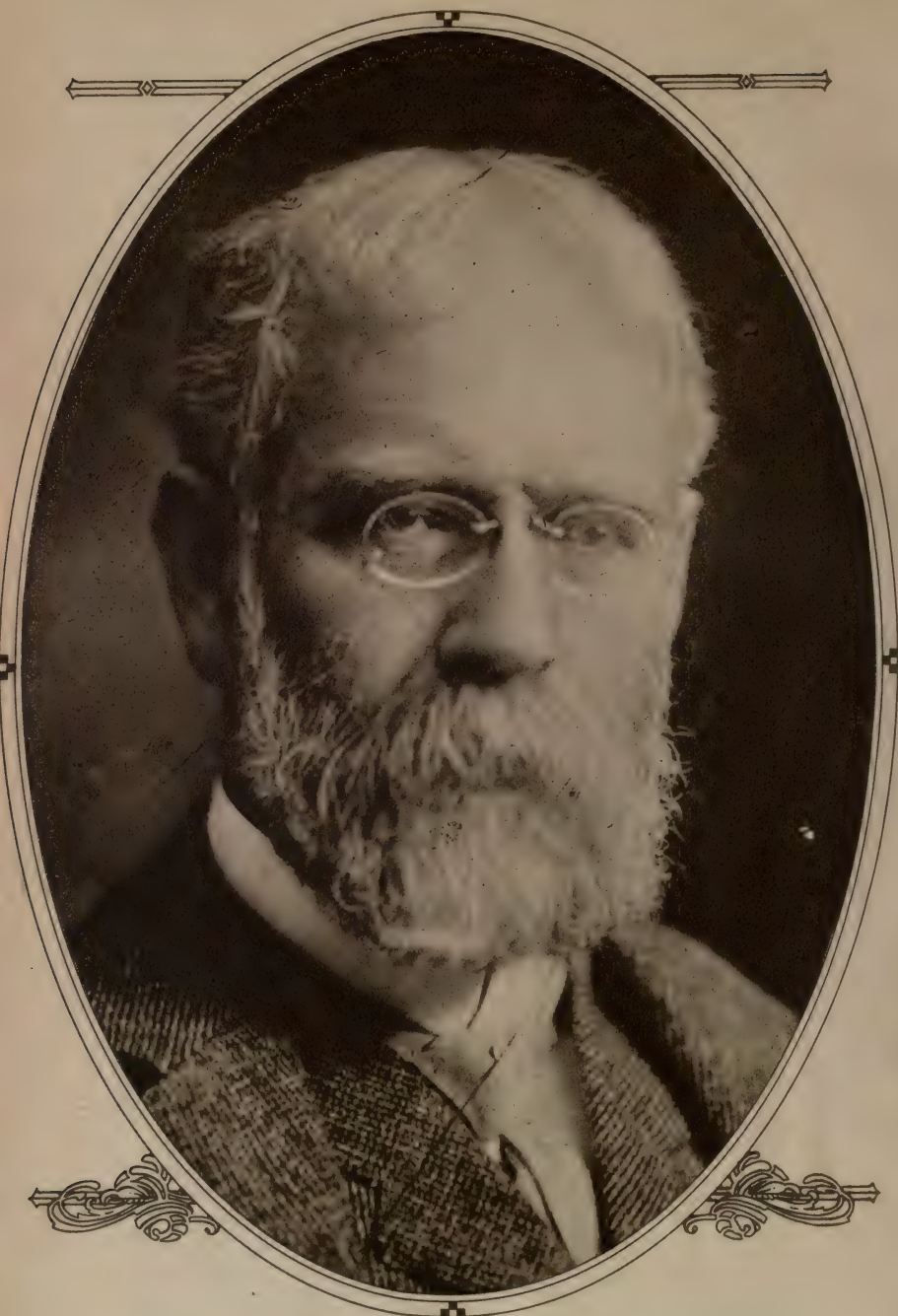


Former British Premier and his wife receiving congratulations at the moment of his re-election to Parliament

(© Underwood & Underwood)



ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON



Author, poet, and magazine editor, appointed American Ambassador to Italy, succeeding Thomas Nelson Page

COLONEL FRANKLIN D'OLIER



National Commander of the American Legion, the organization of  
American Veterans of the World War

(© Harris & Ewing)



## BURIAL PLACE OF FORMER CZAR OF RUSSIA



Abandoned mine shaft near Ekaterinburg, into which, it is believed, the bodies of the murdered ex-Czar and his family were thrown



Temporary grave at Ekaterinburg in which are buried the remains of the ex-Czar and his family, exhumed from mine shaft

*(Photos Wide World Service)*

# Belgium's Wonderful Recovery

## Survey of Recent Progress

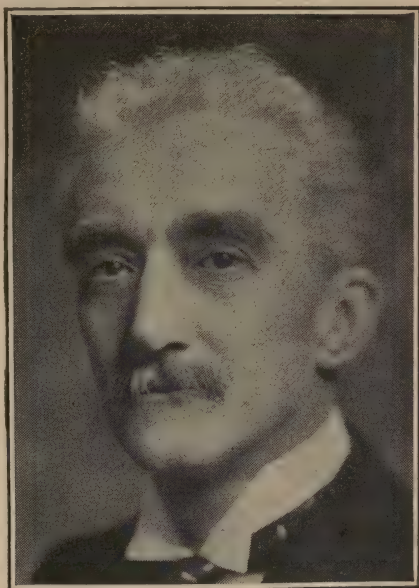
ACCORDING to the reports of the United States Trade Commissioner at Brussels, C. E. Herring, as well as statements made by the various departments of the Belgian Government, Belgium, all but about one-eleventh of whose territory of 11,373 square miles had been for four years occupied, pillaged, devastated, combed for its last strand of flax, squeezed for its last drop of wine, sifted for its last speck of gold by the Germans, with a seventh of its population toiling like slaves in Germany and the balance kept alive at home by food largely contributed by the United States, has been first to reach a normal state, and, after sixteen months of feverish activity, now leads all the European belligerents in rehabilitation.

One year after the armistice Belgium was the first to cease rationing her people. She had reduced the cost of living from 1,110 per cent. above normal to 244 per cent. At the end of the war nearly 1,000,000 persons were out of work. By February, 1920, no one was out of work unless he wished to be. Eighty-seven per cent. of the coal mines, 100 per cent. of the railways, and 75 per cent. of the textile factories had recovered their pre-war average. The tax returns for the first six months of the fiscal year 1919-20 had been estimated at \$60,000,000; the actual returns were nearly a third over that sum. In the year before the war the trade of Belgium, export, import, and transit, amounted to \$1,725,000,000; in 1919 it amounted to \$1,022,000,000. In 1913 imports worth \$100,000,000 came from the United States; in the first ten months of 1919 imports from the same country were valued at \$300,000,000.

Incidentally, Belgium has killed profiteering by co-operative buying and selling. She borrowed \$250,000,000 at 5 per cent. from Great Britain and used \$55,000,000 of it to purchase material from the departing American Army. The

net profit, exclusive of the loss of that distributed freely, was \$5,000,000.

The last of Belgian industries to regain pre-war production, says Mr. Her-



PAUL HYMANS  
*Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs*  
(© Harris & Ewing)

ring, will be the iron and steel. He wrote:

At the time of the armistice, out of fifty-four blast furnaces in existence in Belgium in 1914, about thirty had been entirely destroyed or were so badly damaged as to necessitate extensive repairs. Of the 101 rolling mills operating in 1914 in the Province of Liège and Hainaut, twenty-nine were completely ruined in the former and a large number in the latter.

It was in these two districts, which comprise the great majority of metallurgical plants, that systematic destruction was carried on most assiduously. Thus of the twenty-three blast furnaces in the Liège district in 1914, ten were completely destroyed and nine considerably damaged. The rolling mills of five large plants in the same district were entirely demolished; out of the fifty-three mills operating in 1914 twenty-nine were en-



tirely destroyed and three seriously damaged. \* \* \*

One striking instance of German sabotage may be cited. At the important Ougrée-Marhay steel works, which produced 50,000 tons monthly before the war, about 44,000 metric tons of machinery and tools were scrapped and sent to Germany, about 4,000 tons of equipment and rolling stock were taken away intact, and 36,000 tons of raw materials were appropriated. The value of the destroyed machinery and materials was estimated at 45,000,000 francs, but replacement at present prices will greatly exceed this figure.

The work of recovering stolen machinery taken into Germany has proceeded satisfactorily, but the restoration of the ruined and damaged furnaces and mills will eventually necessitate, of course, many new installations, which must be made at the present inflated prices. \* \* \*

In spite of the grave difficulties confronting the industry, there has been no weakness shown in the stocks of the various iron and steel plants. All those now in operation are booked far ahead with orders, and it is said that former customers in export markets are generally seeking to renew their pre-war arrangements.

When the production of coking coal in France and Germany can be increased and when the railways of France, Luxemburg and Belgium permit the prompt delivery of sufficient fuel and ore shipments, Belgian iron and steel products will again actively compete in the world's markets. The erection of new, thoroughly modern plants to replace those destroyed by the Germans will partially compensate for the present period of subnormal production and Belgium will resume its place as one of the leading steel-producing countries of the world.

Two things seems to make of Belgium's rapid revival a paradox. Labor Unionists are five times as numerous as they were in 1914, and in 1919 they called nearly 400 strikes. But the new laws have limited the power of the unions while increasing that of the State over both employer and employe, and of the 388 strikes 220 were settled by friendly arbitration and 50 by forced. The following data on wages and temperance are drawn from the reports of the Minister for Labor, M. Wauters, a Socialist member of the Government and one of the editors of *Le Peuple*:

Wages were formerly very low, but as a result of these strikes they are now, on an average, about three times their

pre-war level. They are usually reckoned in francs per hour, and the hours have been fixed in most trades at eight per day, with six days per week.

The lowest wages are those of agricultural laborers, which are 1 franc per hour. General laborers and lower grades of artisans and mechanics receive from 1.50 to 2 francs per hour. More highly skilled men obtain from 2 to 2.50 francs per hour. Miners obtain 2.50 to 3 francs per hour. Postmen are paid 8 francs a day with a seven-day week; tram conductors 12 francs a day; printers 18 to 19 francs a day. Workers in glass mills where window glass is produced earn from 250 to 300 francs a week; the diamond cutters of Antwerp get 400 francs a week.

Social reformers regard the alcohol restriction laws as having had an important effect on the output of labor, which since the armistice has been satisfactory, in spite of the strikes. In Belgium an important distinction was drawn between the sale of alcohol in the form of spirits and liquors and the sale of wines and beer. Beer and wine do not come within the scope of the alcohol restriction laws.

No spirits may now be sold for consumption on the premises in any café. Bottles may be sold for consumption off the premises, but these are taxed 18 francs a litre, by a law of Sept. 10, 1919. At the present rate of exchange this is equivalent to a tax of about \$2.25 a pint.

The total amount of pure alcohol which may be produced per month is now very greatly reduced by law. Out of the total quantity allowed—900,000 litres—only one-tenth is left to the distillers. One-tenth is sold to pre-war makers of liquors. All the rest goes to silk factories, chemists and photographers.

The result is that instead of drinking from 5 to 6 litres of pure alcohol per head per year, as before the war, the Belgians are now only drinking one-third of a litre.

It is believed that this reform has checked a growing tendency among the working classes to drink more spirits, and has encouraged more regular work and greater output. The restriction of the consumption of alcohol has been followed by a very large decrease in crimes committed under the influence of drink. Medical statistics show the almost complete disappearance of delirium tremens. Mental diseases have in general much decreased.

On March 3, 1920, the Belgian Chamber of Deputies voted in favor of woman suffrage, in communal elections, at and over 21 years of age. Several interesting features marked the debates: All the Catholics voted for the measure, and

for that reason the Socialists were divided between their policy of equality and their fear of religious influence. Paul Hymans, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, voted for it, but all the rest of

the Liberals were against it, as was Burgomaster Max, even after he had caused an amendment to be adopted excluding women of "notorious misconduct" from the ballot.

## Senate's Rejection of the Treaty

### By a Vote of 57 to 37 the United States Senate Again Refuses to Ratify the Peace of Versailles

**T**HE United States Senate rejected the Peace Treaty with Germany on March 19, 1920. The vote on ratification lacked the necessary two-thirds majority by seven, the final vote, counting the pairs, being 57 for ratification, 37 against ratification. Politically the vote was divided as follows: For ratification, counting pairs, 34 Republicans, 23 Democrats; against, 15 Republicans, 24 Democrats. The vote took place late in the day. Immediately after the rejection a resolution was adopted, by a vote of 47 to 37, as follows:

That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to return to the President the treaty of peace with Germany signed at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, and respectfully inform the President that the Senate has refused to advise and consent to its ratification, being unable to obtain the constitutional majority required therefor.

The effect of this action was to remove the treaty from the Senate and place the responsibility for any further initiative regarding peace with Germany upon the President.

The treaty had been laid before the Senate July 10, 1919, by the President. On Sept. 10 the Foreign Relations Committee had reported it to the Senate with certain reservations, which finally numbered fifteen. Meanwhile, President Wilson, in open conflict with the attitude of the Senate majority, began a speaking tour over the country in advocacy of the treaty without any reservations which would modify its meaning. This tour was discontinued Sept. 28 on account of the sudden illness of the President.

The Senate, on Nov. 19, voted on the

treaty with the fourteen reservations that had been adopted, and it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote.

In January the contending factions resumed their conferences, with a view to placing the treaty again before the Senate. On Feb. 9 the Senate reconsidered the vote by which ratification had been defeated, thus again bringing the question before that body, and the treaty was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. The President again let it be known that he was strongly opposed to any reservations which would alter the provisions of the treaty, and expressed a willingness to have the whole question passed upon by the people in the Presidential election in November.

On Feb. 10 the treaty was reported back to the Senate with the same reservations which had failed of ratification in November. The Senate resumed the debate on Feb. 16, and it proceeded almost daily from that date until the final action on March 19.

#### PRESIDENT WILSON'S LETTER

On March 8 the President again addressed Senator Hitchcock, who was leading the fight for the treaty, in a letter in which he reaffirmed his strong opposition to any changes in Article X. of the treaty, by which the signatories agreed to guarantee the territory of each other against external aggression. In this letter the President wrote:

Any reservation which seeks to deprive the League of Nations of the force of Article X. cuts at the very heart and life of the covenant itself. Any League of Nations which does not guarantee as a matter of incontestable right the political independence and integrity of each of its



members might be hardly more than a futile scrap of paper, as ineffective in operation as the agreement between Belgium and Germany which the Germans violated in 1914.

Article X. as written into the Treaty of Versailles represents the renunciation by Great Britain and Japan, which before the war had begun to find so many interests in common in the Pacific; by France, by Italy, by all the great fighting powers of the world, of the old pretensions of political conquest and territorial aggrandizement. It is a new doctrine in the world's affairs, and must be recognized, or there is no secure basis for the peace which the whole world so longingly desires and so desperately needs.

If Article X. is not adopted and acted upon, the Governments which reject it will, I think, be guilty of bad faith to their people, whom they induced to make the infinite sacrifices of the war by the pledge that they would be fighting to redeem the world from the old order of force and aggression. They will be acting also in bad faith to the opinion of the world at large, to which they appealed for support in a concerted stand against the aggressions and pretensions of Germany.

If we were to reject Article X. or so to weaken it as to take its full force out of it, it would mark us as desiring to return to the old world of jealous rivalry and misunderstandings from which our gallant soldiers have rescued us and would leave us without any vision or new conception of justice and peace. We would have learned no lesson from the war, but gained only the regret that it had involved us in its maelstrom of suffering. If America has awakened, as the rest of the world has, to the vision of a new day in which the mistakes of the past are to be corrected, it will welcome the opportunity to share the responsibilities of Article X.

It must not be forgotten, Senator, that the article constitutes a renunciation of all ambition on the part of powerful nations with whom we were associated in the war. It is by no means certain that without this article any such renunciation will take place. Militaristic ambitions and imperialistic policies are by no means dead, even in counsels of the nations whom we most trust and with whom we most desire to be associated in the tasks of peace.

Throughout the sessions of the conference in Paris it was evident that a militaristic party, under the most influential leadership, was seeking to gain ascendancy in the counsels of France. They were defeated then, but are in control now. The chief arguments advanced in Paris in support of the Italian claims on the

Adriatic were strategic arguments; that is to say, military arguments, which had at their back the thought of naval supremacy in that sea. For my own part, I am as intolerant of imperialistic designs on the part of other nations as I was of such designs on the part of Germany.

The choice is between two ideals; on the one hand, the ideal of democracy, which represents the right of free peoples everywhere to govern themselves, and on the other hand the ideal of imperialism which seeks to dominate by force and unjust power, an ideal which is by no means dead and which is earnestly held in many quarters still.

Every imperialistic influence in Europe was hostile to the embodiment of Article X. in the covenant of the League of Nations, and its defeat now would mark the complete consummation of their efforts to nullify the treaty. I hold the doctrine of Article X. as the essence of Americanism. We cannot repudiate it or weaken it without at the same time repudiating our own principles.

The imperialist wants no League of Nations, but if, in response to the universal cry of the masses everywhere, there is to be one, he is interested to secure one suited to his own purposes, one that will permit him to continue the historic game of pawns and peoples—the juggling of provinces, the old balances of power, and the inevitable wars attendant upon these things. The reservation proposed would perpetuate the old order. \* \* \*

I need not say, Senator, that I have given a great deal of thought to the whole matter of reservations proposed in connection with the ratification of the treaty, and particularly that portion of the treaty which contains the covenant of the League of Nations, and I have been struck by the fact that practically every so-called reservation was in effect a rather sweeping nullification of the terms of the treaty itself.

I hear of reservationists and mild reservationists, but I cannot understand the difference between a nullifier and a mild nullifier. Our responsibility as a nation in this turning point of history is an overwhelming one, and if I had the opportunity I would beg every one concerned to consider the matter in the light of what it is possible to accomplish for humanity, rather than in the light of special national interests.

### FRANCE INDIGNANT

The President's reference to the militarist spirit in France created an unpleasant impression in that country and was bitterly resented by the French newspapers and by leading French publicists of all shades of opinion.

The Senate was not in accord with the President's view. On March 15, after days of serious debate, it adopted a strong reservation respecting Article X. by a vote of 56 to 26; fourteen Democrats voted with the Republicans in adopting the reservation. The new reservation was even stronger than the one adopted in November. It read as follows:

The United States assumes no obligations to employ its military or naval forces, its resources or any form of economic discrimination to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article X., or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose unless in any particular case the Congress, in the exercise of full liberty of action, shall by act or joint resolution so declare.

### THE IRISH RESERVATION

A fifteenth reservation was adopted on the day preceding the final vote, and it created wide comment. It was as follows:

In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a Government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such Government is attained by Ireland, a consummation which it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations.

This reservation was offered by Senator Gerry of Rhode Island; it was opposed by the Republican majority, but was passed by a vote of 38 to 36, the support coming from 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans; the Republicans avowedly against the treaty in any form voted solidly for the reservation.

The fourteenth reservation respecting the voting powers of the different

nations was adopted by the Senate as follows:

Until Part I., being the covenant of the League of Nations, shall be so amended as to provide that the United States shall be entitled to cast a number of votes equal to that which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies or parts of empire, in the aggregate, shall be entitled to cast, the United States assumes no obligation to be bound, except in cases where Congress has previously given its consent, by any election, decision, report or finding of the Council or Assembly in which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate, have cast more than one vote.

The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the League if such member or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire united with it politically has voted.

This action brought forth a declaration by the President of the Privy Council of Canada, N. W. Rowell, that if that reservation were accepted by the other powers Canada would withdraw from the League of Nations.

As indicative of the attitude of the Senate regarding certain reservations: the vote for a specific reservation regarding the Monroe Doctrine was 58 to 22; on excluding domestic questions from the league the vote was 56 to 27; on equalizing the voting powers of this country and Great Britain the vote was 57 to 20; on refusing to accept any mandate without express authority of Congress the vote stood 64 to 4. On the proposition that the right to withdraw from the League was within the sole jurisdiction of Congress, whether or not the United States had fulfilled its obligations, the vote was 45 to 20; on the treaty clauses requiring Shantung to be given to Japan the reservation withholding the assent of the United States was adopted by a vote of 48 to 21; but no specific reference to either country was made.



# America's Reconstruction Activities

## Military, Naval and Economic Developments That Test the Statesmanship of the Nation's Leaders

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 18, 1920]

THE House Military Committee by a bi-partisan vote refused on Feb. 25 to include universal military training in the Army Reorganization bill. At the same time the Committee voted that military training should become the subject of separate legislation to be framed by a "friendly" sub-committee of seven named by Mr. Kahn, with an agreement of the leaders that its consideration would not be blocked after a thorough inquiry had been made of the cost and economic effects. This investigation is expected to delay action on the question until the next session.

With this temporary disposal of universal training, the committee voted, 10 to 6, to report the Reorganization bill, providing for a maximum peace-time army of 17,700 officers and 299,000 enlisted men, including the Philippine Scouts and unassigned recruits. The combat strength was authorized to be 250,000, the remainder of the force being absorbed in the supply and administrative services, and the Philippine Scouts and unassigned recruits. The infantry force was fixed at a maximum strength of 110,000 men and 4,200 officers, the cavalry at 20,500 men and 950 officers, the field artillery at 36,500 men and 1,900 officers, the coast artillery at 36,000 men and 1,200 officers and the air service at 16,000 men, including cadet fliers, and 1,514 officers.

On Washington's Birthday the Republic of France, through its representatives, rendered homage to American soldiers of the New York district who fell in the war. In a series of public gatherings held at various points in New York, in which distinguished soldiers of the allied armies participated, more than 6,000 "certificates of gratitude" were presented by representatives of the French Government to relatives and

friends of soldiers who died in defense of France's eastern frontiers.

Soldiers who have served overseas since July 11, 1919, will receive an increase of 20 per cent. on their entire back pay. The War Department announced Feb. 14 that the change was authorized under a recent decision of the Controller of the Treasury, and that a private on foreign service would receive \$36 instead of \$33. The increase is not payable for service in the Canal Zone, Panama, Porto Rico or Hawaii. It is estimated that from 250,000 to 300,000 soldiers will submit claims for back payment, and that it will require approximately \$1,800,000 to settle the claims.

### OUR DEAD IN FRANCE

Secretary Baker, on March 12, informed Chairman Wadsworth of the Senate Military Committee that about 50,000 of the American dead in France will be returned to the United States, while between 20,000 and 25,000 will remain permanently interred overseas. The Secretary, who wrote in response to a Senate resolution, estimated the cost of returning the dead and concentrating the bodies remaining in cemeteries overseas at \$30,000,000.

Congestion of the French transportation systems and shortage of materials used in the manufacture of coffins are handicapping the work, Mr. Baker said.

While 111 bodies of American dead have been returned from Archangel, the same number still remain in Northern Russia, and it is improbable that anything can be done toward their removal for a year. Removal of the bodies from England is progressing, while in Italy all bodies have been concentrated, ready for return to this country.

Drastic reduction of permanent officers of the army from their temporary ranks to regular army grades, effective

March 15, was ordered by General March, Chief of Staff, on Feb. 29. Of approximately 3,000 officers holding temporary ranks higher than their permanent appointments, about 2,000 were to be returned to their regular status. Field officers only were affected. The number of officers holding General rank is now within the allowance, and there will be no cut in the grades of those below the rank of Major. The bulk of demotions was expected to come from the bureaus in Washington.

Under the commonly termed 18,000 officers law, which authorized that number of officers as the temporary maximum, all emergency officers must be discharged by July 1, unless additional legislation is enacted. There were approximately 7,800 regular officers holding temporary rank at the signing of the armistice. Reductions have been made from time to time since Nov. 11, 1918, in accordance with the policy announced by Secretary Baker of demoting officers as soon as the emergency duty which justified the higher grade has been completed, with the result that to date more than 4,000 demotions have occurred.

#### BONUSES FOR SOLDIERS

By a vote of 325 to 4, the House on Feb. 26 adopted a rule referring all bills dealing with soldiers' bonuses to the Ways and Means Committee with instructions to report a comprehensive measure for monetary and land bonuses for soldiers of the World War. This action resulted from a threatened revolt by forty Republicans who had recently informed the Republican steering committee that they would call a caucus of House Republicans unless the original plan of the House leaders to postpone the consideration of bonuses to soldiers was abandoned. It was finally agreed by the forty Republicans that the caucus would be delayed if the bills were referred to the Ways and Means Committee, with the understanding that a bonus bill would be reported at this session.

The agitation for a soldiers' bonus, stimulated by the American Legion, has become so strong that members of Congress now believe that political exigency will force the enactment of such legis-

lation before Congress takes a recess for the national conventions. Representative Mondell, the Republican House leader, who was one of the strongest advocates of bonuses, said recently that the state of finances would not permit such an expenditure.

In a hearing March 2 before the committee, Franklin D'Olier, President of the American Legion, suggested that soldiers who did not desire an allotment of land should receive \$50 a month for the term of service. This plan, he said, was the one which had received the approval of the legion's Executive Committee.

"In accordance with resolutions passed at the National Convention of the American Legion," he said, "its National Beneficial Legislation Committee is now ready to submit recommendations for legislation covering four features, as follows:

1. Land settlement covering farms in all States, and not confined to a few States.
2. Home aid to encourage purchase of homes in either country or city.
3. Vocational training for all ex-service persons desiring it.
4. Adjustment of compensation or final adjustment of extra back pay based on length of service for those not desiring to avail themselves of any one of the previous three features.

The ex-service person has his option of any one, and only one, of the above four features, and only upon his application.

If bonuses are granted by the present Congress to American World War soldiers, new taxes will be required, and in the opinion of members of the Ways and Means Committee a selling tax, about the only means of taxation unexhausted, must be applied.

#### OUR NAVAL POLICY

Three provisional naval building programs, dependent on Senate action on the Peace Treaty, were laid before the House Naval Committee, March 6, by Secretary Daniels. If the United States ratified the treaty and became a member of the League of Nations, Mr. Daniels said, he would recommend new construction only to "round out" the fleet now built or building; if the Senate rejected the treaty [which it did later] and the United States definitely decided not to join the League, he said he would urge



duplication of the three-year program of 1916, with some modifications, with a view of making the fleet "incomparably the greatest in the world."

In case the Senate took no final action on the treaty at this session of Congress the Secretary said he would present a sixty-nine-ship program for construction as rapidly as possible in order that the United States might not lose ground in competitive naval building. This program, he said, would cost about \$195,000,000.

It was announced on March 14 that all three of the provisional programs had been disapproved by the House Naval Sub-committee, which decided upon an appropriation of \$72,000,000 for continuing the unfinished 1916 program as the only ship construction fund to be provided for the next fiscal year.

#### REPORT ON NAVAL AWARDS

A report of the Senate Naval Affairs Sub-committee, which investigated the controversy between Admiral Sims and Secretary Daniels over the award of naval honors, was made public in Washington March 7. The majority report, signed by Senators Hale, Poindexter and McCormick, criticised the general policy of awarding honors to commanders who lost their ships, although it found that where such commanders displayed heroic service they should not be made ineligible for honors.

This point had formed one of the bitterest issues between Admiral Sims and Secretary Daniels, and centred upon the fact that Secretary Daniels ignored the recommendations of the board in the case of Commander D. W. Bagley, his brother-in-law. Commander Bagley lost his ship in peculiar circumstances, and was recommended by Admiral Sims and the Knight Board for a Navy Cross. Secretary Daniels awarded him a Distinguished Service medal.

That the controversy might end satisfactorily to officers and men in the navy, the majority recommended that the report of the reconvened Knight Board, now in session, be followed. The board was reconvened late in December, after Admiral Sims attacked the awards, and

began its sessions on Jan. 5. Its report is expected in the next few weeks, and Secretary Daniels has indicated his intention to accept its recommendations as final.

#### ADMIRAL SIMS TESTIFIES

Admiral Sims, testifying on March 9 and succeeding days before the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, outlined the specific points on which he based his criticisms. His criticisms, he said, were directed at the policies pursued in the first six months of the conflict, and not at individuals. In calling attention to what he considered failure of the Navy Department to give the Allies full co-operation at first, he said that he had "nothing to gain and everything to lose." Only a high sense of his duty as a naval officer and solicitude for the future naval policy of the country, he said, impelled him to point out grave mistakes in naval administration.

Basic criticisms of the navy's policies were said by the Admiral to be:

That during the early period of the war the department violated fundamental principles of warfare, leading to a prolongation of hostilities and needless loss of lives and money.

That the policies of the department in the last half of the war were identical with recommendations rejected during the first six months.

That if the department had had its proper plans when the nation entered the war they should have been placed in effect at once.

That mistakes, if any were made, should be carefully reviewed, to avoid a future recurrence and to help mold future national defense policies.

The United States entered the war with the navy unprepared, he said, although war had been a possibility for two years and American forces on the sea were not in the highest state of readiness. Owing to these conditions, the witness added, the navy failed for at least six months to throw its full force against the enemy.

Admiral Sims charged that it was three months after the United States entered the war before he received a statement of the Navy Department's policy; that for seven months the department failed even to answer his

cables with regard to sending battleships and then denied the request, but a month later reversed its position and ordered the Sixth Battle Squadron abroad; that he first urged the dispatch of all available tugs to the war zone on April 23, 1917, but no tugs arrived until a year later, although forty-three were available to the Navy Department the day war was declared, in addition to many owned by private concerns; that although he asked on June 28, 1917, that American submarines be sent to the war zone to help combat U-boats, it was four months before his request was complied with, and then but five submersibles were sent, five more arriving four months later.

On March 18 Admiral Sims, concluding his direct testimony, declared that he had no "well founded" recommendations to make as to remedies. This was because responsibility for conditions could only be determined after full investigation of his charges.

#### PACKERS ENJOINED

The agreed decree under which the "Big Five" packers are forever enjoined from engaging in any line of business other than that of handling meat and meat products was filed Feb. 27 in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Counsel for the packers said in a statement to the court that the decree had been agreed to by the defendants, "not because of guilt, for they have not violated any law, but that the American people may be assured that there is not the remotest possibility of a food monopoly by the packers."

After hearing statements by counsel for the Government and the packers Chief Justice McCoy signed the injunction making effective the agreement.

In a statement commenting on the effect of the divorce decree Attorney General Palmer said:

The decree, which the Department of Justice has brought about by urgent insistence, is designed to restore freedom of competition and increase the opportunities for individual initiative in business, which must in time bear good fruit for the public welfare.

The decree, which involves reorganization of a great industry with assets of

more than \$1,000,000,000, and which affects eighty-seven corporations and forty-nine individuals, results from an agreement between the larger meat packers and the Department of Justice announced on Dec. 18. This agreement was reached after the department, at the direction of President Wilson, had instituted anti-trust proceedings against the packers in Chicago.

#### LIVING COST SOARING

Reports received by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor from retail dealers in fifty cities and published Feb. 28 indicated that the cost of living was still on the increase. These figures showed an increase of 9 per cent. since January, 1919, and an increase of 104 per cent. since January, 1913. The comparisons were based on the average retail prices of the following articles, weighted according to the consumption of the average family: Sirloin steak, round steak, rib roast, chuck roast, plate beef, pork chops, bacon, ham, lard, hens, flour, cornmeal, eggs, butter, milk, bread, potatoes, sugar, cheese, rice, coffee and tea.

During the month from Dec. 15, 1919, to Jan. 15, 1920, twenty-nine of the forty-four articles of food for which prices were secured in 1919 increased as follows: Cabbage, 33 per cent.; potatoes, 26 per cent.; granulated sugar, 23 per cent.; onions, 11 per cent.; lamb and rolled oats, 8 per cent. each; hens, 7 per cent.; plate beef, 6 per cent.; flour, 5 per cent.; sirloin steak, rib roast, chuck roast, bread and cream of wheat, 4 per cent. each; round steak and raisins, 3 per cent. each; canned salmon and rice, 2 per cent. each; ham, evaporated milk, macaroni, baked beans, tea, coffee and bananas, 1 per cent. each. Bacon, nut margarine, cheese and crisco each increased less than five-tenths of 1 per cent.

Potatoes increased 238 per cent. and granulated sugar 207 per cent. for the seven-year period from January, 1913, to January, 1920. This means that the price in January of this year was more than three times what it was in 1913. The price of nine other articles more than doubled during this period: Pork



chops, 101 per cent.; lamb, 202 per cent.; rice, 110 per cent.; cornmeal, 120 per cent.; lard, 121 per cent.; strictly fresh eggs, 123 per cent.; storage eggs, 143 per cent., and flour, 145 per cent.

### NEW FUEL CONTROL

President Wilson on Feb. 28 issued executive orders providing for continuation of the powers of the Fuel Administration, but dividing them between the Director General of Railroads and a commission of four. The commission will be composed of A. W. Howe, Rembrandt Peale, F. M. Whittaker and J. F. Fisher. It will function through the Tidewater Coal Exchange, which had been suspended before the resignation of Dr. Garfield as Fuel Administrator. The order creating the commission is effective until April 30. A second order, investing Mr. Hines with the powers of Fuel Administrator so far as domestic distribution is concerned, said doubt had arisen as to whether he could continue to exercise those powers after the return of the railroads to private control. A new order was therefore issued extending Mr. Hines's authority beyond the date of the return.

Attorney General Palmer announced March 11 that up to date 1,046 actions had been brought against alleged profiteers, hoarders and other violators of the Lever Food Control act. He expressed the opinion that the prosecutions and the activities of the Department of Justice agents in forcing hoarded foodstuffs

upon the market had been instrumental in preventing prices from going above the present level. The Department of Justice announcement added:

Large quantities of foodstuffs have been forced upon the market under proper supervision by means of the procedure prescribed in the Food Control act.

### COAL WAGE AWARD

The commission appointed by President Wilson to adjust the differences between operators and miners in the bituminous coal fields offered a majority and minority report on March 11. The former recommended a general wage increase of 25 per cent. without any change in working hours or conditions. The minority report favored 35 per cent. increase and a seven-hour day. Secretary Green of the United Mine Workers said he was satisfied that an agreement would be reached which would prevent further trouble of a serious nature in the coal fields. The increase recommended in the majority report means, in the event of its acceptance, that operators and miners will be called upon by the President to enter into a contract whereby 11 to 12 per cent. will be added to the 14 per cent. increase which was granted to the miners by the operators when the recent coal strike was called off.

Acceptance of the recommendations of the majority will mean an increase in the cost of coal to the consumer sufficient at least to cover the additional 11 or 12 per cent.

## New Epoch for American Railways

### Law Governing Their Operation

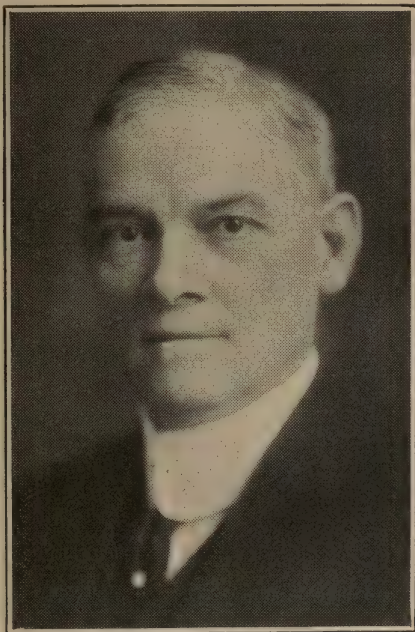
IN accordance with President Wilson's proclamation, the railroads, which during the greater part of the war were under Government control, were returned to individual ownership and management on March 1, 1920. The change was effected easily and without any notable developments. In many cases the same officials took charge who had served the roads before the war. Over 1,400 centralized offices were dis-

banded, but most of the employes found employment under the new régimes.

The Esch-Cummins law, under whose provisions the railroads are to operate, was passed by the House on Feb. 21 by a vote of 250 to 150. The Senate adopted the bill on Feb. 23 by a vote of 47 to 17. The President signed it on Feb. 28, and the measure became a law.

The preparation of the bill had been most difficult, owing to the complexity

and magnitude of the problems involved and the opposition encountered from various interests. The representatives of labor had been especially active, and had secured the elimination of the clause prohibiting strikes under penalty of imprisonment. They were not successful,

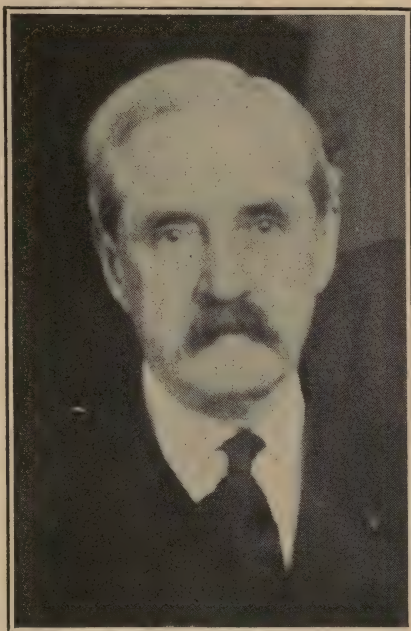


EDGAR E. CLARK  
*Chairman Interstate Commerce Commission*  
(© Harris & Ewing)

however, in securing any provision for a wage increase. Because of this the American Federation of Labor and the four great railway brotherhoods asked the President to veto the bill. They were joined in this request by the Farmers' National Council. The President refused to veto the bill, and also declined to grant their request to appoint a special wage tribunal to pass upon the pending demand for increases in pay. He declared that he believed the board provided for in the bill would not only be fair and just, but would be found to be particularly in the interest of railroad employes as a class.

The tribunal referred to by the President is to be composed of nine members,

with a tenure of office of five years and an annual compensation of \$10,000. It is to be known as the Railroad Labor Board. All the members are to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate—three of its members upon the nomination of employes, three upon the nomination of the employers, and three, without restrictions, to represent the public. All controversies respecting wages or salaries are to be sub-



ALBERT B. CUMMINS  
*United States Senator from Iowa*  
(© Harris & Ewing)

mitted to this board, and also all other disputes not decided by the boards of adjustment which seem likely to result in a substantial interruption of commerce. Decisions by the Railroad Labor Board are to be made by a majority vote, but no decision can be made unless at least one of the members representing the public joins in the decision.

One of the main objections of the railroad unions to the Labor Board created under the new law had been that the representatives of the public would be



prejudiced against labor. The President denied that this would be the case.

The point was made by the President that the Labor Board was required to provide wages commensurate with standards paid for work in other industries, and was also empowered to prescribe sufficient rates to pay for reasonable operating expenses of the railways, including wages. This last statement was taken to mean a hint of coming rate



JOHN J. ESCH  
Congressman from Wisconsin  
(Photo Bain News Service)

increases, particularly as a suggestion of that kind was included in the annual report of Director General Hines.

Other features of the law are:

1. A vast extension of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
2. Competition is encouraged, but the competition is to be between systems rather than individual roads; merging of certain lines into systems is to be allowed.
3. For a period of six months, to Sept. 1, 1920, the railroads are guaranteed operating income equal to their compensation under Government control.
4. For the same period existing wages cannot be reduced, nor can rates be reduced without the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
5. For a period of two years after March 1,

1920, a return of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. plus an additional  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for betterments is designated by Congress as a fair return on the value of railroad property.

6. The net indebtedness of a carrier to the Government may be funded at the option of the carrier.

7. One-half of all earnings of individual carriers in excess of 6 per cent. on the ascertained value of their property shall be paid to the Government.

8. A \$300,000,000 revolving fund is created to assist the carriers in financing their requirements during the transition period immediately following the relinquishment of Federal control.

The financial and other features of the new law were generally regarded as establishing a solid basis for future justice to investors in railway securities as well as to railway employes and the public.

An illuminating explanation of the meaning of the act was made by Senator Joseph T. Robinson, member of the Conference Committee which fused the Esch and Cummins bills into the present law. Some of the points he brought out may be summarized as follows:

The old rates of fares and transportation charges in effect on Feb. 29, 1920, are to continue in force until changed by the State or Federal authorities, but prior to Sept. 1, 1920, they will not be reducible, except on approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission. One of the main duties of this commission will be to fix and make public a rate representing a fair return commensurate with the aggregate value of the property of all the carriers. A basic rate of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. was fixed by Congress, but the commission was empowered to add to this maximum  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to cover improvements or expenses of equipment.

Whatever rate shall be fixed will not bind the Government to guarantee any deficit ensuing from the application of the rate established. The rate assigned will be based wholly on the real value of the property held and used for transportation, and will have no relation to holdings of stocks and bonds.

Of all net earnings in excess of 6 per cent., one-half is to be set aside as a reserve fund for the carriers, usable only when such fund totals 5 per cent. of total value; the other half is to be paid to the

commission, and to constitute a general railroad contingent fund to be used to aid needy carriers and to secure equipment necessary in the interests of the public.

The rights of non-union labor to be heard before the Labor Board are upheld, though unorganized labor has no direct representation on this board. Representation of the public on the board, much criticised by labor, was made imperative, on the ground that eventually it is the public which always has to pay. Consideration of all the special circumstances on which the wage scale was to

be fixed has resulted in effect in a bill of rights for labor, providing for equalization as compared with other industries, the cost of living, the hazards of employment, training and skill required, degree of responsibility and the elimination of inequalities resulting from previous wage orders or adjustments.

No penalties are provided for use in enforcing the decisions of the board, as it is believed that publicity and public opinion will suffice to bring about compliance on the part of both the carriers and the workers.

## Supreme Court Decision in the Steel Case

IN a decision handed down March 1 the Federal Supreme Court held that the United States Steel Corporation is not a trust in the meaning of the Sherman anti-trust law. The opinion was read by Justice McKenna and was concurred in by Chief Justice White and Justices Holmes and Vandevanter. A dissenting opinion was rendered by Justices Clarke, Pitney and Day, and was read by the latter. Two Justices, Brandeis and McReynolds, had abstained from any expression of opinion. The reason for this on the part of Justice McReynolds was that he had been Attorney General at the time the Government dissolution suit was instituted. Justice Brandeis, before his elevation to the Supreme bench, had in 1911 expressed an opinion that the Steel Corporation was in fact a trust.

The majority opinion held, in effect, that the Steel Corporation had committed no overt acts violative of the Sherman law since the Government's suit was filed; that though by its size and its control of equipment the corporation was in a position to dominate the trade, this was not to be considered, since there was no actual evidence that it did so. Finally—and this was the striking feature of the decision—it was held that to order the dissolution of the corporation would involve the risk of great disturbance to the financial and economic structure, and thus would menace the public interest, which was of paramount importance.

The dissenting opinion contended that the decision, by not conforming with the precedent established in the Standard Oil and American Tobacco Company cases, constituted an annulment of the Sherman law. It also held that no alleged public interest could give sanction to a violation of law, and no disturbance of foreign or domestic commerce could justify the abrogation of statutes.

The majority opinion justified its departure from the precedents established in the oil and tobacco cases, on the ground that in the steel case there was no evidence, as in the other two, that the corporation had from its inception been a lawbreaker. Regarding this, it said in part:

In the tobacco case, as in the Standard Oil case, the court had to deal with a persistent and systematic lawbreaker, masquerading under legal forms, and which not only had to be stripped of its disguises but arrested in its illegality. A decree of dissolution was the manifest instrumentality and inevitable. We think it would be a work of sheer supererogation to point out that a decree in that case or in the Standard Oil case furnishes no example for a decree in this.

The decree, it is thought, will have an important bearing on many anti-trust cases now pending, such as the suits instituted against the Sugar Trust, Eastman Kodak Company, Reading Railroad Company, Keystone Watch Company, and others. By some it is pointed to as justifying the agreement reached



without suit by Attorney General Palmer with the packers. Others construe it as a notification to "big business" that, despite size and magnitude of resources, any so-called trust will be immune from prosecution during good behavior.

While somewhat of weight was lost

to the decree by the fact that it was not rendered by a full bench, and also that three out of the seven members participating vigorously dissented, it was generally recognized that it would have a most important influence on the whole anti-trust program of the Attorney General's office.

## CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 20, 1920]

### UNITED STATES CABINET CHANGES

**BAINBRIDGE COLBY**, a lawyer of New York, was nominated by the President on Feb. 25 to succeed Robert Lansing as Secretary of State. This nomination met with considerable opposition in the Senate. A graduate of a New England college, Mr. Colby had come to New York in 1892. His political career was marked from the start by independent tendencies. He left the Republican Party in 1912 to support Mr. Roosevelt. When the candidacy of Charles E. Hughes on the Republican ticket was indorsed by Mr. Roosevelt in 1916, Mr. Colby refused to follow, and came out for Wilson. Since that time he has been a warm supporter of the President and of his policies. As a member of the Shipping Board Mr. Colby vigorously opposed the effort of British interests to obtain control of former vessels of the International Mercantile Marine transferred to American registry. He was closely associated with Sir Joseph Maclay, British Minister of Shipping. Later he was in Paris in connection with the Peace Conference. He has been a convinced advocate of the League of Nations, and in an address delivered on Feb. 18 he paid a warm tribute to President Wilson as its initiator. The Senate named a committee to examine into his qualifications, and Mr. Colby himself appeared before this committee by request. Early confirmation of his appointment was expected when these pages went to press.

A peculiar state of affairs had developed on March 15 with the expiration

of the tenure of Frank L. Polk as Acting Secretary of State. Owing to the delay of the Senate in confirming Bainbridge Colby's appointment, the State Department was left without a head. Mr. Polk continued to serve, but his functions were considerably curtailed. He was unable to attest signatures, to issue proclamations or to authorize passports. The passport situation was said to be the most urgent and the most embarrassing. As against the usual yearly average of 20,000, about 23,000 passports were issued in January and February of this year, and 14,000 up to the middle of March. Applications for passports made by or before midnight of March 14 would not be granted until the office of Secretary of State was filled.

Following his resignation as Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, in a valedictory letter sent to President Wilson on Feb. 28, his last day of office, made sharp criticism of Governmental methods in Washington as he had found them during his seven years of Cabinet service. Governmental work in the various departments, he asserted, was poorly organized; every one seemed afraid of every one else, and evaded responsibility, and the creative sense was blunted. He suggested as a partial remedy the appointment of fewer men, but men of greater capacity.

As Mr. Lane's successor the President appointed John Barton Payne, who has been Chairman of the Shipping Board, his appointment to become effective on March 1. Mr. Payne stated that he had accepted the new post at the wish of

the President, though his heart was in the Shipping Board. He was born at Pruntytown, Va., sixty-four years ago. Admitted to the bar at the age of 21, he occupied in rapid succession the offices of Chairman of the Democratic County Committee, Judge of the Circuit Court, and Mayor of Kingwood, W. Va. After moving to Chicago he soon became known as one of the ablest lawyers of that city. In 1893 he was elected a Judge of the Superior Court of Cook County. In 1892 he entered a large and well-known legal firm. During the war he was general counsel to the United States Shipping Board, and later Secretary McAdoo requested him to act as general counsel to the Railroad Administration, in which capacity he served for some time.

\* \* \*

#### OTHER APPOINTMENTS

THE nomination of Rear Admiral William S. Benson to be a member of the Shipping Board to succeed John Barton Payne, who had become Secretary of the Interior, was confirmed by the Senate on March 13.

The appointment of William Martin Williams of Alabama to succeed Daniel C. Roper as Commissioner of Internal Revenue was announced on March 15. Mr. Williams had occupied the post of Solicitor for the Department of Agriculture, and was recommended for his new office by Secretary of the Treasury Houston. Mr. Roper's resignation was to become effective April 1.

Colonel W. B. Greeley, it was announced at this time, had been appointed as Chief Forester to succeed Henry S. Graves. Colonel Greeley, who is a graduate of the University of California and the Yale Forest School, had received the French Legion of Honor and the British Distinguished Service Order for his work as Chief of the Forestry Section of the American Army when he had been in charge of 21,000 specially trained troops. His work in the Forestry Service of the United States had ranged through all technical grades. His new appointment was a promotion from the post of Assistant Forester.

#### DISABILITY TEST FOR PRESIDENT

TWO resolutions were introduced in Congress on Feb. 18 proposing that the Supreme Court be empowered to determine when a President of the United States is incapacitated for performing the duties of his office. Another bill was presented the following day by Representative Madden of Illinois, which proposed that the Cabinet be authorized to define a President's disability. Mr. Madden expressed his fears of the precedent established by President Wilson in removing Mr. Lansing from office on the ground of his having called the Cabinet together to discuss national matters during the President's illness, and declared that in the future no Cabinet would ever dare to meet in a similar contingency. His bill provided that, on the Cabinet's decision, after investigation of the President's incapacity, the Vice President should immediately assume his functions.

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#### THE NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR

THE appointment of Sir Auckland Geddes, formerly President of McGill University, Montreal, as British Ambassador to the United States, was officially announced in London on March 1. His coming to America to enter on his official duties was scheduled to occur within a month. The personality of the new Ambassador is an interesting one; over 6 feet 2½ inches in height and very broad-shouldered, he is noted as an athlete both in body and mind. Keenly interested in business development, he is said to have been in large part responsible for the recent development of British trade policy; though alive to the reality of business rivalries, he declares there can be no possibility of friction between the United States and Great Britain on trade questions if both nations show good-will.

Though of Scotch descent, he has lived so long in Canada and the United States that he cannot be distinguished from a native. To meet the expenses of his new office Sir Auckland Geddes will receive a net allowance of \$100,000 yearly.



## MAJOR SCHROEDER'S AIR RECORD

MAJOR R. W. SCHROEDER of the United States Army Aviation Corps set a new world record for altitude reached in an airplane, when on Feb. 27, flying at Dayton, Ohio, he climbed to a point 36,020 feet above the earth. At this altitude of more than six miles he lost consciousness, as his supply of oxygen had become exhausted, and fell, as indicated by the instruments on his machine, more than five miles in two minutes. When within 2,000 feet of the earth he recovered consciousness sufficiently to right his machine, and made a safe landing at McCook Field. The attendants there found him sitting in his machine, apparently lifeless. He was blinded, his limbs paralyzed with cold, despite his electrically heated suit; he was also suffering from the effects of lack of oxygen. In this condition he was removed to a local hospital, and on the following day was resting comfortably, with ice packs on his eyes, which were still blinded as the result of his experience. Later he told the following facts:

The temperature at the peak of the climb was 67 degrees below, Fahrenheit. The centre section of my machine was coated an inch thick with ice. The exhaust from the motor sprayed fumes of carbon monoxide over me, and I was breathing this continually along with the oxygen. I had set out with three hours' supply of oxygen, and four hours' fuel supply. I was getting along rapidly. I knew by reading my instruments that I had broken the record; that I was flying higher than any man had ever flown before. I had an hour and one-half supply of fuel left and was quite elated. I was wondering just how far I could climb in that time when I found my reserve tank of oxygen emptied.

I had discarded the original tank some minutes before, because it did not function properly, and when I exhausted my reserve I turned back to it. It would not work. I had torn off my heavy goggles, because the motor exhaust was crystallizing on them and interfered with my vision. I turned toward the instruments—then everything went blank. I fell into a flat nose dive. As far as I can remember, part of the fall was in a straight dive. The rest was a spinning nose dive. I believe I was really 34,000 feet high when I fell against the switchboard. My motor was on at the time. I was trying to turn off the switch as I nosed the plane head down. I must have turned the

switch off, lost consciousness completely, but revived long enough to make a landing.

\* \* \*

## CONVICTION OF SENATOR NEWBERRY

TWO years in the Federal Penitentiary and a fine of \$10,000 were imposed upon United States Senator Truman H. Newberry on March 20 by a verdict in the United States District Court of Grand Rapids, Mich. Mr. Newberry had been indicted for conspiracy to violate the Federal statute, limiting Senatorial campaign expenditures, in his campaign against Henry Ford. The trial, which was by jury, was begun on Feb. 2 and ended with the conviction of the accused Senator on March 20. Sentence on sixteen others, including Senator Newberry's brother, ranged from two years' imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine to a fine of \$1,000. A request for a ninety-day stay of execution was granted all the defendants, and they were freed on their own recognizance until new bonds could be made. The jury's deliberations were summed up subsequently by one of the jurors as follows:

We followed the Judge's instructions and the evidence. Considering both, we had no other choice than to convict. The first question to be determined was whether a conspiracy had actually existed in the Newberry campaign of 1918. We argued and voted until finally the whole twelve of us agreed that the evidence conclusively demonstrated that a conspiracy existed as defined in the indictment.

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## STOCK DIVIDENDS NOT TAXABLE

THE Supreme Court decided on March 18 that the taxing of stock dividends under the income tax section of the 1916 revenue law was unconstitutional on the ground that stock dividends are not income, and cannot be taxed as such if declared by corporations out of their profits accrued since March 1, 1913. In consequence of this decision all taxes collected by the Government for 1917 and 1918 on stock dividends and paid under protest must be refunded by the Government. According to the Actuary of the Treasury, the refund for these years will reach a minimum total of \$35,000,000. This decision was bitterly attacked by Samuel Gompers, President of the

American Federation of Labor, who declared that it would throw \$100,000,000 of additional taxation on other people, and was part of an "invasion of the people's rights by the judicial tribunals of the country."

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#### PENSION FOR AGUINALDO

GENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO, leader of the Filipino insurgents against the Spaniards in 1896, was granted a yearly pension of \$6,000 by the Territorial Legislature of the Philippines on March 8. Cayetano A. Arellano, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, was granted a pension of the same amount, and Frank W. Carpenter, retiring Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, was voted a grant of \$25,000.

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#### BRITISH MIDDLE-CLASS UNION

THE British Middle-Class Union, branches of which are springing up all over the country, has been organized by the salaried population of Great Britain to counteract the increasing demands of the labor unions and their continued strikes, tying up essential public services. The new union points out that while organized labor can count on some 10,500,000 votes, the middle class can rely upon approximately 25,000,000. It utters no threats, but declares its intention to co-operate with the lawful authorities in rendering effective help in emergencies, and to prove that "the people as a whole are greater and more powerful than even the most thoroughly organized minority."

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#### LABOR CONDITIONS IN JAPAN

IN the "Report on Japanese Labor" prepared by Oswald White, British Vice Consul at Osaka, and published as a Parliamentary paper, there is contained much more than dry statistics. Interesting facts on industrial conditions and the physical and mental qualities of the Japanese working class are given. Labor is overplentiful; labor-saving devices, including machinery, too few. Low wages and unfavorable economic conditions react on efficiency. Overwork and

waste of labor are commonplaces. A working day of from ten to twelve hours is frequent. There is a great quantity of female and child labor. House rents are out of all proportion to income received. Many workmen use the doss-houses, and slums are growing. There are no trade unions, but factories modeled on Western lines are slowly increasing, and labor conditions in these stand out in strong contrast to the prevailing rule.

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#### PAYING OUR WAR ACCOUNT IN SPAIN

THE Spanish Minister of Finance on Feb. 28 at Madrid signed a decree permitting the admission into Spain of 33,000,000 pesetas (about \$6,600,000 at the normal rate of exchange) to be paid by the United States in accordance with the terms of the financial agreement signed two years ago. This arrangement was concluded by Ambassador Willard on March 7, 1918, and provided for the purchase of large quantities of supplies in Spain for General Pershing's forces in France; at the same time a French credit was established in Madrid for the purchase of similar supplies. In return for export concessions the United States assured to Spain whatever cotton and oil it required, though barring all shipments of these commodities to Germany before the end of the war. Under this agreement General Pershing obtained for his army 500,000 woolen blankets, 20,000 tons of leather, 100,000 tons of chick peas, great quantities of saddles and bridles, and a large number of mules.

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#### THE NEW FRENCH PREMIER

ALEXANDER MILLERAND, who succeeded M. Clemenceau as Premier of France on Jan. 18, has figured as a prominent lawyer in many important cases in the last twenty-five years. His action some years ago in declaring his faith in socialism startled and scandalized the Palais de Justice, but he became the first Socialist Minister under the Third Republic in the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet, which endured for several years. He was always emphatic in his dismissal of bourgeois fears of socialism. A solid and convincing speaker, he



never aims at rhetorical flights, but compresses his speeches to the utmost point of concision, until they can be summed up upon a card. Such is the man, sincere, efficient, thoughtful and judicious in temperament, who has been called to follow in the footsteps of Clemenceau.

Despite the preliminary outburst in the French Parliament over the selection of certain members of M. Millerand's new Cabinet, it may be said that his Government has strength. The Ministers of Finance, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor are men of first-rate ability in their respective spheres. M. Marsal, who recently went to London on a special financial mission, enjoys the confidence of bankers and economists both in France and England. M. Ricard, who is only 40, has devoted his whole life to the organization of French agriculture. M. Isaac, who proved his capacities at Lyons as President of the Chamber of Commerce, has for many years been recognized as an expert on commercial questions. The new Minister of Labor, M. Jourdain, was owner of a cotton spinning factory at Altkirch, destroyed in the war, and did invaluable service with the French Legation at Berne.

The main outlines of the policy to be followed by the new Cabinet embody a great industrial and fiscal effort, a reduction of military service dependent on the allied effort to lighten French military burden, insistence on fulfillment of the Peace Treaty, the supplementing of its weak points by defensive alliances, and its modification wherever necessary in favor of the Allies.

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#### INJURIES TO MME. DORNBLUTH

THE German Government has filed a claim for substantial damages on behalf of Mme. Dornbluth, the shorthand typist said to have been injured by a missile when the German Peace Delegation was leaving Versailles. French investigators of this episode stated that a small stone thrown by some overzealous French patriot had struck the woman's tortoiseshell comb a glancing blow without inflicting injury. The German Government, however, has issued a medical

report covering some forty pages, which reviews the woman's physiological history from her birth to the present time, and gives the most intimate information of the manner in which she has been affected; the terrible results on her delicate feminine organism, presumably produced by the impact of the missile on her comb, are exhaustively and scientifically set forth, with the assertion that she has been rendered incapable of performing the duties of wife and mother. The report ends with a demand for a pension of 1,000 marks a month from the French Government.

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#### FRENCH BONUSES FOR CHILDREN

AS part of a national movement toward repopulation, a number of Paris manufacturers have founded an association with the object of encouraging French working people to have larger families. This association has drawn up a table of subsidies to be paid out of a central fund to families to which new children are born, and which are not able to meet the expenses entailed. For the first child a bounty of 250 francs is paid; for the second and subsequent children 150 francs each. A bounty of 30 francs monthly, furthermore, is paid to every mother who nurses her children. For families in need, an allowance of 10 francs monthly is assigned for the first child, 20 francs for the second, and 30 francs for the third and subsequent children up to the age of 14. All payments are to be made to the mother of the children. To increase the funds of the association, made up largely of metal manufacturers, those firms whose workmen are mostly bachelors pay an additional amount into the treasury. Similar associations, according to Paris advices of March 5, have been formed in other French cities.

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#### HOW FRANCE AIDS THE MUTILATED

AN important meeting of the National Office for Mutilated and Demobilized Soldiers was held in Paris at the Trocadéro on Feb. 1. It was presided over by President Poincaré, with whom sat M. Paul Deschanel, M. Léon Bourgeois, M. Millerand, and Marshals Foch

and Pétain. Many other officials of the Government were present. In the hall were crowded more than 4,000 mutilated or discharged soldiers, war widows and their families. Among the speakers was M. Henri Chéron, a Senator and President of the Administrative Committee of the organization which had convoked the assembly. In the course of his address he gave an official account of what France was doing for her mutilated soldiers. The main facts presented by him were as follows:

"The greatest care had been given to the process of re-education of incapacitated soldiers under the supervision of their employers. Work was being found for war widows burdened with children and household cares. By the law of March 31, 1919, allowances were paid to war invalids learning a new trade. Scholarships were granted, and important financial assistance was being given to all organizations devoted to mutilated or demobilized soldiers and to war widows. Above all, the service of 'loans of honor' had been established, according to which the classes mentioned might borrow as much as 2,000 francs to aid them to establish themselves in a new business. The rate of interest was only 1 per cent., and the whole amount could be repaid within a maximum period of ten years. Departmental committees could advance loans of 300 francs without seeking instructions. Labor co-operative societies three-fourths of whose workmen were mutilated or demobilized soldiers or war widows could obtain 12,000 francs from the State and 6,000 francs from the National Office. An allotment of 5,000,000 francs had been decided on for the construction and furnishing of houses for the classes in view. Great efforts were being made to cure tuberculosis contracted in the army and to aid the families of those afflicted with this scourge. Close relations were being maintained with all employment agencies, and it was planned to pay such agencies a subsidy pro rata to the number of applicants they placed.

From this official statement it will be seen that France, whatever other countries may be doing, is making every effort to care for the large number of

her soldiers permanently disabled, to provide for the families of her dead, and to secure her demobilized soldiers new opportunities to obtain a livelihood.

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#### BRITISH MEMORIAL FOR THE UNITED STATES NAVY

AT a luncheon given by the English-Speaking Union in London on Feb. 27 a check for £6,000 was handed to Ambassador Davis for the erection in New York Harbor of a monument to commemorate the work of the United States Navy in the European war. The sum represented an overflow from a fund originally raised to set up a memorial at the Straits of Dover in honor of the combined British and French naval forces that kept the Germans from passing. Walter H. Long, M. P., First Lord of the British Admiralty, in presenting the check eulogized the action of the American naval authorities in placing a fleet of destroyers under British control at Queenstown soon after America entered the war; it was, he said, an act of highest loyalty, which enabled the British at once to reinforce the Dover patrol and make it efficient. Speaking of the North Sea mine barrage, he said: "That was laid by the Americans with wonderful skill, and was most important. It drove the Germans down to Dover, where the patrol caught them." Ambassador Davis said in reply that American officers asked nothing better than to be classed as worthy colleagues of the British in the long and arduous vigil which enabled 1,110,000 American soldiers to cross the Channel and return in safety, and that he rejoiced to know that there would be a permanent memorial of the co-operation of British and American sailors in achieving the common aim.

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#### SOLDIER-ACTORS IN HARDY'S "DYNASTS"

THE performance of Thomas Hardy's monumental epic-drama of the Napoleonic era, "The Dynasts," at Oxford University in the week of Feb. 9 was an event unique in several respects. Mr. Hardy is the first living dramatist whose work has ever been produced by the Oxford University Dramatic Society. His play, though dealing with a war of



a past period, symbolized the same qualities that won the great war of the twentieth century. Among the actors were men who had fought and endured on the bloody battlefields of France and who had won a place in history beside the soldiers of Wellington and the sailors of Nelson. The author, now 80 years old, was present in person. The theatre was packed to suffocation, many great notables of Oxford and London being present; and the gigantic war panorama unrolled by Hardy's colossal conception, which had always been pronounced unactable, was witnessed with a tenseness of mood and a concentrated interest such as few current dramatic performances could produce.

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#### RAILWAYS 100 YEARS OLD

THE old adage that great things start from small beginnings was brought out anew by the arrangement in February at Yarm, England, of a centenary celebration of the first railway in the world. This pioneer railway was built in 1821 in the North Country district, between Stockton-on-Tees and the South Durham coal fields, to the west of Darlington. The history of this epoch-making event is briefly as follows:

Since 1767 efforts had been made to promote a canal practically over this same route, at an estimated expense of a quarter of a million pounds. It proved, however, that the public was averse to investing in this enterprise, from which it saw no adequate return. The first public suggestion of a railway was made on Sept. 18, 1810, at a dinner held at the Town Hall, Stockton-on-Tees, under the auspices of the Tees Navigation Company, to celebrate the shortening of the water route to the sea by about two and a quarter mile. A resolution was moved by Leonard Raisebeck, the Recorder of Stockton, that a committee should be appointed "to inquire into the practicability and advantage of a railway or canal from Stockton, by Darlington and Winston, for the more easy and expeditious carriage of coals, lead, &c." From this resolution was born a definite project to construct such a railroad.

But the execution of the project was

long in materializing. It was not until 1818 that Mr. Overton, an eminent South Wales engineer, was asked to make a definite survey of the proposed route. The estimated cost was fixed at £124,000. After meetings of the committee of promoters were held in Darlington, Stockton and Yarm a bill was presented in Parliament in 1819 to authorize the undertaking; but owing to the opposition of local landlords, led by the Earl of Darlington, the bill was rejected by a majority vote. At the George and Dragon Hotel in the quaint old town of Yarm, on the southern bank of the Tees, the committee of promoters held new meetings, affirmed their determination to carry out their plan, drafted a new bill, and collected subscriptions for £120,900.

Owing to the death of King George III. this new bill was not presented until the opening session of Parliament in the following year, when it finally passed both houses and received the royal sanction in April, 1821, and became the first Stockton and Darlington Railway act.

There was no provision in the original act authorizing the use of steam power, as it was merely intended to use horse traction for the purpose of drawing the trucks of coal and other goods, with coaches containing passengers, along the line of route. Late in 1821, however, George Stephenson came from Killingworth, in Northumberland, and advocated the use of steam engines. The promoters were so much impressed that shortly afterward they put a new bill through Parliament authorizing the use of the steam engine and secured the services of Mr. Stephenson for laying down the line of rails. He also supplied them with their first engine, "Locomotive No. 1," which may now be seen on a pedestal in the Darlington railway station. Two more engines were afterward ordered at a cost of £500 each. So the vast system of railways that covers the whole civilized world was born, and in celebration of the event the City of Yarm is preparing to hold a great centenary banquet in 1921, to which the Prime Minister and many notables have been invited.

# AMONG THE NATIONS

## Survey of Important Events and Developments in Various Countries in Both Hemispheres

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1920]

### The British Empire

#### ENGLAND

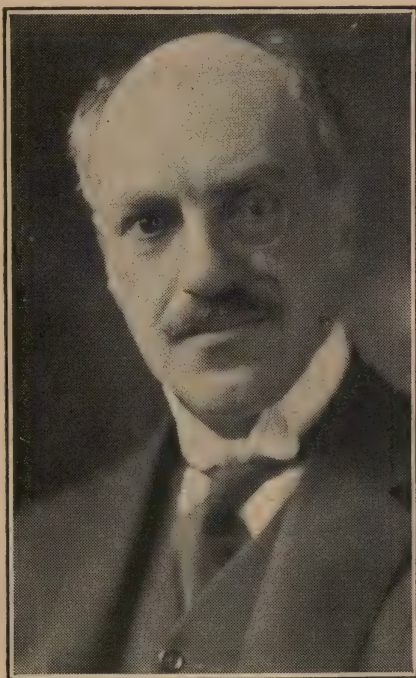
THE policy of attempting to open trade with Soviet Russia was announced in the middle of January by the British Government; a month later it announced another which met with even more antagonism—the policy of maintaining the political and religious head of Turkey at Constantinople.

Never had there been more bitter denunciation against a Government by the British press—religious, political, economic and sentimental—than those launched against the Lloyd George Government for its utter disregard of all British and Christian traditions. To the plea of expediency advanced by the Government, that with millions of Moslems under British rule, it should do nothing that would tend to alienate them from the empire, it was answered that the attitude of the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in attempting to represent Indian Moslem opinion in this respect, was open to suspicion, as the Indian Moslem cared very little about the Turkish Sultan and Caliph, but that the Government had been forced through pressure from France and fear lest a revived Russia might some day unite with the Turks and claim Constantinople.

An event of far-reaching political significance was the return of former Premier Herbert H. Asquith to the House of Commons as a result of the Paisley by-election, which was announced as follows on Feb. 25: Mr. Asquith, who was the Liberal nominee, polled 14,736 votes, against 11,902 for J. M. Biggar, the Labor candidate, and 3,795 for J. A. D. MacKean, Coalition-Unionist.

Paisley was the eighth seat lost by the Coalition during the fourteen months

which have passed since the general election, the others being:



EDWIN S. MONTAGU  
*Secretary of State for India*  
(© Harris & Ewing)

#### WON BY INDEPENDENT LIBERALS 1919

- March 14—West Leyton (A. E. Newbould).
- April 11—Central Hull (Commander J. M. Kenworthy).
- April 30—Central Aberdeen (Major Mackenzie Wood).

#### WON BY THE LABOR PARTY 1919

- July 29—Bothwell (J. Robertson).
- Sept. 12—Widnes (A. Henderson).
- 1920
- Jan. 3—Spenn Valley (T. Myers).



WON BY AN INDEPENDENT  
1920

Feb. 20—The Wrekin (C. Palmer).

The return of Mr. Asquith to active political life, although on one hand it defeated a Coalition Unionist, and on the other prevented the probable seating of a Laborite candidate, is regarded, even by certain Coalition officials, as a healthful sign of British politics, as it means a more rational and dignified leadership for the Opposition.

On Feb. 24 the Secretary of War, Winston Churchill, announced the new army policy along the following lines:

On the 31st of March there will be no conscription.

We alone of the European Nations, though having by far the greatest extent of territory to control, will have returned to the voluntary system.

Our normal army will be weaker than the Belgian Army.

The only great nation whom we have succeeded in persuading to abolish conscription is Germany.

It is idle to pretend that before the war the army was proportionate to the risks we ran or to the part in European policy that we played.

New and serious responsibilities—temporary and permanent—have been placed on us in consequence of the war, and the whole of the Eastern world, in which we are more than any other power interested, is in a state of extreme disquiet.

No further relief from the burdens which we have to bear can be looked for until real peace is made with Turkey.

We lost ground steadily during the whole of last year, and I trust that, having dispersed our armies, we will not now take steps which would drive the Turkish people to despair, or undertake any new obligations which our resources are not equal to discharge.

It is impossible to estimate the number of men and the money required to discharge our responsibilities in the Middle East, but the Government has decided to take an optimistic view, and has made provision in the estimates which involve during the coming financial year a reduction in the garrisons in the Middle East of about half.

I favor a steady increase of the air force at the expense of the army and navy, and believe that will be the tendency year by year.

The foregoing policy was severely criticised by the military experts of nearly all the London papers as being a too drastic reduction of the empire's military establishment at a time when conditions in Germany and Turkey were still

unsettled and when the French Government was adopting an altogether different policy.

Although the National Conference of Coal Miners voted on March 10 for a general strike and "direct action" in order to enforce their demand for the nationalization of the mines—and this by a majority of 178,000 votes—on the following day the Trade Union Congress voted against such action by a majority of 2,820,000, but advocated legal political action by a majority of 2,717,000. The London and provincial press severely condemned the action of the various unions barring from employment war cripples, especially after the Government and private vocational organizations had spent millions in making them useful.

## IRELAND

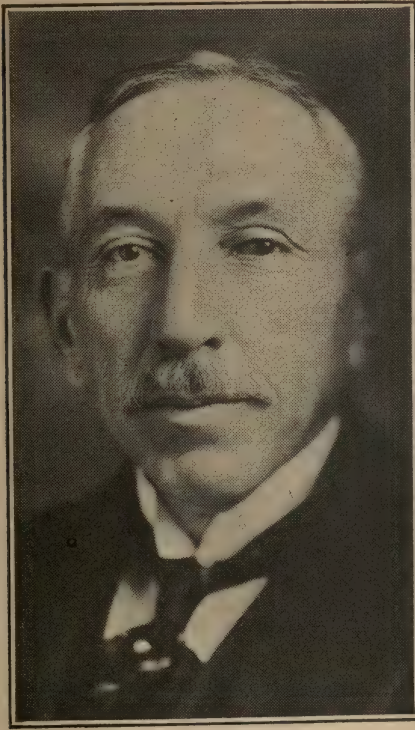
On Feb. 25 the new Home Rule bill, already outlined by the Prime Minister, (See *CURRENT HISTORY* for February), was formally introduced in the House of Commons. While armed and more or less bloody conflict continued in Ireland between the Dublin Castle authorities and the Sinn Fein, the chief political events which followed the introduction of the bill were as follows: The Government promised Ireland even more freedom of action in case the measure were accepted; the Ulster factions, although still opposed to any steps which might lead to separation from the empire, promised support to the bill; while great surprise in both Governmental and Opposition circles was expressed when Mr. Asquith on March 11 raised the following objection to the bill which was about to pass to its second reading in the House:

That this House declines to proceed with a measure which is unacceptable to any section of the Irish Nation, which denies national unity by setting up the Legislatures and executives with co-ordinate powers, and which would indefinitely postpone the establishment of a united parliament for Ireland.

This statement was supposed to voice the Liberal objection to the bill, and was regarded as a mere political move to weaken the Coalition. It was hailed with delight by the South of Ireland press.

## AUSTRALIA

Australia is rejoicing in a peace exhibition at Adelaide, which will remain open till May 22, but there has been internal war over a strike of marine engineers lasting for ten weeks, which seriously affected interstate trade. Two hundred and fifty thousand tons of shipping were idle and 25,000 workers were idle on the land. On the other hand, the



WILLIAM M. HUGHES  
Australian Premier  
(© Harris & Ewing)

shipping ring was refusing accommodation to firms who patronized the Commonwealth Government steamers, and was clamoring for the sale of the latter to private owners. This Premier Hughes refused on the ground that the shipping ring would advance freights if the Commonwealth fleet were sold. The strike was finally settled on Feb. 23.

The cost of living was rapidly rising in the chief Australian cities. The farm-

ers at an interstate conference at Melbourne in February unanimously supported a proposal to form a compulsory wheat pool controlled by representatives of the producers, but Premier Hughes refused to sanction it. The State of Victoria on its own account then bought 9,000,000 bushels of Victorian wheat at 7s. 8d. to meet the State's requirements. In Western Australia the Government is running State butter factories.

England is now selling at a great profit her surplus stock of wool bought during the war from Australia. The understanding at the time of the purchase was that profits from resale, if any, should be divided equally between the home Government and Australia. The Australians are now urging immediate division, and the wool growers are demanding that they be paid at a rate corresponding to the huge profits received in England. There was also a housing crisis in the cities, the building trade employees deciding to restrict work to forty hours a week. State-controlled hotels in Western Australia, showed a large excess of receipts.

To overawe and cripple the strikers in all branches the Federal Government forbade the banks "or any one else" to give money or goods to the strikers or to do anything to prolong the strikes. This drastic regulation proved abortive. It was taken up politically by the Nationalists, who were preparing concerted action to resist its enforcement on the ground that it is a blow at the liberty of the citizen. Premier Holman of New Zealand, which was also torn by strikes, condemned the regulation as autocratic, saying Australia would be no fit place for British citizens to live in if such a misuse of power should pass without condemnation.

The new Commonwealth Parliament met on Feb. 26. The Nationalists, under Mr. Hughes, have 39 seats in the lower house, the Labor Party 26, and the "Country Party" (anti-labor) 10. The Laborites are furious at the collapse of the strike, which they attribute to Premier Hughes's use of war powers to prohibit the banks from giving money to the men. Industrial and immigration ques-



tions are the principal topics before the Parliament.

New Zealand, in spite of its labor troubles, is inviting immigrants, offering bonuses in money, besides the price of their passage, to farm laborers and their wives, domestic servants and other workers, and guarantees employment to former soldiers who are now assisted by Great Britain.

## CANADA

Canadians, with their Parliament in session, are discussing a number of matters economic and political that are of international interest. These include Admiral Viscount Jellicoe's report on a proposed naval policy for the country, made at the request of the Government; the report of Dr. J. G. Rutherford on race tracks and race track betting in the country; the introduction of a new Federal franchise bill giving the suffrage to all qualified persons irrespective of sex at the age of 21 years and over, and the request of prohibition organizations for legislation that will make it possible for any province to be "bone dry."

Admiral Jellicoe's report presents four building programs from which Canada might make a choice for the beginning of a navy. These are based on annual outlays of \$5,000,000, \$10,000,000, \$17,500,000, and \$25,000,000 respectively. They are so arranged that the country could start with the smaller and build up to the larger plan if desired. The fullest possible amount of local control is outlined with training and ships so correlated to those of the British Navy or the whole naval force of the empire that the Canadian force could at once join with it in time of war and not be a misfit. At first there would necessarily be a preponderance of British officers in the higher commands. Steps toward the training of Canadians to fit them for these positions are outlined, and it is also suggested that the Canadian ships should join the British fleet every year for the annual manoeuvres.

The \$10,000,000 program seems to be favored by Jellicoe as the one that Canada should begin with. It would enable her to protect her own coasts or to do a good deal toward that. This plan calls

for three light cruisers, one flotilla leader, eight submarines, one submarine parent ship, eight "P" boats for patrol, and four trawler mine sweepers. The Government has not committed itself to any plan at the time of writing. Admiral Jellicoe intimates that the initial outlay on ships would be lightened by the gift of several vessels which the British Admiralty could spare, since it has greatly reduced its fleet strength compared with that of the war period.

A projected Canadian navy has been the subject of bitter controversies at various intervals in the past twenty years, and any plan now presented will be warmly debated in Parliament and throughout the Dominion. The Toronto Star holds that any policy committing the country to heavy expenditures and a given course of action for years to come should be submitted to the people in a general election.

With the ratification of peace early in the year the Canadian order in council which prohibited betting on race tracks, and which had been in force since 1918, automatically ceased. As a result of the order, horse racing had been suspended. Racing interests are now vigorously at work and are looking forward to a successful season. They have awaited the report on the inquiry by Dr. Rutherford with some eagerness, anticipating that the Government would use it as a basis for legislation. He makes no recommendations, but emphasizes certain facts brought out as the result of his investigation from coast to coast. Under present conditions it is possible, he says, to hold 238 days of racing in Canada. Long-continued meets with betting as a public adjunct "are likely in the communities in which they are held to exert a bad influence on young and inexperienced men and others lacking in self-control and moral stamina." He dwells upon multiplication of tracks in and around the larger cities and trafficking in race track charters made possible through lack of provision for adequate provincial or Federal control.

The introduction by the Government of a new franchise bill is in keeping with a promise in the speech from the

throne. It is best described in the words of its sponsor, the Hon. Hugh Guthrie, Solicitor General: "The franchise, according to the terms of the bill, has been established upon very broad principles. The only requirements will be those of British citizenship, residence in Canada for one year and in the particular constituency for two months, and the attainment of the age of 21 years; and these requirements will apply in the case of male and female voters alike." British citizenship is to be construed as by birth or naturalization.

## EGYPT AND SOMALILAND

In Egypt little progress has been made by the Milner Mission in its attempt to reach a peaceful understanding with the Nationalist leaders, who demand the abolition of the protectorate and absolute separation from the British Empire. Rushdi Pasha, formerly Prime Minister, plainly told the mission that no solution was possible without the participation of the Egyptian Nationalist delegation, headed by Zaglul Pasha. The latter remained in Paris ready to present a plea to the League of Nations while the mission began its inquiries in Alexandria and Cairo, being generally boycotted.

The unprecedented event of a woman, said to be an American, addressing the Moslems in the sacred precincts of the Mosque of El Azhar helped to swell the sentiment for independence, while a Cairo lawyer, Abu Shadi, caused trouble in the Delta by his inflammatory speeches at Tantah. A British Corporal was killed and two soldiers wounded in the ensuing riots. Attempts at assassination continue. Soon after the conviction of the Coptic student who threw a bomb at Wahba Pasha, formerly Prime Minister, on Jan. 28, another youth, who escaped, hurled a similar missile at Sirri Pasha, Minister of Public Works, and on Feb. 22 a bomb was thrown at Shafik Pasha, Minister of Agriculture. In the latter case two arrests were made. General Allenby returned to Cairo on Feb. 16 from a tour of the Sudan Provinces, and was met with Nationalist demonstrations at the principal railway stations from Assouan to Cairo.

The Milner Mission, it should be remembered, is merely a Committee of Inquiry. Real negotiations with the Egyptians are likely to be concluded in London. One reform practically determined upon is the abolition of the capitulations of consular courts by which foreign Consuls try cases that may arise between their nationals and natives. These, depending upon treaties, can only be abolished with the consent of the Governments concerned, which, however, it is believed will be easily obtained. This is the precedent followed when France proclaimed a protectorate over Tunis.

Of greater importance to the prosperity of Egypt is the vast Anglo-Egyptian irrigation project to regulate the waters of the Nile. Very complimentary to the United States was the selection of an American to be the third member of the Committee of Inquiry which is to draw up plans for the scheme, in order to avail itself of the wide knowledge in this country on questions of irrigation and water supply. It is also proposed to extend the Egyptian Railway from Suakim to Tokar, fifty miles further south. In this connection the death of Colonel M. E. Sowerby, Under Secretary of Communications, who died in Cairo on Jan. 28, is a great loss to the country. It was he who completed and administered the railway to Palestine during General Allenby's advance. Another upbuilder of Africa, Kaid Sir Harry Maclean, died on Feb. 4 in Tangier. He was instructor to the Moorish Army under the late Sultan and was instrumental in clearing Morocco of bandits, being captured by Raisuli on one of his expeditions and held for seven months, the British Government paying \$100,000 to obtain his release.

There appears to be the same profiteering by landlords in Cairo as there is in London, New York and other large cities. To meet the situation a law has been passed in Egypt forbidding house rents to exceed by 50 per cent. the amount paid on Aug. 1, 1914.

A very important event for the safety of Somaliland and of all East Africa was the defeat in February of Mohammed Abdullah, the "Mad Mullah" who for



nearly twenty years has been ravaging the interior, preventing settlement and arousing the native rites against foreigners. Millions have been expended in the attempt to curb his activities. An expedition was sent against him in 1901, another in 1902 and a third in 1903, in which the Abyssinian Army co-operated; 200 Sikhs were outnumbered and beaten. In 1904 the Mad Mullah was severely defeated and made peace in 1905. Three years later he began his attacks again and has continued his ravages sporadically ever since. Now his forces have been scattered and he, himself, is a refugee in Italian Somaliland after a campaign of three weeks.

Concentrating at Berbera, on the coast, a force of 180 men of the British Air Force started out in a fleet of bombing airplanes on Jan. 20, attacked the Mad Mullah's headquarters at Medishi, 200 miles east of Berbera, the next day, and, flying low, inflicted heavy casualties on the fleeing dervishes. The Mad Mullah himself had a narrow escape, his uncle being killed by his side and his own clothes being singed. For three days attacks continued until the dervish force was scattered among the hills. Then a land force joined in the pursuit, occupying Jidballi Fort on Jan. 28. The Mad Mullah was reported making for Tale, which was bombed on Feb. 1 and occupied by the land force on Feb. 11. The Mad Mullah, with only seventy horsemen, fled toward the frontier of Italian Somaliland. The Italians from their base at Obbia on the Indian Ocean, sent a force toward Gagab, in Abyssinia, to head him off.

## SOUTH AFRICA

Grave political and economic troubles have recently arisen in the Union of South Africa, where there have been serious mine strikes and an agitation to separate the Union from the British Empire. The irreconcilable Boer element chose a delegation headed by General Hertzog and planned a journey to Paris to demand independence from the Peace Conference, but the seamen and firemen of the steamer on which they were to sail refused to put to sea with

the Nationalists aboard. Then Admiral Fitzherbert offered to give passage to General Hertzog's delegation aboard the British warship *Minerva*. The Nationalists, covered with ridicule, declined, but continued their agitation for the re-establishment of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. They put up candidates in 97 of the 134 constituencies of the South African Parliament, but failed to carry a majority of the seats in the elections, which took place on March 10.

Jan Christian Smuts, the Premier, won an overwhelming victory in Pretoria West, receiving 1,720 votes against 473 Nationalist and 303 Labor votes. The Labor Party, however, gained many seats in the House of Assembly, and it was evident that there would be some difficulty in forming the new Ministry.

General Smuts made a tour of the country in which he blamed the Nationalists for causing the mine strikes among the natives, involving 30,000 blacks in the Witwatersrand gold fields alone. The color line is drawn tightly by the trade unions and white workers. The latter are generally foremen and overseers, the proportion in the mines being one white to every hundred blacks. The blacks are picketing the mines and doing things which General Smuts thought them incapable of doing. Several hundred of them attacked white miners on Feb. 25 near Johannesburg and a pitched battle ensued, four natives being killed, thirty-five injured and six wounded. A dispatch from Johannesburg dated March 3 announced that the strike had been settled.

## INDIA

Desultory fighting continued on the northwest frontier of India, and official opinion gradually swerved from blaming Soviet agents, as cause of the revolt of the Afghan tribes, to the more rational belief in the duplicity of agents of the Turkish Nationalists.

The opposition to Delhi as the capital of British India was brought to a head by a resolution moved in the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi proposing that the Government of India should be situated in one place throughout the year. The resolution was rejected.

## States of the Balkan Peninsula

### ALBANIA

The political status of Albania continued to be anomalous. Its independence of Turkey was proclaimed at Vaulona, Nov. 28, 1912. This was confirmed by the London Ambassadorial Conference a month later with the proviso that a European Prince should reign there. He came in the person of the German Kaiser's kinsman, Prince William of Wied, and departed with the war. The country has now a native Provisional Government which the United States has not recognized, and an Italian mandate which it has recognized. The Anglo-Franco-American Adriatic memorandum of Dec. 9, 1919, cut off Epirus, or the southern part, and gave it to Greece; the Anglo-Franco-Italian proposals of a month later would have given the northern part as far south as the Drin to Serbia, had President Wilson permitted.

Meanwhile, Constantine A. Chekrezi, a graduate of Harvard, was appointed on Feb. 19 the Albanian representative at Washington. The State Department was so informed by Louis Bumchi, Bishop of Alessio, head of the Albanian delegation at Paris, but the Harvard man cannot, it is said, be received by the State Department until his exequatur shall have the visé of Italy.

### GREECE

The decision of the Supreme Council in regard to Turkey had some immediate results in the Balkans. M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, offered the Council 100,000 troops to maintain order on the Cilician-Syrian frontier on account of the opposition with which the French troops were meeting at the outposts north of Aleppo from the Turkish Nationals, Syrian volunteers and Arab bands. There was general satisfaction that the Council had decided to place Eastern Thrace under Greek authority. The Bulgarian Government, however, issued a remonstrance, which, though dated Sofia, Feb. 20, had been drafted in ignorance of the ultimate disposition made of Eastern Thrace by

the Supreme Council five days before. It read:

Political circles and public opinion in Bulgaria are closely following the course of the deliberations in London. The reports received here regarding the decisions arrived at, or to be arrived at, have aroused considerable excitement by reason of the close connection between the fate of the Ottoman Empire and that of the former Bulgarian littoral in the Aegean Sea.

This excitement is increased by the news that M. Venizelos was admitted to plead before the Supreme Council for the allocation of Thrace to Greece, and the possibility of such an allocation has everywhere called forth loud protests.

In view of this eventuality, the Prime Minister, M. Stambolisky, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Madjaroff, called upon representatives of the Entente the day before yesterday (Feb 18) and declared to them that the Bulgarian people, who had resigned themselves to giving up Western Thrace on the assurance that it would enjoy international administration, would never tolerate the presence of Greece at the outlet of its natural ways between the Black Sea and the Aegean, and that if, contrary to all expectation, the conference in London were to commit this act of injustice, the Government would no longer be responsible for the consequences of the decision.

In connection with this M. Stambolisky declares that he would never have signed the Peace Treaty had he known that Thrace, which the Allies were detaching from Bulgaria, would be handed over to the Greeks.

M. Venizelos made several notable speeches in the Athens Chamber in the middle of February in exposition of the policy of the Liberal Party. He dealt with the Agrarian and Labor bills, then under discussion, and with the Royalist plot for the restoration of King Constantine. In anticipation of the successful passage of the Agrarian bill, the Government had already partly carried out the expropriations on a large scale of big landed estates and their resale to small farmers. The Labor bill provided for the regulation of strikes and the exclusion from labor unions of all persons not genuine native workingmen. Under the bill strikes are unlawful unless preceded by due notice and recourse to Gov-



ernment arbitration and unless voted by a real majority of each labor union. The attempt to limit the character of membership in the unions was due to the fact that lawyers, politicians and foreign agitators had used the unions for political and anarchical ends.

M. Venizelos declared that he had been waited upon by labor delegates from Athens and Piraeus demanding the withdrawal of the bill. In declining to withdraw it, he had said that the Government was determined to protect not only society but labor itself from Bolshevism, and he reminded the delegates that the labor element of Greece formed a very small minority, and the Government, while giving every protection to labor's legitimate rights, would not allow any minority to force its pleasure upon the majority. And he said these things at the risk of having the Labor Party withdraw its support from the Liberal Government.

As to the Royalist plot, he admitted that a number of reactionaries who had been deported were now conspiring for the return of King Constantine. M. Gounaris himself, he added, now a fugitive in Italy, was aiming at the restoration of Constantine. There was really no fear of these reactionaries, but he thought that until they ceased to conspire they had better stay out of Greece and their correspondence home be carefully censored.

## RUMANIA

While the new Prime Minister, M. Vaïda-Voéved, was being officially and unofficially entertained in London, by-elections for the Rumanian Senate took place at home, which were said by the neutral press of Bucharest to cast distrust upon his Ministry, formed Dec. 5, and the Parliament elected the month before, it being charged that the newly acquired territories had more than their share of portfolios and not a proportional number of seats.

The by-elections for the Senate took place on Feb. 7 and 8, and resulted in the election of all the candidates representing the People's League, at the head of which is General Averesco. The General himself was elected not only in the

Old Kingdom, but also in Bessarabia and in Transylvania. At the November elections, it will be recalled, the league, in agreement with the Democratic Party, led by M. Také Jonescu and the Socialist Party, abstained from voting, as they regarded the Government of the General as unconstitutional.

M. Také Jonescu's party, considering that the Parliament elected at that time could not represent the country, owing to the absention of 56 per cent. of the electorate, persisted in its policy and refused to have anything to do with the by-elections in the Old Kingdom. M. Jonescu, however, accepted the offer of the leaders of parties in Transylvania to put him up for a department of that liberated province as a testimony to his patriotic attitude during the war.

On March 15 information received in Rumanian quarters in New York was to the effect that the Cabinet which had been formed by Alexander Vaïda-Voéved on Dec. 9, and which, during his absence in London, was conducted by Acting Premier Kop, had resigned and that King Ferdinand had asked the Minister of the Interior, General Fofoză Averescu, to form a new Government.

Rumania was raising an internal loan of 2,000,000,000 lei (about \$400,000,000), of which Bucharest banks had subscribed 600,000,000 lei and provincial banks very nearly the balance. A statement was published in Bucharest to the effect that American interests had offered a loan of \$4,000,000 in exchange for the Rumanian petroleum monopoly over a period of sixty years. This was denied by the Ministry of the Treasury in an interview, as follows:

A loan from foreign sources, however, will be necessary. We have received many proposals. All are carefully examined. Nearly all of them are accompanied by offers to sell goods or have stipulations for some monopoly. What we require is a renewal of our industrial plant to reconstruct our railways and to meet the wants of our army, which has been mobilized since 1916. First it was the Hungarians and now it is the Bolsheviks who force us to keep an army of twenty divisions on the frontiers.

What will our situation be if Poland, followed by the Entente powers under the impulse from England and Italy, en-

ters into diplomatic pourparlers with the Moscow Government, as present indications seem to suggest they will do? Rumania more than any other country has need that the Entente powers should make up their minds as to what common attitude they intend to take up in regard to the Bolsheviks.

## SERBIA

For several weeks there had been the alternative before the Prince Regent, who most of the time, however, was sojourning in Paris or on the Riviera, of a concentration Cabinet with a definite mandate for the dissolution of Parliament, or the formation of a Government from the ranks of the Opposition. By the middle of February the former plan had been rejected; then it became doubtful whether there was the necessary majority for the latter. Nevertheless, after M. Vesnitch had tried in vain to form a Coalition Cabinet, M. Protitch managed to form one from the Opposition on Feb. 19. As ultimately revised it was composed of ten Serbs, four Croats, three Slovenes and one Bosnian, as follows:

Minister President and Minister for the Constituent Assembly, M. Protitch.

Vice President and Minister of Communications, M. Koroschez.

Commerce, M. Ribaratz.

Finance, M. Jankowitch.

Woods and Mines, M. Kovatchevish.

Agrarian Reform, M. Krnitsch.

Food, M. Stanischitch.

Interior, M. Trifkovitch.

Foreign Affairs, M. Trumbich or M. Spalajkovitch.

Social Policies, Dr. Schurmin.

Posts, M. Drinkovitch.

Education, M. Trifunovitch.

Religion, M. Jankovitch.

Public Works, M. Jovanovitch.

Justice, M. Nintchich.

Agriculture, M. Roskar.

Health, M. Miletich.

Owing to the absence of M. Trumbich with the Yugoslav delegation in Paris, M. Spalajkovitch took ad interim the foreign portfolio, and, in a statement on behalf of the new Administration, desired two points to be emphasized abroad: First, that the Government intended to work in a proper constitutional manner with Parliament and had every hope of being able to do so, and, second, that a conciliatory reply would be ready on the Adriatic question whenever the Supreme Council chose to ask for it.

According to the Politika of Belgrade the names of both M. Hanzek and Dr. Hrastnitsa, who had at first been included in the Cabinet, were nominees of the Croatian National Club, which had also demanded the military command at Zagreb (Agram) for officers who were reputedly Austrophile. M. Protitch discovered that while M. Hanzek had identified himself with Republican propaganda, Dr. Hrastnitsa was undesirable as a Cabinet Minister for a more serious reason, which as related in the Politika is as follows:

Two months ago a formal request was lodged with our Minister for Foreign Affairs that proceedings should be taken against Dr. Ali Beg Hrastnitsa, lawyer of Serajevo, accused of crimes committed at Kragujevatch as Austrian Reserve officer and of participating as a member of the court-martial in the trial of peasants who, although innocent, were condemned to death and executed.

The International Committee of Investigation has ascertained that during the proceedings he expressed his hatred of Serbia with more heat and brutality than any of the other Judges.

The new Government was said to have found the archives of the Ministries in a deplorable condition, as many officials of the former Government, on being appointed, had received immediate leaves of absence. The late Finance Minister was found to have sold out every particle of foreign currency in order to embarrass his successor. Such currency had been employed to stabilize exchange. Consequently the American dollar, which sold on Feb. 16 for 21.20 dinars, brought 24.50 a fortnight later. The late Government had also regulated the ratio between the dinar and the crown as about one to three. Before the war each was worth about 20 cents, and now, while the dinar is used in Serbia the crown continues to be passed in former Austrian parts of Yugoslavia.

After the decree in regard to the ratio the merchants in the non-Serbian part of Yugoslavia attempted to restore the equilibrium by advancing their prices three times, but the dinar still kept that much ahead. One of the first petitions which M. Protitch received on taking office was one from the Croats which demanded that the crown should be retired,



but on a basis of equality with the dinar.

These crowns are, of course, the legacy left Jugoslavia by the late Dual Monarchy—part of the 50,000,000,000 banknotes which kept the presses of Vienna and Budapest working at full pressure during the war, and to which Bela Kun added some 15,000,000,000. Soon after the armistice the dinar was restored in Serbia by the simple process of declining to take crowns, but elsewhere in Jugoslavia there was no other currency save the crown, and when the people there were forced to buy dinars the price of

the dinar in crowns went up. Even at the ratio of one to three nobody is said to care to part with dinars for crowns.

It was announced from Washington on Feb. 2 that Dr. Slavko J. Grouitch, Minister of the Yugoslav Government, had been recalled, and would be succeeded by Jovan M. Jovanovitch, who has been Minister to Great Britain for the past three years. Dr. Grouitch had been named Grand Marshal of the King's Palace, and it was stated semi-officially that he would receive the charge of Minister to Greece.

## Other States of Continental Europe

### AUSTRIA

Dr. Renner, the Austrian Chancellor, accompanied by a number of secretaries, visited Prague, the Czechoslovak capital, in February, thus taking what was regarded as the first step toward the establishment of normal economic and other relations between these two countries. The visit had special reference to the lack of coal in Austria. By an agreement with the Czechoslovak Government Austria was to have been supplied with a certain amount of coal, but the quantity delivered had been entirely insufficient to keep the Austrian factories, railways, gas and electric plants running, besides leaving practically no coal for domestic purposes. In explanation of the failure to keep the agreement the Czechs declared that their country also was suffering from a coal shortage, owing to Radical Socialist agitation, whereby the output of the Bohemian and Moravian mines had been reduced to about 40 per cent.

The suffering and destitution from lack of food and work were reported as intensified, with but slight prospect of relief in the immediate future.

In the National Assembly all parties were unanimous in declaring that the proposals of the Hungarian Government for a plebiscite in West Hungary before its evacuation by Hungarian troops were unacceptable. Several Deputies asserted that the terrorism prevailing in West

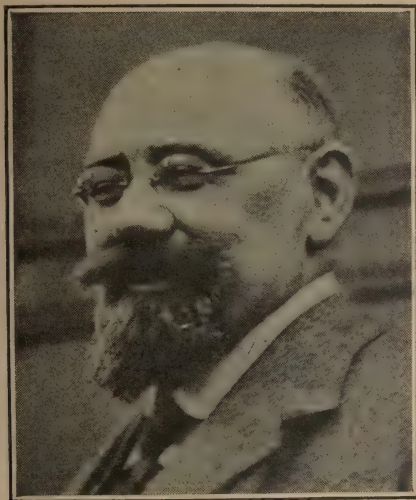
Hungary made such a plebiscite impossible.

An open letter to Trotzky from Friedrich Adler, Austrian Socialist leader, was published in *Der Kampf*. It threw an interesting sidelight on the Austrian revolution. At the outbreak of that revolution Adler was in prison for shooting Premier Sturghk in 1916, and was elected an "honorary member of the Pan Russian Congress of Soviet Delegates." At the same time Trotzky, elated at the prospect of a "world revolution," immediately gave orders that money and agitators be sent to Austria to promote Bolshevism. Against this movement Adler, as leader of the Austrian Labor Party, resolutely set his face, and by his actions saved Austria from the misfortunes of the Communist régime in Hungary. In his open letter to Trotzky covering his rejection of Bolshevik overtures Adler said:

I am not in a position to judge how clearly you can discern the movement of the times and its influence on events in Russia, but as regards Germany and Austria you have been constantly falling from one illusion to another. \* \* \* You did not send funds to support an already existing Government, but your money was intended to serve as a bait for the creation of an entirely new party, undesirable from the point of view of the Austrian proletariat. Unfortunately, together with your gold, you did not manage to export a little political common sense.

Austria's financial condition was described on March 11 as a "giddy whirl of inflated currency." An example of

this skyward inflation was provided by the demand of organizations representing the civil and State employes for 24,000 kronen as the salary for the lowest grade official. In normal times that



DR. KARL RENNER  
*Austrian Premier*

would amount to \$4,800, but now \$140 would purchase that amount of Austrian paper money. While the Government was willing to grant the lowest grade official a salary and allowances amounting to 18,000 kronen, it was confronted with the difficulty of involving the State in an additional expenditure of 1,000,000,000 kronen at a time when the officially estimated deficit in the last budget amounted to 9,000,000,000 kronen.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Undisturbed by fears of Bolshevism or the vociferous agitation of the German element in Bohemia, the Government of President Masaryk proceeded steadily with its work of reconstruction during the first three months of the current year. To cope with the first danger, and to be prepared for any crisis in Central European affairs, military estimates were submitted to the National Assembly late in January for an army in all its branches, including over 1,000 airplanes and two warships, and totaling

a personnel of 5,169 officers and 103,384 men.

The discontent of the German Bohemians was much allayed by the new policy inaugurated by Premier Tusar in contrast with that of his predecessor, Dr. Kramarsz, which had alienated the Czechs and the Germans alike. A German delegation which came to Prague in December, 1919, to protest against suppression of German schools, refusal of home rule, and disfranchisement of the minority nationalities, including Germans, Magyars, Poles and Ruthenians representing 6,000,000 out of a total population of 13,000,000, was welcomed by the new Premier, and sent away with the assurance that neither the Germans nor any of the other minority elements would be further discriminated against, and that the German districts would be granted representation in the new election.

In the elections for the Diet, held at the end of January, 300 Deputies were elected, of whom 154 were Czechs, 81 Germans, 42 Slovaks, 14 Magyars, 6 Poles and 3 Ruthenians, all chosen on the principle of proportionate representation. Further danger of German or other national "irredentism" within the confines of the new republic was thus eliminated. Fears of international conflict between Czechoslovakia and Austria over the respective positions of the Germans of Bohemia and the Czechs of Vienna were harmoniously disposed of by the agreements reached by Dr. Renner, the Austrian Chancellor, and Premier Tusar, acting with Mr. Masaryk, in conversations held in Prague toward the end of January.

The movement of ecclesiastical reform, which began Dec. 25 with the announcement that mass would be celebrated in the Czech language, went on uninterrupted, despite the bull of excommunication issued by the Papal See on Jan. 15, which condemned and reproved the project of establishing a new Czech National Church, especially the proposal that the Czech priests should be released from the obligation of celibacy. This ecclesiastical law, said the Papal announcement, was sacred and inviolate and could be neither modified nor abolished. A meet-



ing was held in Prague-Smichow in the week of Feb. 13 to decide whether the Czech clergy should vote for absolute schism or for an advance of Czech nationalism by internal church reforms but adhering to Rome. Out of 211 qualified voters 140 favored separation. The leaders of the movement were nearly all parish priests who had left the Church to fill Government posts of responsibility. Post Office Secretary Stanek declared that he believed if Czechoslovakia made itself independent of Rome it would be a great step toward the full liberation of the Czech Nation from the bonds of foreign culture. With the vote of separation a committee of twelve was appointed, and the organization of the new national Church begun.

On President Masaryk's seventieth birthday—a national holiday in Czechoslovakia—President Wilson cabled the following message:

On this anniversary of your birth I offer to you my warm felicitations and best wishes, at the same time congratulating the people of Czechoslovakia on the good fortune that has placed the administration of their affairs in the hands of one whose broad-minded policy and scrupulously fair treatment of minorities are contributing so largely to the welding of Czechoslovakia into a stable nation.

## FRANCE

On Feb. 17 M. Poincaré pronounced his Presidential valedictory in the form of a message to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and on the following day Paul Deschanel entered upon his seven years' term of office as President of the republic; the outgoing President passed to him, through M. Dubail, the Grand Chancellor of the Order, the Grand Collar of the Legion of Honor. On Feb. 19 President Deschanel presented his first message to Parliament, which contained the following passage in regard to the Versailles Treaty:

France wishes that the treaty to which Germany appended her signature shall be obeyed, and that the aggressor shall not take from her the fruits of her heroic sacrifices. She means to live in security. The Russian people fought by our side during three years for the cause of liberty; may it, master of itself, soon resume in the plenitude of its genius the course of its civilizing mission. The

Eastern question causes periodical wars. The fate of the Ottoman Empire has not yet been settled. Our secular interests, rights, and traditions ought to be safeguarded there, too.

On Feb. 24 a railway strike called by the National Federation of Railwaymen soon developed into a general strike, by orders of the Federation of Labor, until by March 13 it included 400,000 toilers in factories, mills, and mines. The Government settled the railway strike on March 1 by calling the railwaymen under the colors and by the direct intervention of Premier Millerand, who promised adjustment of grievances. The other strikes were gradually being settled by mutual concessions, hastened by the Federation, which found itself placed on the defensive by the accusation of an attempt to make Soviet rule dominate France. Simultaneously with the ending of the railroad strike the National Socialist Congress at Strasbourg voted down a motion, by the ratio of two to one, to ally the Socialists of France with Lenin and Trotzky. The popular press of the country had formally condemned the other strikes as unpatriotic.

Many communes invoked old laws for two purposes: to preserve food supplies and private security in case of labor disturbances and to apply more special taxation. Thus Paris is to have a tax on certain luxuries, including servants and pianos, in the hope of making good a \$30,000,000 deficit.

On Feb. 22 the General Staff obtained from the Government permission to keep 1,000,000 men instead of 800,000 under arms, with all supply departments on an emergency war footing.

The often postponed trial of former Premier Joseph Caillaux, charged with an attempt to induce a defeatist peace with Germany, was begun before the High Court of the Senate on Feb. 17. In sessions held periodically in the next thirty days testimony was introduced to show the defendant's treasonable complicity in the Bonnet Rouge, Le Journal, the Duval and Bolo Pacha affairs, and his treasonable transactions with German agents in South America in 1915, and with defeatist propagandists at Rome in 1916.

## HOLLAND

The great strike of the dockers at the Dutch ports which began Feb. 12 was drawing slowly to a close, its end accelerated by mutual charges of betrayal exchanged between the Communists and the Socialists. The former charged that the Socialist press did not properly support the strike, while the Socialists charged that the Communists had betrayed them to the Russian Bolsheviks, and caused them to lose many members through Soviet allurements. Meanwhile millions of tons of foodstuffs destined for famished Central Europe and millions of tons of German coal destined for France, as required by the Treaty of Versailles, were held up for weeks at the great ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, guarded by troops on shore and on the water by Dutch gunboats.

The first revelations of the true object of the strike, which, beginning with a wage grievance, soon developed into a combat for power over the shipowners and control of the Central Dockers' Bureau, came from the Socialist organ *Het Volk*; after encouraging the strike, this paper later denounced it as an attempt of the Lenin Government, through the Dutch Communists, to fasten a Soviet Government on Holland. It was charged that in the middle of January a Dutch engineer named Rutgers, an official of the Soviet Government of Russia, called a meeting of foreign Communist delegates at the Amsterdam house of the Dutch Communist leader, Wynkoop. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is said to have represented British Communism, and a man named Frayne, American.

The Russian Soviet Government placed at the disposition of the conference a quantity of jewels, including diamonds and pearls worth \$10,000,000, and Rutgers informed the conference that he could obtain another similar sum in order to finance each strike. It was argued that Lenin was determined to reach the countries outside of Russia through a successful strike at the ports which would cause such an embargo as to force Holland to seek relief through establishing a Soviet Government.

In order to make the strike more ef-

fective the Independent Transport Workers' Union, which had delegates at the conference, united with the Socialist body known as the Modern Transport Workers' Labor Union and induced the latter to call the strike purely on economic grounds, denying that it had anything to do with political aims.

As *Het Volk* day after day reeled off the foregoing dismal story of the betrayal of Dutch labor the *Handelsblad* gave further details of the conspiracy, according to which the Soviet Government was to establish in Holland a central bureau from which strikes were to be directed and financed, whenever necessary, all over the world; and in every strike, whatever the cause, the strikers should demand peace with Russia which, it was acknowledged, was not only imperative to maintain the Soviet Government, but also necessary for the development of the world revolution.

## HUNGARY

In Hungary, the "stormy petrel" of Central Europe, a plot to restore ex-Emperor Charles to the Magyar throne was frustrated on Feb. 14. The plan was to provide the ex-Emperor with a false passport bearing the name Kaspar Kovacs, to be issued by the Swiss Consul in Budapest. Charles was then to cross from Switzerland into Lichtenstein by boat over the Rhine, accompanied by four companions. From Lichtenstein he was to proceed to West Hungary and proclaim his return. But the Budapest Swiss Consul recognized the photograph on the passport as that of the ex-Emperor and promptly reported the matter to the authorities.

Rumania yielded to the demands of the Peace Conference by commencing on Feb. 1 to withdraw her forces at last from the front along the river Theiss to a line sixty to eighty miles east of the river. By the 27th this movement was completed, and the vacated territory was occupied by a Hungarian military detachment without conflict. Observers with the Hungarian force found the inhabitants in a poverty-stricken condition; the Rumanians had carried off seed, grain and agricultural machinery, as well as railway supplies.



On March 1 the definite announcement was made from Budapest of the election of Admiral Nicholas Horthy as Regent or Protector of Hungary by a substantial majority of the National Assembly. His salary was fixed at 3,000,000 kronen a year. Admiral Horthy went to the Parliament Building to take the oath of office through flag-draped streets amid enthusiastic crowds. Addresses eulogized him as having "saved the nation from ruin." Correspondents, writing of him, declared that a new personality had arisen among the rulers of European States and characterized him as a picturesque figure who might yet play a prominent rôle because of the ends he had in view. These ends were generally believed to include the restoration of former King Charles or his eldest son Otto—a policy directly opposed to the decision of the Peace Conference. On the 5th the new Protector issued a manifesto in which he said:

Extreme tendencies must be suppressed. Profiteering and corruption must cease and Christian morals be re-established. Amid an ocean of international unrest the Hungarian people is the first that is finding its way to consolidation. The new Hungary must supply proper economic and social conditions to each class and supplant vengeance and hatred with mutual understanding, in order that peace may return.

The eager desire of the Hungarians to bring to trial all members of the fallen Communist régime interned in Austria was responsible for an attempt to kidnap Bela Kun from a hospital near Vienna on the night of March 7. Ten armed men suddenly appeared at the hospital and bribed the watcher. The latter, however, gave warning to the police. The armed party took alarm and escaped before the police arrived.

London advices of March 12 stated that a new Hungarian Peace Treaty had been definitely agreed upon by the Supreme Council. It had been placed in the hands of the Drafting Committee, and was expected to be completed within a week. In this new treaty various economic concessions were granted, but the territorial clauses against which Hungary had protested so vigorously remained unchanged.

## ITALY

After negotiations lasting several days with party leaders Premier Nitti reorganized his Cabinet on March 13. The chief features in the new Government are the reappearance of Professor Luigi Luzzatti, the famous founder of the People's Banks, as Minister of the Treasury, and Signori Bonomi, Torre, Alessio and Raineri, who are more or less affiliated with the Catholic or Popular Party, which, however, as a political organization, would not allow its leader, Signor Meda, to accept a portfolio. The complete list is:

Premier and Minister of the Interior—F. S. NITTI.

Vice President of the Council and Treasurer—Prof. LUZZATTI.

Foreign Affairs—VITTORIO SCIALOJA.

War—IVANOE BONOMI.

Navy—AMM. SECHI.

Finance—CARLO SCIANZER.

Parlons and Justice—LUDOVICO MORTARA.

Public Instruction—ANDREA TORRE.

Public Works—GIUSEPPE DE NAVA.

Agriculture—ACHILLE VISOCCHI.

Industry and Commerce—DANTE FERRARIS.

Posts and Telegraphs—GIULIO ALESSIO.

Transportation—ROBERTO DI VITO.

Liberated Provinces—GIOVANNI RAINERI.

The general conservative nature of the new Government, which contains several experts in finance and industry, engendered the belief in the press of the Peninsula that Signor Nitti was determined to invite the support of the Catholics and parliamentary Socialists against the extremists with Bolshevik proclivities; at the same time fear was expressed that such a policy could not survive if Signor Giolitti, his defeatist and non-intervention policies of the war being forgotten, should attempt to seize the reins of power with the co-operation of the Catholics and the old Socialist leaders, Signori Treves and Turati. For Giolitti, although out of office since March, 1914, was said still to control sixty of the sixty-nine prefects of the provinces, and it is from the prefects, appointed as permanent State officials by the Minister of the Interior, that the Deputies take their orders, and not from their constituents. There were several signs of Socialist and Catholic unity on questions of trade, industrial, and social

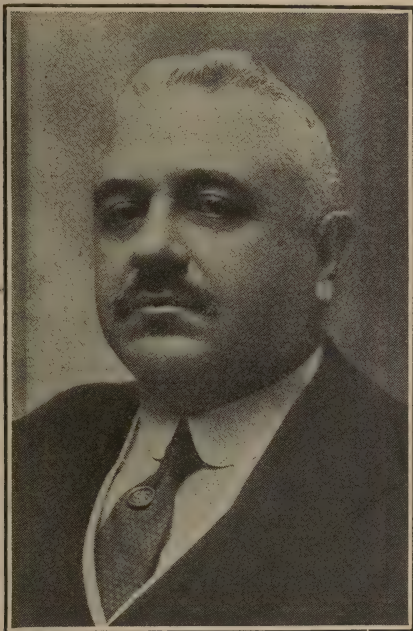
union and measures for the betterment of the condition of the masses, but a wide difference of opinion prevailed as to how these reforms should be carried out.

Although the war rationing was revived in regard to several necessities, the general financial condition showed

land and France show a lessened consumption of from 6 to 15 per cent. Allowing that, in view of Italy's relatively small consumption of coal, the reduction per 1,000 inhabitants would only amount to one-third of that in America, yet this would mean a saving of 160,000 tons, the cost of which works out at some hundred million lire. Both the coal and the money are well worth saving.

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

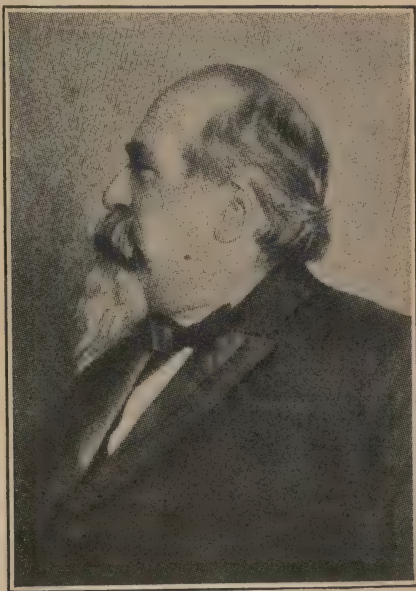
From day to day it seemed likely that each resignation of the Allende-Salazar Cabinet would become permanent, but each time the King insisted that it re-



**FRANCESCO NITTI**  
*Italian Premier*

improvement, the deposits in the savings banks having doubled in the last year, and the present loan rising beyond all expectation. In anticipation of a tax on capital, notices were issued on Feb. 20 ordering every one, under pain of heavy penalties, to make a return of his entire capital, including investments in other countries, before March 31. But Italy still waited feverishly for American and English coal and iron, especially the former. The well-known engineer, Luigi Luigi, writing in the *Giornale d'Italia* on Feb. 25, urged the early adoption of "Summer time" in order to economize coal.

He stated that the figures from America show a saving of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  tons for every 1,000 inhabitants, while the figures for Eng-



**LUIGI LUZZATTI**  
*Member of new Italian Cabinet*

main in power, and so the fight against the Syndicalists continued.

Spain has had no fewer than eight new Governments with fifty ministerial changes in less than two years. Last year alone saw four changes in Cabinets with forty-four ministerial changes. Virtually every one of these changes was due to the military juntas or "Consultative Committees."

These juntas were originally formed to fight favoritism and injustice in the army, the chief grievance of the members being that places on the General Staff



were allotted to favorites of the Government of the day. One of the first actions of the juntas, which are presided over by the Colonels, the highest ranking officers who are allowed to join, was to decide that none of the members should allow their names to be placed in nomination for places on the General Staff.

The result would have been that after the death or retirement of the present members there would be no officers to form the staff. But twenty-three officers refused to be bound by this decision, with the result that they were haled before courts of honor and their resignations from the army insisted upon. Governments, under pressure from the Liberal, Socialist and other progressive elements in the Cortes, have promised to revoke these decisions of the courts of honor, but found it difficult to do so, for the juntas threatened to withdraw their support from the Government; in other words, should an emergency arise such as a revolution or social war the army would be leaderless.

Thus the juntas became a political force, which opposed radical legislation and otherwise interfered in affairs of State. They are really a great fraternal society, the members of which accept orders only from the presiding Colonels in all affairs of the army, ignoring those of King, Generals and Government. To dissolve these juntas the Cortes must pass a bill to repeal the act which legalized them, and the moment that is done every infantry officer who obeys the orders of his junta must resign from the army. Sooner or later the new Cabinet must face a debate on the "military question." This has, since the intervention of the juntas in politics, each time led to the downfall of the Ministry.

King Alfonso's name has invariably been left out of the discussion, but it is said that the officers induced him to support the organization, and his action recently in attending a big banquet given at Toledo by the infantry officers has lent color to the report.

Portugal's policy of drift ended abruptly on March 6 when the Government was overthrown on account of opposition of the Labor members to a policy of coercion in order to end the strikes.

Thereupon Antonio Silva, former Minister of Public Works, took the Premiership and the portfolio of Foreign Affairs with these colleagues:

Minister of the Interior—Antonio Bautista.  
Justice—Lorenzo Cardezo.  
War—Julio Martins.  
Navy—Victor Macedo.  
Colonies—Dominiho Fria.  
Commerce—Senhor Cunhaleale.  
Agriculture—Juan Luis.

## SWEDEN

The most remarkable event in the political annals of the age took place in Sweden, where with a King on the throne a Government entirely made up of Socialists began its work. On March 6 the Liberal-Socialist Eden Cabinet resigned and no Liberal group could be gathered which would have survived a vote in the second Chamber of the Riksdag, where the ratio of the Socialists over the Liberals was three to two. Four days later Hjalmar Branting, leader of the right wing, or parliamentary faction of the Socialists, offered the following slate, entirely made up of Socialists, to his Majesty, who accepted it, Branting himself registering as President of the Council:

Foreign Affairs—Baron Erik Kule Palmstierna (Baron Palmstierna was Minister of Marine in the late Cabinet).

Justice—B. Oestern Unden, Professor, Minister without portfolio in the late Cabinet.

War—P. Albin Nansen, editor of Social-Demokraten, published by Mr. Branting.

Marine—J. Bernhard Erikson, ironworker, member of the Second Chamber of the Riksdag.

Interior—C. E. Svenson, editor of Folket (The People), a radical organ, and member of the First Chamber of the Riksdag.

Finance—Fredrik Wilhelm Thorson, who occupied the same post in the late Cabinet.

Education—Olof Olson, who retained the portfolio he held in the old Cabinet.

Agriculture—O. Nilson, farmer, member of the Second Chamber.

Ministers Without Portfolios—Rickard J. Sandler, member of the First Chamber, and Thorsten Karl Victor Nothin, who is Solicitor for the Department of Finance.

Hjalmar Branting, who has the reputation of having kept his country from joining Germany in the war and the Russian Soviet Government after it, was a member of the old Liberal-Socialist Cabinet, but resigned on account of ill-health

in 1917. The crisis which led to the fall of the coalition arose through the impossibility of Liberals and Socialists—the latter had a majority in Parliament—conducting the business of the Government. From now on the left wing, or extreme Socialists, will constitute the Opposition. They are in full accord with the Third International of Lenin and Trotzky, while the right wing condemns the Soviets.

## THE VATICAN

The bill introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies on March 11 to re-establish relations between the Government of the Republic and the Vatican excited much more interest in the latter's circles than it did in France, where even those who were instrumental twenty years ago in bringing about the Associations Law and the separation of the Church, with the abrogation of the Concordat, believed the bill was a good thing, as, in the words of M. Briand, "France should not hold aloof from the negotiations in which non-Catholic powers are participating in Rome."

The Vatican press has long held that the magnificent work done in the war by French priests should meet with recognition on the part of the French Government, which should no longer make them feel that their patriotism had not the sanction of Rome.

Besides, the Catholic majority in Alsace and Lorraine was in an anomalous situation—the Germans when they took possession in 1871 guaranteed it the Concordat, and now it found itself in France, where the Concordat had been repudiated.

In Vatican circles it was looked upon as a foregone conclusion that the bill in question would pass the French Parliament without opposition, as it had not only the support, but the enthusiastic advocacy of Premier Millerand, and French prelates writing to the Vatican even went so far as to state that the first French Ambassador to the Vatican had already been decided upon in the person of Jules Cambon, successively Ambassador at Washington and Berlin, whose brother Paul had held the post at London for many years.

## Affairs in Asiatic Countries

### JAPAN AND CHINA

The dilemma forced upon Japan by the refusal of China to accept the direct negotiations regarding Shantung, offered through Mr. Obata, the Japanese Ambassador to Peking, on Jan. 19, made the already strained situation still more acute. Of the two parties to the Shantung dispute it was the Chinese who had the advantage; their refusal to open negotiations regarding territory ceded under a treaty which they had refused to sign was strictly logical, while the Japanese, having pledged their word of honor to restore Kiao-Chau to Chinese sovereignty, were nonplussed by the refusal to negotiate, which they had not expected.

The announced intention of the Chinese Government to appeal to the League of Nations on the Shantung issue meant much more, according to the Japanese Chronicle, than a mere reopening of the

argument regarding the rights and wrongs of the settlement. The Japanese demand that the question of restoration be left to their national honor, this paper stated, was in reality a claim for recognition of the principle that in disputes between China and Japan no other power has any right of interference, and China's project to refer the dispute to the League of Nations amounted essentially to an attempt to challenge and defeat this principle before it was established in practice.

The Chinese held that the original Japanese proposal made no mention of the privileges that Japan was retaining, among which were listed a Japanese or foreign settlement at Tsingtao, Japanese ownership of docks and railways, mines and other concessions, and the building of barracks and hospitals at various places in Shantung. Thus the only proper course for Japan to follow, in



the Chinese view, was to withdraw completely from Shantung and allow the Chinese administration to resume its sway.

Besides the negative weapon of refusal to open negotiations, China continued to boycott all Japanese goods. One need only glance at the detailed statistics given by Millard's Review or the Herald of Asia to realize the full cost of the Japanese policy in China. The serious decline in the trade of the Japanese steamship companies is seen in the fall from 154 tons per trip in 1918 to an average of barely seventy-one tons per trip during the first ten months of 1919. Cotton yarn, paper, cotton cloth, umbrellas, canvas bags, matches showed a net decrease of 70 per cent.; patent medicines, looking glasses, earthenware, soap, hats and caps, fans, cotton hosiery, cotton tissues, satin, a decrease of 54 per cent. The Japanese exhausted every means to compel the lifting of this boycott; strong pressure was brought to bear on the Peking Government to take drastic measures against all boycott agitators, but without effect; the protest of the Japanese Consul General at Tientsin to Pien Yuch-ting's election to the Presidency of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Tientsin, fundamentally on the ground of his favoring the boycott, is still fresh in the minds of all Chinese.

Mr. Putnam Weale, adviser to the Chinese Government, declared in January in an official memorandum to the Chinese Cabinet that the situation caused throughout China by the Shantung controversy was one of dangerous possibilities, and might lead to a revolution if the national sentiment were disregarded. Gigantic demonstrations occurred in Shanghai Feb. 15-17, at which the overwhelming sentiment against negotiations with Japan and in favor of an appeal to the League of Nations was voiced, and the release of students arrested for demonstrations in Peking was demanded. During these manifestations, participated in by thousands of people, all Chinese stores were closed.

Despite these evidences of popular feeling the Anfu, the Conservative Party

in control of China's Central Government, which favors the opening of negotiations with Japan, on Feb. 19 forced the resignation of Lu Tser<sub>3</sub>-tsiang, the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, and of Cheng-lu, the Vice Foreign Minister, on the ground of their voicing the national view that such negotiations should not be opened. Ten days later (March 1) came the news that Ching-yung P'Eng, the Chinese Premier, had been forced out of office by the same party, and on the same grounds. He had been opposed by the Military Party, and especially by the Anfu, composed of pro-Japanese military chiefs, since November, 1919. Ching-yung P'Eng had been looked upon by Chinese leaders as a power in the development of the new Chinese Government tending to the unification of the clashing factions of the north and south. The resignation of these three high officials was expected by Chinese diplomatic officials to cause a strong reaction throughout China.

One phase of the Shantung controversy was the condemnation of the Japanese policy embodied in one of the reservations to the Peace Treaty proposed in the United States Senate. Dr. T. Iyenaga, Japanese Director of the East and West News Bureau, on Feb. 29 issued a warning that this reservation, if passed without modification by the Senate, might have an "undesirable effect" on Japanese-American relations.

It became evident soon after the official refusal by the Washington Government, couched in diplomatic language, to join with Japan in the holding of Eastern Siberia against the advancing forces of the triumphant Bolsheviks that the Japanese policy determined on was one of neutrality. Japan's disinclination to stem the tide of Bolshevism alone by force of arms was made plain in many directions. The policy of favoring the Socialist Revolutionaries was admitted by Mr. Kato, the Japanese Ambassador to Siberia, who stated that this party now welcomed the Japanese troops and sought their assistance in maintaining order in the districts which it had taken over.

The debate in the Diet on Feb. 14 on universal suffrage broke up in violent

scenes. The opposition attacked the Government for opposing the measure, and the President was obliged to interfere. The police fought members of the House in the lobby, and crowds outside tried to break into the building. They were held back by the police and military. Demonstrations in the city lasted till late at night, and many attacks upon official residences occurred. These demonstrations were continued for the next two weeks, and were marked by new attacks both on houses and persons. The state of popular unrest over the suffrage question was extreme, and was the culmination of widespread dissatisfaction with the decree of two years ago which limited the franchise to those whose direct tax exceeded 3 yen (about \$1.75), thus excluding the entire body of labor, farm laborers and mechanics.

In the debates on suffrage in the Diet a profound difference of opinion showed itself between the Cabinet and the Ken-sei-kai, the majority opposition party, and the violence of the discussion indicated the impossibility of an agreement. Premier Hara on Feb. 26, by a coup d'état introduced into the midst of a heated debate, produced an imperial decree dissolving the Diet. He had previously declared that he questioned whether the demand for universal suffrage was the voice of the people at large, but must be submitted for judgment. Extraordinary police activity outside the Parliament showed how well prepared the Government was to quell all disorders following upon this decree.

## PERSIA

It was announced in Teheran, Feb. 8, but the announcement was much delayed in transmission to Europe, that the Anglo-Persian Treaty negotiated a year ago had borne fruit—a British syndicate representing the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Armstrong-Whitworth, Vickers and Weetman Pearson had secured from the Teheran Government permission to survey a railway from the present railroad of the Mesopotamian lines to Kuretu, near Kasri-i-Shrin, via Kermanshah, Hamadan and Kasvin to Teheran, with a branch line from Kasvin to Enzeli on the Caspian. On the completion of

the survey the Persian Government has the option to build the road itself by borrowing money from the syndicate or to allow the syndicate to do the building. According to the announcement of Feb. 8:

The survey will be begun immediately. The line, presumably, will be of metre



gauge in continuation of the existing metre gauge railway from Bagdad to the Persian frontier. The track will probably closely follow the road built by the Royal Engineers to Hamadan, the alignment of which was made by the Russians at an earlier period of the war. From Hamadan the line will follow the existing road to Kasvin-Teheran and Kasvin-Enzeli. There are three steep passes for the line to be carried over—Pai-tak, Asadabad and Aveh.

## TURKEY

The news published by Admiral de Ro-beck, the British High Commissioner, on Feb. 17 that the Supreme Council had decided not to deprive Turkey of Constantinople, counteracted for a few days on the Golden Horn the effect of the news sent by Turkish agents that Eastern Thrace and Smyrna had been turned over to Greece, only to be succeeded by further apprehension when it was learned that martial law might be proclaimed on account of the Cilician massacres, in



which the Turkish press declares neither the Nationals nor the regular troops had any hand.

Diplomats in Constantinople attach little importance to the new Cabinet still (Mar. 15) in process of construction under Sali Pasha as Grand Vizier. So far, however, the personnel is considered more favorable to the Entente than was the Government of Djemel Pasha, including as it does Djelal Bey, President of the Council of State; Zia Bey, Minister of Commerce, and Omar Houlousse Bey, Minister of Religious Funds.

The Interallied Mission had established beyond any doubt the complicity of Djemel with the Nationalist leader Mustapha Kemal in furnishing arms and aiding in the mobilization and transport. Meanwhile the Sultan was under pressure from two directions—from the Entente and from Mustapha Kemal at Angora, who attempted, but not altogether successfully, to dictate the personnel of the new Ministry; the Turkish delegation to the Peace Conference, however, was made up without his knowledge. On March 15 it was announced as follows:

Tewfik Pasha, former Foreign Minister as President.

Izzet Pasha, former Minister of War.

Rifaat Pasha, former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Safa Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Nabi Bey, Alib Memali Bey, Ahmed Riza Bey and Torgut Pasha, who will act as military adviser, and General Shevken, his aid.

On March 3 the Turkish press was much agitated over the news announced by Abdul Kador Effendi, head of the Kurdish group in the Senate, that an understanding had been reached between the Armenians and the Kurds, and that on this account the Kurdish leaders had redoubled their efforts before the Peace Conference to obtain autonomy for Kurdistan. As Abdul Kador frankly advocated this autonomy he at once became the storm centre of the Nationalist press.

On Feb. 21 the Central Committee of the Moslem Theological Academy handed the following note to the Allied High Commissioners:

The duty of Islam, which directs the opinion of a great proportion of mankind, proclaims to all Moslems and the

world its attitude towards Bolshevism. Whether Bolshevik principles are good or evil the fact that their application harms social life and individual property rights makes them incompatible with the principles of Islam. Since the beginning of Islam attacks on life and property, thefts, massacres, pillages and rapes have been condemned and penal sentences imposed. On the contrary, the requisite of Islam is happiness, tranquillity and general progress. It forbids taking property and lives, and ensures the rights of individuals and communities. Consequently Islam's ruling is that every individual should have the right to dispose at will of his own property during life and by will after death. It is, therefore, in the interest of Moslemism and the duty of the Khaliphate to oppose Bolshevism as dangerous to civilization, justice and right.

On Feb. 17 the first echelon of the British garrison at Batum reached Constantinople. It was announced that Batum would be occupied by Georgian troops, but it was doubted whether they would be able to maintain order, which was threatened by bands of two descriptions; local Bolshevik sympathizers and Turkish Nationalist bands. The withdrawal from Batum was obviously to increase the British garrison on the Golden Horn.

On Feb. 25 the Azerbaijan Government formally refused the British demands to surrender the Turkish-proscribed Pashas, Nury and Halil, on the ground that such action would be a violation of the laws of hospitality, and more so in view of the services rendered to Azerbaijan by Nury Pasha and his uncle, Halil.

The events which led to the proclamation of Prince, or Emir, Feisal as King of Syria and Prince Abdulla as King of Irak (The Bagdad region of Mesopotamia), the eldest and third sons of King Hussein of Hedjaz, were forecast in Constantinople as early as Feb. 14, when the local press announced that a new National Syrian Party had been formed at Damascus, with the object of placing Emir Feisal on the throne. Its political program was said to include complete independence, the union of Syrian Arabs, the promotion of learning, equal civil and political rights for everybody, the upholding of the principle of democratic monarchy by creating a Royal Parlia-

mentary Government under Emir Feisal, the amelioration of social conditions by means of co-operative societies and agri-

cultural societies, and the creation of an army to uphold the Emir. [For further matter on Turkey see Pages 103-116.]

## Developments in Latin America

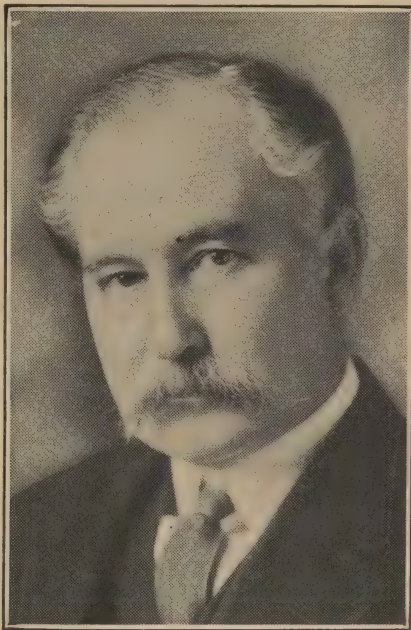
### MEXICO

Outrages in Mexico against American citizens, which have been sporadic ever since General Carranza became President, have continued despite vigorous protests by the State Department. Many of these were revealed by the Senate sub-committee, which has been investigating conditions in Mexico, taking testimony in Texas at San Antonio and El Paso. Colonel George T. Langhorne, Captain W. V. D. Ochs and Captain Leonard F. Matlack, all of the Eighth Cavalry, told the Senators that often Carranza's own men took part in raids on the American side, and that neither the civil nor military authorities of Mexico aided the American forces in fighting Mexican mautraiders.

Senator Fall of New Mexico, Chairman of the sub-committee, obtained its appointment after having introduced in the Senate a resolution intended to break off our diplomatic relations with Mexico—a move against which President Wilson at once protested. Luis Cabrera, Carranza's Secretary of Finance, was invited to testify, but refused, charging that Senator Fall was prejudiced against Mexico. The Mexican authorities tried to hinder the sub-committee's activities by refusing to foreigners, who left Mexico to testify, permission to return, and by threatening to consider as traitors Mexicans who appeared. It was also announced that W. O. Jenkins, former United States Consular Agent at Puebla, whose permission to act in that capacity was recently revoked, would be expelled from Mexico if found guilty by the Puebla court of aiding rebel forces in that district.

Three cases of the murder of Americans were reported to the State Department early in January, and made the basis of representations to Mexico. One was that of Gabriel Porter, an employee of the Penn-Mex Oil Company, who was shot by a Mexican Federal army officer on Dec. 21. F. J. Roney and Earl Bowles,

employees of the International Petroleum Company, were murdered on Jan. 5 near Port Lobos, an oil-loading station be-



SENATOR FALL OF NEW MEXICO  
*Chairman of Senate Subcommittee investigating Mexican outrages*  
(© Harris & Ewing)

tween Tampico and Tuxpam. Roney bore a resemblance to the paymaster, and the motive for the killing was alleged to be robbery. The Mexicans reported the Porter case as one of accidental shooting. Alexander Ross, a British subject, was kidnapped on Jan. 18, near Orizaba, but was rescued next day by Federal forces under Colonel Durazo. Several American Army aviators, forced to land on Mexican soil, were detained for a time, but were later released.

Wilson W. Adams, an American mine Superintendent, was captured by bandits in Zacatecas on Feb. 13 and held for



50,000 pesos ransom. The State authorities and Federal troops searched for his captors and obtained his release after six days. Mexican bandits on Feb. 27 raided the general store of Ruby, Ariz., killed one of the owners, Alexander Fraser, and seriously wounded his brother. American troops crossed the border on the trail of the bandits, but returned after an unsuccessful search.

The boldest attack for several months was that led personally by Francisco Villa, who with a band of 150 armed men on March 4 held up a northbound Mexico City train near Corralitos, Chihuahua, robbed the passengers, set the cars afire, and carried off Joseph Williams, an American engineer, for ransom. Fifty Yaqui soldiers were aboard the train as a guard; nineteen of them were killed and nearly all the others wounded; seven escaping unhurt. The train had been derailed by an explosive on the track. Two conductors were killed, a Syrian merchant was carried off, and five Mexican passengers who attempted to escape were shot. Williams was released after being held four days by Villa, who asserted his power to enter towns in that section of the country at will.

Coincidentally with the latest outrages the Mexican Foreign Office announced that an association of Mexicans and Americans had been discovered on the border banded together for the purpose of kidnapping and holding for ransom foreigners, preferably Americans. Instructions were issued to the military commanders in Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas to break up these bands. It is also planned to erect concrete block houses with a guard of fifty soldiers to each to protect the railroad lines.

Mexico hopes, as a result of the retirement of Secretary Lansing, to be able to import arms from the United States. It was he who tightened the already existing embargo on sending arms to Mexico by an order requiring special licenses after Jan. 1 from the State Department for all such shipments. A large consignment of arms was reported to have been received from Japan by a

merchant vessel which touched at Manzanillo on Dec. 24. The Mexicans have been adding machine-gun units to their infantry and cavalry commands, and their ammunition factories are busy, particularly one near Mexico City under the direction of the German Mexican General Maximilian M. Kloss.

Preparations are being made for the Presidential elections in July, and supporters of Carranza have won the first skirmish for position, obtaining a decisive majority of the Permanent Commission which will have full control of the electoral machinery and will install the new Congress on Sept. 1. The principal candidates for the Presidency, besides Carranza, are General Alvaro Obregon, head of the Liberal Constitutional Party, and Ygnacio Bonillas, former Mexican Ambassador at Washington. The latter has the support of General Candido Aguilar, son-in-law of President Carranza.

Largely figuring in the campaign will be the attitude of the candidates on the oil question, especially Article XXVII. of the new Constitution. Mexico in that document asserts the fundamental right of the people to the soil of their country and imposes land taxes which the foreign oil interests declare are confiscatory. Taxes were assessed for "potential production," and American companies protesting were not allowed to drill new wells. They appealed to the State Department for protection. In reply the Mexican Embassy stated that the capacity of the 310 oil-producing wells in Mexico was 2,000,000 barrels per day, and only 220,000 were being extracted for export and home consumption, leaving a margin of 1,780,000 barrels a day to be drawn upon by simply opening the valves of the wells. The Government denied preventing production, and said if there were a shortage it was due to the owners. Meantime restriction of shipments caused a rapid rise in the price of fuel oil here.

Several sharp notes were sent to Mexico by the State Department in the interests of American oil companies, and finally on Jan. 17 President Carranza agreed to issue permits for drilling wells,

good until the new Congress should settle the whole question.

## CENTRAL AMERICA

With the adhesion of Salvador to the League of Nations by vote of her Congress on March 10, and of Venezuela on March 13, all the thirteen States invited to accede to the covenant have decided to join. The United States, Mexico and Costa Rica are the only countries in the Western Hemisphere that remain outside the League up to March 16.

Salvador has revived the scheme for a Central American federation or union of the five Central American republics of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Salvador under one Government. The date for which this is now set is Sept. 15, 1921, the centennial of their independence of Spain. This initiative followed a request from Salvador to President Wilson, asking for an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. In reply the President referred the Salvadoreans to his speech before the Pan-American Scientific Congress in Washington on Jan. 6, 1916, in which he explained the doctrine as demanding that European Governments should not extend their political systems to this side of the Atlantic, and added that the States of America must guarantee to each other absolute political independence and territorial integrity.

Chief opposition to the Central American Union is said to come from President Estrada Cabrera of Guatemala, who contends that the Unionists are reactionaries. Guatemala was the first country in the Western Hemisphere to ratify the Peace Treaty, which she did on Oct. 1, 1919.

Honduras had a brief revolution in February, which was a revival of the opposition to General Lopez Gutierrez, leader of a successful revolt which ended in his election to the Presidency on Oct. 26. The discontented faction gathered a small army in Nicaragua and crossed the border, sacking towns. They were easily defeated, and on Feb. 25 it was stated that Honduras had disbanded her troops, leaving only small garrisons in

the department capitals, relying on the promises of President Chamorra of Nicaragua that he would not permit the enemies of the present Government of Honduras to obtain arms on Nicaraguan territory.

## SOUTH AMERICA

One of the first questions likely to be submitted to the League of Nations is the long-standing controversy between Bolivia, Chile and Peru over the former provinces of Tacna and Arica. Peru on Jan. 29 gave notice of her intention to submit the various claims to the League, and the Bolivian Senate unanimously approved the report of the Foreign Minister on the negotiations by which Bolivia seeks to gain a seaport on the Pacific.

The dispute grows out of the war waged by Chile against Peru and Bolivia for possession of the nitrate beds of Atacama in 1884. Chile was victorious and annexed the territory cutting off Bolivia from the sea, but promising a plebiscite in ten years. This promise was never carried out. The Chilean Minister at La Paz in 1900 informed Bolivia that there would be no compensation for the annexed provinces, which Chile held "by the same title as that by which Germany annexed Alsace and Lorraine"—a plea that is not likely to go far with the League of Nations. In 1904 an indemnity of \$4,000,000 was paid to Bolivia, and Chile built for her a railroad from La Paz to Arica, giving her the coveted outlet to the sea. But Bolivia is not content with this single outlet and wants a larger coast line, including the province of Tacna, which was Peruvian before the war of 1880, leaving to Chile the former Bolivian provinces of Antofagasta and Atacama. Peru on Feb. 25 sent a note to Bolivia expressing surprise at the latter's policy aiming at the incorporation of Tacna and the city of Arica in Bolivian territory, and saying that Peru would never cede her rights there to Bolivia or any other nation. In reply Bolivia on March 4 declared her purpose not to be inactive in the settlement of the Tacna-Arica controversy. Eduardo Diez de Medina has been named to argue the case for Bolivia before the



League of Nations, and the Bolivian Foreign Office has ordered the compilation of data to be presented.

At the second Pan American Financial Conference, which opened in Washington on Jan. 19, a comprehensive scheme of co-operation for the development of the great natural resources of the Americas and the adjustment of international obligations was considered. On motion of Dr. Jose Luis Tejedas of Bolivia, the conference recommended relief for Europe from the United States through the medium of loans to South and Central American countries, the proceeds being applied to the payment of the debts of those countries to Europe in the form of foodstuffs. The existing exchange rates would work to the benefit of all concerned, it was said, and at least \$1,000,000,000 would thus be made available to put Europe on her feet.

Among other recommendations of the Congress were the following:

That a uniform census of all American countries be taken every ten years;

That the metric system of weights and measures be universally employed;

That the plan of arbitration of commercial disputes in effect between the Bolsa de Comercio of Buenos Aires and the United States Chamber of Commerce be adopted by all the American countries;

That the importation of raw materials into any country shall not be prevented by prohibitive duties.

More efficient mail service was urgently advocated by several of the delegates. Dr. Ricardo Aldao of Argentina said that business men in his country were recently sixty-three days without mail because of the lack of steamship service. Dr. Henrique Perez DuPuy of Venezuela said that communication between the United States and his country was better twenty-five years ago than it is today. The Brazilians suggested the establishment of an international training ground for the development of an aviation service between the Americas to be used especially for parcel post purposes. The Paraguayan representatives urged the United States Shipping Board to establish fortnightly sailings to River Plate ports, saying that communication now is slower and less satisfactory than with Europe.

Development of the mineral resources of Peru and Chile has led to a demand for better ports nearer to the sources of supply. Abandonment of Mollendo, which is nothing but an open roadstead, and the creation of a new port at Matarani Bay about thirteen miles further north has been urged on the Peruvian Government. For her part Chile has been constructing a large breakwater, a long quai wall and a modern coal pier at Valparaiso and plans to build a breakwater and modern piers at Antofagasta. Some American companies have constructed ports and concrete piers to handle ore from their mines.

The universal quest for oil is being pursued energetically in South America, and a concession to a British company for an immense petroleum tract on the Huallaga and Ucayali Rivers, approved on Jan. 29 by President Leguia, is now before the Peruvian Congress. Sir Frank Newnes and a powerful group of capitalist are said to be back of the concession, which is to run for five years.

There is a lively competition also for coal fields in a recently discovered coal zone in Southern Chile. American, British and Japanese interests are competing with Chileans for the coal, which is reported to be of excellent quality. Japan is also planning a new line of six sailing vessels equipped with auxiliary engines for direct service to Chile. Japan is one of the principal consumers of Chilean nitrates and imports a great deal of copper and iron ores. There is a great demand in Chile for Japanese cotton goods, glassware and porcelain, but exports have been hindered by high freight rates, which, it is expected, the proposed line of 5,000-ton sailing vessels will remedy.

Japan is further stimulating her trade with South America by accepting the proposal made by the Argentine Government to all nations last October that treaties be negotiated for free trade throughout the world in articles of prime necessity, in order to reduce the cost of living. Japan was the third nation to approve the project, Italy and Paraguay having proceeded her.



NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL, MONTREAL  
(*British and Colonial Press*)

# French Canada and the British Empire

By WILLIAM BANKS

WHEN a Canadian of English-speaking ancestry talks of Canada it is to the country as a whole that he refers. When a French-speaking native mentions Canada he thinks of the Province of Quebec first, and very often of no other section of the Dominion. The habitant—the agriculturist of Quebec—knows no other land. He loves it with a devotion that is found only where generations have been rooted to the soil. France means little to him. Immigration from that country is almost negligible. What there is of it does not always go to Quebec; the lure of the

Western prairies is too strong. Only 1,526 people came from France to Canada in 1919 out of a total immigration, according to recently issued official returns, of 117,633. Of this number 57,251 were from Britain and 52,064 from the United States.

In the Province of Quebec there are few large centres of urban population. Montreal, Quebec, Sherbrooke and Three Rivers about exhaust the list. There is a closer touch with the intricacies of British and European politics in these than in the rural districts. The habitant is more parochial, naturally. He knows



and appreciates in a general way that great quantities of his dairy produce go to England, and that there is a growing demand there for his tobacco. He approves the attitude of Britain from sentimental reasons in joining with France in the great war. But his affection for France, thinned by the lapse of the centuries since his ancestors owed allegiance to it, has been subjected to the strain of disapproval of the action of that country toward the Church to which, in the mass, he belongs.

These things are not always taken into account in the English-speaking provinces, Ontario and the West, into which the tide of British immigration has poured unceasingly, especially during the last fifty years. There have thus been maintained between Britain and the English-speaking provinces the closest possible ties of personal relationship. Generation after generation of Canadian-born have grown up with newcomers from the motherland, who, in turn, have become sturdy Canadian citizens while still regarding Britain as "home." This has served to keep Ontario and the West very intimately in touch with Old World politics, a process that has been aided by the growing trade between Canada and Europe, built up since the days when the Dingley and McKinley tariffs blocked the channels to the south.

Moreover, the Orange order is very strong in Ontario. It keeps alive the religious and racial prejudices. The average French Canadian is prone to judge his English-speaking and Protestant fellow-countrymen by the utterances of Orange journals and leaders. English-speaking Canadians do not always discriminate between the utterances of French journals like *Le Devoir* and its editor, Henri Bourassa, the fiery and amazingly eloquent Nationalist, who would have Canada break away altogether from the British Empire, and the majority of French newspapers, which, when they discuss the question, consider the existing British connection the safest and the best policy for the country. English-speaking Canada is always ready to fight for that connection, and to take part in the wars of Britain or the em-

pire as a whole. French Canada is slower to respond to the call to conflict beyond its own shores. It took some time for the habitant, who marries early and raises a large family, to realize the danger to his own country in the period of the World War. Invasion or attempted invasion would have found him enrolled to the last available man, particularly if the menace threatened his own beloved Quebec.

### LOYALTY OF THE HABITANT

The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, who was Postmaster General in the Government of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, once put that idea in words that are still recalled with pleasure by those who try to be impartial in discussing the relation of Quebec to Canada and the empire. He was describing the awakening of his people to the seriousness of the world struggle and their duty toward it. He declared that the freedom enjoyed by the habitant under a series of concessions made by the British from the time of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, when Canada became a British possession, had made him a loyal subject. He proceeded:

When the American Revolutionary War broke out, with France as the ally of the Thirteen Colonies, Lafayette, "*Le heros des deux mondes*," vainly appealed to the racial passions of the habitants, and could not induce them to join the rebels. Carroll, a young ecclesiastic, who later on became Bishop of Baltimore, vainly appealed to their religious feelings. The habitant's unflinching loyalty asserted itself for the first time. Why? Because England had been wise and strong. \* \* \* In 1812 the Americans again invaded Canada. The habitants under de Salaberry again gave evidence of their gratitude toward Great Britain by repelling the invaders.

Lemieux used these historical records merely as a text upon which to base his story of the way in which Quebec was coming to a realization of the true situation in the war with the Central Powers, for happily there is no fear in these days of conflict with the great Republic. No one hailed with such joyous satisfaction the entry of the United States into the war on the side of the Allies as did Canadians without distinction of race.

It is in the attitude of bitter hostility

to the conscription measure adopted by the Government in 1917 and the controversy that still rages over it that some people, even in Canada, think they see an unfriendliness on the part of Quebec to other sections of Canada and to the British Empire. These people overlook the fact that Quebec was not alone in its opposition to that act. There are many members of the United Farmers of Ontario, including a number who sit in the Legislature today and support the Ontario Government, who fought the conscription proposals without cessation. It was among Ontario farmers that the idea of a monster deputation to the Federal Government originated. They had the pledges of the Government, as individuals and collectively, that there would be no compulsory calling up of married men or of farmers' sons who were bona fide farm workers—urgent appeals having been made to them to increase foodstuffs production to the utmost limit. Ontario men very largely organized the deputation, which numbered some 2,000—the greatest deputation the Canadian capital has known. Most of these farmers stayed in Ottawa for two days, and, so far as the Ontario representation was concerned, they began there the organization in concrete form of the movement which has since given them control of power in the Provincial Legislature.

#### POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS

French-Canadian opponents of conscription were not only encouraged in their attitude by the stand of these Ontario objectors, but the political conditions in their own province were such as to stiffen their determination. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, their political idol for years, had refused Sir Robert Borden's belated offers to take part in the formation of a Union Government. In that Government, prior to the inclusion of the Liberals who finally accepted seats at the Cabinet table, were several men who were avowedly Nationalists, owing their election and their places of emolument to the acceptance of the doctrines of Henri Bourassa. The latter, through his paper and on the platform, was waging a campaign against further Canadian sacrifices in

the war, using language that rouses the ire of English-speaking Canadians yet. The higher clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, who, when the war broke out, urged aid for Britain and the empire, were critical toward conscription. The French-Canadian press was for the most part hostile.

To all these adverse forces was added a potent factor that few but Canadians versed in the intricacies of the politics of their own country would fully appreciate, namely, the dispute over bilingualism in the French-Canadian separate schools of Ontario. Regulation 17 of the Ontario Department of Education made important changes in the methods of teaching in these schools. The French-speaking people of the province believed that these infringed on their legal and moral rights. Their battle was taken up by their compatriots of Quebec with all the enthusiasm and bitterness that a racial argument usually engenders. Of this dispute Bourassa and his followers made effective use, and they were ably assisted by journals usually antagonistic to their nationalist doctrines. "The wounded of Ontario" became for many French Canadians a battle cry that drowned for a while the call from the fields of Flanders and France. It seemed as if Bourassa was about to attain one of the principal aims of his political life, the ousting of Sir Wilfrid Laurier from his place as leader of the French-speaking Canadian race. The former Premier of Canada himself, it is no secret, feared that, too. But while he resolutely maintained his opposition to conscription without consultation of the people, he nevertheless continued to urge that the duty of Canadians to the empire lay in active service. He lived long enough to find out that he had somewhat overrated Bourassa's influence in Quebec, and the elections which turned on the Conscription act showed that the majority of the people of Canada believed in the measure.

Does it matter now that there was some rioting in Montreal and Quebec City? They were the ebullitions of crowds led astray by a few fanatics. The upshot of the whole business was that in the end all parts of the country ac-



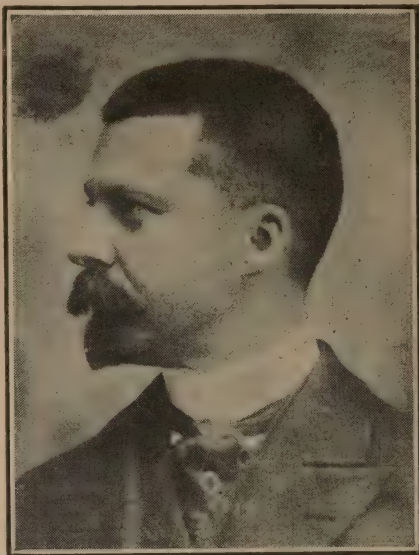
cepted conscription as a matter of law to be obeyed, and registration thereafter proceeded quietly enough. To this day the extremists on both sides, however, argue that Quebec and Ontario—and to the French Canadian most of English-speaking Canada is judged by Ontario—are bitterly hostile and unfair to each other. Each will prove that the other failed in its duty, especially in the matter of voluntary enlistments. Here it is but fair to say that in the earlier days of the war the English native born was almost as slow as his fellows of Quebec to grasp the importance of the struggle in its connection with Canada. That, however, is a controversy which will be a topic for heated argument by future generations.

#### BASIS OF HARMONY

To politicians who live in memories of the days when race could be set against race it is incredible that there should be evidences of a rapprochement between French and English speaking Canadians on the question of imperial relations. But one of the evolutions of the war has been a keen self-analysis of Canada's status in the empire. It has brought with it some changes that a few years ago would have been deemed impossible. English-speaking politicians and their newspaper supporters no longer see any disloyalty in plainly worded contentions that Canada is absolutely free to decide her own course in all international matters that affect her. That is the secret of Canada's insistence upon separate representation at the Peace Conference, and the right to sign the Treaty of Versailles, and to have a distinct entity in the League of Nations. Few Canadians are shocked at the suggestion that their representatives in the League might on occasion vote against Britain in a matter involving war as an alternative to arbitration. There is no measurable body of opinion that would go as far as Bourassa and his Nationalist agitators, who clamored for a complete separation from the empire; but there is no inseparable gulf between the best French-Canadian opinion and that of the English-speaking contenders that her part in the war and the Peace Treaty has en-

abled Canada to attain a new status as one of a group of British nations. The *Toronto Star* recently said:

There is a wing of the Liberal Party who have been strong for autonomy, and are now reluctant to admit that what Laurier demanded Borden [the present



HENRI BOURASSA  
*Leader of Canadian Nationalists*  
(Photo B. & C., Ltd.)

Premier] has secured. They think there must be something wrong somewhere with what has been accomplished without their aid. There is another class who equally strive to wave aside the new status Canada has won. They are the advocates of centralization, who do not want to abandon the dream that some form of imperial federation can be worked out and the empire ruled from one central seat of authority in London. Both these classes, so very different in their purposes, will, however, have to accept a new order of things.

The *Star* is a Liberal paper, though it supported Union Government and the Construction bill. It reads the imperialists out of court in the mild words just quoted. Bourassa, the advocate of a separate Canadian Republic, at about the same time was declaring in *Le Devoir* that

the triumph of British imperialism would

be, for Christian faith and civilization and the repose of the world, a peril as redoubtable as would have been the victory of German imperialism, the realization of the dreams of Pan-Slavism, or the permanence of the conquests of Islam: as disastrous as would be the triumph of international Bolshevism or the invasion of the Asiatics.

Such language naturally arouses the ire of *The Orange Sentinel* of Toronto, which sees in it evidences of its view that nothing would better please the French Nationalists and the Roman hierarchy than to see the British Empire fall to pieces.

The discussion at this writing (February, 1920) is proceeding at a lively pace throughout the country, chiefly in the columns of the newspapers. It originated in its present form with two statements, one that it is proposed to hold an imperial conference in London to discuss the constitutional relations of Britain and the nations of the empire; the other that under no conditions will Canada consent to the abandonment of her place in the League of Nations.

#### FRENCH-CANADIAN VIEW

It has been left to a French-Canadian newspaper, however, to give one of the clearest expositions of what is undoubtedly the view of the majority of Canadians in regard to imperial connection. *Le Soleil*, discussing a speech by the Hon. H. H. Asquith in the Paisley by-election campaign, in which the British statesman urged that the colonies of the empire remain as they are, that they be consulted in matters affecting them, but not placed in an imperial council, approved that viewpoint and proceeded:

We have always understood that the imperial bond was more moral than material, based on sympathy rather than antipathy, kept up by generosity rather than maintained by force and trickery. We prefer it that way, and in our humble opinion it is in that way that the Dominions beyond the seas will be more than ever tightly bound to the mother land. If the British Empire is to guard its power, it will not meddle with the affairs of the Government of the colonies, for that is likely to dislocate something and break the tie that has hitherto bound together so many people of different mentality, of varied tongues and often of opposing aspirations.

Nothing is impossible in the realm of Canadian politics if the history of the last few years is to be accepted as a criterion, and there have been more fantastic dreams than that the very question of imperialism, which has played so large a part in keeping the French and the English speaking Canadian from appreciating one another, may bring them together on a platform acceptable to both. That will not come about without a struggle on the part of the old guard, the imperialists who want more and not less of Downing Street influence in Canadian affairs. They may find ammunition in the attack that the lower tariff advocates in the House of Commons are planning to make in favor of freer trade with the United States and an extension of the preference to Great Britain until free trade with that country is gradually established.

#### PROGRESS IN QUEBEC PROVINCE

It is sometimes charged against Quebec that it progresses very slowly in a material sense, compared with other provinces. The war has, however, stimulated an advancement that for the previous decade had been quite marked. The habitant is essentially an agriculturist. His response to the appeal for greater food production proves it. In 1914 there were some 4,800,000 acres under cultivation in Quebec Province and agricultural products were valued at \$99,000,000. The figures for 1918 were 13,292,000 acres and \$273,000,000 in value of products, a war record that the people of Quebec say was not equaled by any other province.

The *Toronto World*, in combating the idea that the rural political revolution had left Quebec untouched, recently said:

Though Quebec has no counterpart to United Farmers of Ontario militancy, it is much further ahead than is generally supposed. There are nearly 800 farmers' co-operative societies in the province, and *Le Comptoir Co-Operatif* of Montreal, a sort of clearing house for their business, is increasing its turnover at a rapidly accelerating speed. The young farm women are also organizing strongly. It will be Quebec next.

*La Patrie*, a widely read French-Canadian newspaper, discussing the farmers'





A FAMILY GROUP OF FRENCH CANADIANS

(Photo B. &amp; C., Ltd.)

movement in the other provinces, is of opinion that the agricultural class of Quebec will be found as "well balanced" as the workingmen, who "have shown a moderation which has appreciably helped to dissipate the uneasiness from which the national industry has suffered." La Patrie holds that it would be no matter of surprise if the agriculturists of the province "acted as a counterbalance to the extremists, and deviated the farmers' political organizations of other provinces from ways that lead to danger."

#### CONFLICTING VIEWS

Certain journals and politicians will still continue to make much of any suggestion from French-Canadian sources that Quebec has grievances that can only be righted by such plans as that proposed by Wilfrid Gascon in a communciation to Le Canada, namely, independence within the "limits of the territory which was the cradle of the race." The method he advocates in a plebiscite under the principle of self-determination. Others see confirmation of what they believe to be the true condition of affairs in gather-

ings such as that held at Aylmer, Quebec, early this year, a bilingual educational conference called by the Government of the province. French Canadians, Irish Catholics and Scotch and English Protestants spoke from the same platform. Unity in the national sense and tolerance in matters of religion and education were the burden of their addresses. These observers point also to the eulogies of the French Canadian and other soldiers delivered in the Legislature of Quebec on the occasion of the debates as to the aid to be given to such of the returned men as desire to become farmers. Finally they ask if it is conceivable that the majority of French Canadians would favor any other method of government or connection than those under which they live. If, for instance, they become subjects of any other country as a separate State or province, would they still be entitled to the constitutional representation in Parliament, 65 members that cannot legally be lowered; to the right of dual language in speech and in printed word in all Parliamentary debates and Government documents; to

noninterference with their provincial school system and its religious lessons in their own faith?

English-speaking Canada has itself passed through too many phases of political agitation, in which one side has taunted the other with disloyalty, to warrant the throwing of stones at Quebec, and it is not yet done with them. One Toronto weekly newspaper of high standing thus advertised an article on the farmers' movement:

How the advanced wing of the farmers' party is advancing a mile a day toward the United States border, singing as they go:

"We don't give a d—  
If we land with Uncle Sam."

### QUEBEC'S ESSENTIAL LOYALTY

Quebec is bearing without a murmur her share of the heavy war burdens that Canada must meet for a long time to come. She is often misunderstood in the Dominion as she often misunderstands the other provinces. She nevertheless remains an essential and integral part of the country her people are helping to erect into a strong and progressive nation. It is not certain that the Nationalist movement has passed beyond the stage where it may again be a source of irritation and anxiety; the majority of Canadians of both races, however, pre-

fer to regard that movement as without real life, an excrescence that will eventually be removed from the body politic. They turn for inspiration, as they have often done of late, to the open letter written from the trenches by Captain Talbot M. Papineau, winner of the Military Cross and other decorations, to Henri Bourassa at a time when the Nationalist leader was conducting his most vigorous campaign against Canada's effort in the war. Papineau, a descendant of one of the leaders of that name in the rebellion of 1837, having expressed his love for the French language and his determination to remain a French Canadian, proceeded thus:

Can a nation's pride or patriotism be built upon the blood and suffering of others, or upon the wealth garnered from the coffers of those who, in anguish and with blood sweat, are fighting the battles of freedom? If we accept our liberties, our national life from the hands of the English soldiers, if without sacrifices of our own we profit by the sacrifices of the English citizens, can we hope to become a nation ourselves? How could we ever acquire that soul or create that pride without which a nation is a dead thing and doomed to speedy decay and disappearance? If you were truly a Nationalist—if you loved our great country and without smallness longed to see her become the home of a good and united people—surely you would have recognized this as her moment of travail and tribulation.

## Life Conditions in England

THE January number of The London Labor Gazette showed that the general level of living cost, including rent, clothing, fuel, light, and food, was 125 per cent. higher than that prevailing in July, 1914. Food alone stood at 136 per cent. above pre-war prices. Another great problem was that of housing. The scarcity of houses throughout the United Kingdom has long been for the Government a matter of serious concern. It was stated by Lord Astor, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health, on

Jan. 8, that as a result of a review of the situation the original estimate of 500,000 houses, required to shelter the population, had been increased to 800,000. The Director General of National Housing announced at this time that 20,000 houses were actually in course of construction.

Plans for 85,000 had been submitted, 65,000 had been approved, and contracts for the building of some 100,000 were to be entered into by the local authorities.



# Poland's War With Red Russia

## Soviet's Last Opponent on the Baltic Lays Down Peace Terms and Defeats Bolshevik Forces

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1920]

**F**OLLOWING closely on the conclusion of peace between Bolshevik Russia and Esthonia, the Polish Government received from Moscow an official overture of a cessation of hostilities pending ultimate agreement on special questions involved. The complete text of the Soviet offer, as given out in Moscow on Feb. 4, and published in the German-Swiss papers early in March, is as follows:

To Pilsudski, the Head of the State:  
The Council of People's Commissioners of the Russian Soviet Republic to the Government and the People of Poland:

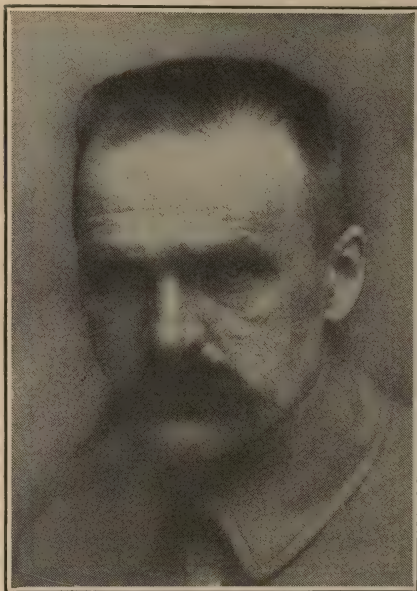
Declaration: It lies entirely with Poland to decide whether it will come to a conclusion which may have the most fatal effect upon the life of the nation for years. All indications are that the extreme imperialists of the Entente, the followers or agents of Churchill or Clemenceau, are at this moment attempting to involve Poland in a hare-brained and criminal war against Soviet Russia.

Conscious of its great responsibility to the laboring masses of Russia and inspired by the most earnest desire to avoid new and unlimited sacrifices, as well as the misfortune and the ruin that threaten both our peoples, the Council of People's Commissioners makes the following statement:

1. The policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is not guided by accidental and temporary military or diplomatic combinations, but by the inalienable right of every nation to determine its own destiny. The Council has recognized, and continues to recognize, unconditionally and unprovisionally the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Poland. From the first day of its existence the Polish State was based upon this recognition.

2. The Council of People's Commissioners declares anew, as it did at the time of the last peace proposal made to Poland on Dec. 22, by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, that the Red troops will not cross the present front lines in White Russia, which run through the following points: Drissa, Disna, Polock, Borysof, Paricze and the railroad stations of Plycz, Bialakore and Vizec.

As far as the Ukrainian front is concerned, the Council of People's Commissioners declares, in its own name and in the name of the Provisional Government of the Ukraine, that the Soviet troops of the Federative Republic will undertake no military operations west of the present front line, which runs through the



GENERAL PILSUDSKI  
*President of Poland and Chief Commander  
of Polish Armies  
(Underwood & Underwood)*

neighborhood of Udnof, Pilawa, Deratznia and the City of Bar.

3. The Council of People's Commissioners declares that the Soviet Republic has concluded no agreement or treaty with Germany or with any other country that is aimed directly or indirectly against Poland, and that the nature of the spirit of the international policy of the Soviet power precludes the slightest desire to take advantage of possible conflicts between Poland and Germany or any other country for the purpose of encroaching upon the independence of Poland and the inviolability of its territory.

4. The Council of People's Commis-



SCENE OF THE UNSUCCESSFUL DRIVE OF RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIST TROOPS  
AGAINST THE POLISH ARMY

stoners finds that in so far as the interests of Poland and Russia are concerned there is no question, territorial, economic, or of any other nature, that cannot be settled peaceably by means of arbitration, concessions, or mutual agreement, as was done in the case of the negotiations with Esthonia.

The Council of People's Commissioners has directed the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to obtain from the coming February session of the Central Executive Committee for Russia the formal confirmation of the above outlined basis of the policy of Soviet Russia toward Poland by the highest official body of the republic.

The Council of People's Commissioners, for its own part, believes that, through the present categorical declaration, it fulfills its duty regarding the peaceful interests of the Russian and Polish peoples. It entertains the confident hope that all pending questions between Russia and Poland will be settled through friendly agreements.

(Signed)

ULIANOV-LENIN, President of the Council of People's Commissioners.

TCHITCHERIN, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs.

TROTSKY, Military and Naval Commissioner.

#### PILSUDSKI'S VIEWPOINT

In an interview given in Warsaw on Feb. 9, General Pilsudski, Polish Chief of State, affirmed his belief that, despite their peace offer, the Bolsheviks were contemplating a new offensive against the Polish front. They were, he said, strengthening their forces daily and preparing to attack. He conceded that this was out of keeping with the conciliatory tone of the peace note, but explained it as an alternative in case the peace offer to Poland was rejected. He intimated, however, that if such an attack occurred the Polish Army would be equal to the task imposed upon it. Poland needed peace, but would not be intimidated according to the method followed in the case of Esthonia. As to the danger of the spread of the Bolshevik propaganda in case peace were made, he declared that the national sentiment of the country was so opposed to Bolshevism that there was little to fear on this score. One factor in the situation which Pilsudski was considering was the



enormous rise in prices in Esthonia following the Dorpat peace, due to the immediate export of Esthonian commodities to Soviet Russia.

Regarding the attitude of the allied Governments toward Poland's making peace, Lloyd George stated in Parliament on Feb. 19 that the question of peace or war was one that Poland must settle for herself. On the following day Pilsudski came out strongly in favor of making peace. His statement was in part as follows:

The moment to make peace with Russia has come, and it has come not only for Poland but for all the allied countries. Up to now no one has dared to tackle this immense problem. Only half measures have been attempted. Kolchak, Denikin and the rest have constituted a kind of ostrich's wing under which diplomacy has for long months been hiding its head. These half measures are useless and reactionary. It is impossible to revive old Russia by means of its former servants. One must find new methods. We must have courage to admit that a formidable change has come over Eastern Europe. The moment to have that courage has arrived, and we must set to work.

Poland proposes to the Allies to help them in the great task. We are not actuated by any ambition to play a great rôle, but only because, as Poland is the country most directly interested, it is right that she should take the initiative. We are therefore elaborating a plan which seeks to create a legal state of things in Eastern Europe. This plan will soon be submitted to the allied powers. Perhaps it will not be perfect in all its details. Some of its clauses will need to be discussed, but in any case our plan can be considered as a basis for the final settlement.

The Polish plan was not revealed, but it became known at this time that a Polish Peace Commission had been appointed, which was divided into three sections—military, financial and political-territorial. The Military Sub-Commission had for its task the fixing of the clauses of an armistice; the financial group was to fix the proportionate rights of Poland in the gold reserves of the former empire, and the political group was to establish the Polish territorial claims, and to draw up provisions devised to protect the interests of Poland's weaker neighbors. These commissions were holding secret sessions.

## POLISH PEACE TERMS

The results of this activity became apparent on Feb. 24, when the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Diet framed a note to the Bolshevik Government containing a statement of the terms on which Warsaw would undertake peace negotiations with Moscow. The five following conditions were laid down:

1. Poland asks Russia to give up territories to the west of the frontier of 1772 so that the inhabitants may freely choose their political future.
2. Russia must recognize the independence of the Baltic countries and leave them free to conclude with Poland such treaties as they may decide upon.
3. Poland states she will not continue to concern herself with the Ukraine provided a stable government is organized there.
4. Poland will demand that the Bolshevik Government give sufficient guarantees against Bolshevik propaganda efforts in Polish territory.
5. Poland will demand from Russia a war indemnity for devastations committed by the Russian Army in Poland as well as for damages done to Polish citizens in Russia under the Bolshevik régime.

Various details still remained to be settled, and the pourparlers with Moscow continued. The Polish Government on March 3 proposed to the Soviet authorities that they should begin direct peace negotiations without the conclusion of an armistice. The ground for this demand was the Polish belief that if an armistice were agreed to the Bolsheviks would take advantage of the cessation of hostilities to concentrate troops and reinforce various weak points along the front. It was planned to submit the final peace proposals by wire to the French and British Premiers before they were transmitted formally to the Bolshevik Government.

On learning of Poland's intention to embody in her peace terms insistence on control of territories west of her old frontier, as it existed prior to the first Polish partition of 1772, the Committee of Ambassadors in Paris on Feb. 28 drafted a note to Poland calling the attention of the Warsaw Government to the fact that Poland's eastern boundary, as laid down by the Supreme Council on Nov. 25, 1919, lay far to the westward of the districts which Poland had occupied by her armed forces, and to which

she was now endeavoring to establish a permanent claim. The note also protested against the proposed holding of elections for members of the Warsaw Diet in districts east of the line laid down by the council.

### BOLSHEVIKI OPEN OFFENSIVE

A general conference of Baltic States called to consider jointly the various peace offers made by the Soviet Government had been scheduled to open in Warsaw on March 8. Delegates were to be sent by Finland, Latvia and Rumania. In a statement signed by the Polish State officials the intention of pursuing the peace negotiations to their ultimate conclusion was reiterated. At this juncture, however, a new aspect of the situation arose with the sudden beginning of a strong offensive by the Bolsheviks on both sides of the Pripet region. The first blow, coinciding with a new attack on Finland, was struck about March 6. The Polish forces were said to be repulsing the enemy and inflicting heavy losses.

In commenting on this new onslaught President Pilsudski said:

Poland wants peace and is willing to discuss it, but we refuse to be forced to that discussion by threats of the Red Army.

At first I thought the Bolsheviks would negotiate with us peacefully, without *arrière pensée*. I wished to enter the discussion with the same frankness and had no intention of taking advantage of our favorable position to support our arguments by force of arms. I did not want peace imposed by our guns and bayonets.

Unfortunately, what I see of the Bolsheviks gives me the impression that they do not want a really pacific peace, but to force peace from us by the threat of their fists, as they did with the Estonians. I am not a man to be treated like that. I, too, can talk strongly and can be enraged if there is an attempt to impose upon me by threats. I am convinced that Poland shares my feelings. We will not make peace under pressure of threats. We want either a pacific peace freely accepted or war.

I am aware that the Bolsheviks are concentrating large forces on our front. But they are mistaken if they think to frighten us thus and offer us a sort of ultimatum. Our army is ready and I have full confidence in it. If it is threatened it can threaten in turn.

### POLES TRIUMPH ON PRIPET

News of a complete Polish victory in the region attacked reached Warsaw on March 8. Polish forces under Colonel Sikorski had attacked Bolshevik troops in the vicinity of Mozir and Kolenkovitz, southeast of Minsk, the day before, and captured these two important railway junctions with much war material, including several armored boats on the Pripet River. One thousand Red soldiers and many officers had been taken prisoner. In an official communiqué it was stated that the attack was made in order to prevent further hostile operations by the Soviet Army, and also to disperse Bolshevik troops which had been concentrated behind the enemy lines. The official communiqué said:

This victory is a worthy answer to the Bolshevik policy of suing for peace and at the same time continuing attacks along the front.

Warsaw advices indicated that not since the capture of Lemberg a year ago have the Polish people been so elated as they were on receiving the news from Pripet. The press jubilantly printed the opinion of military experts that by cutting the Mozir-Kolenkovitz line, and thus separating White Ruthenia from Moscow, the Red forces had been dealt a decisive blow. The Polish exultation was increased by new victories won by the Polish troops in repelling attacks begun by the Bolsheviks north of Mozir on March 10; eight guns, an artillery park and a great number of prisoners were taken. The forces of the Red Army were retreating in disorder beyond the Dnieper, the right bank of which was in possession of the Poles.

### KERENSKY'S REVELATIONS

At a lecture delivered in Paris on March 11 Kerensky, the former Russian Premier, made sensational revelations regarding secret agreements arranged between France, England and the Czar during the last days of the Romanov régime. France had demanded absolute ownership of the Sarre Valley and an indefinite military occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, and these demands had been acceded to, according to Kerensky, by Lord Milner, acting for



England, and by the Czar. Milner also agreed to the Czar's demand for the whole of Poland, including the Austrian and Prussian sections, despite his previous promise to accord that country autonomy; but M. Doumer, the French negotiator, declared that he must first consult his Government. Before the French answer came to Russia, the Czar had fallen; but when it reached Kerensky, who was then in power, it proved to be affirmative.

This revelation caused great excitement among the Polish correspondents in Paris, who at once cabled verbatim reports to Warsaw. It was said in Paris that Kerensky had made these disclosures in retaliation for the Allies' unwillingness to agree to his idea for settling the Russian problem by a policy of "hands off."

Ignace Jan Paderewski, the former Polish Premier, whose fall from power is said to have been precipitated by German-Austrian intrigues working through M. Bilinski, the Polish Foreign Minister, and a former Austrian official,

has retired to private life in his little home overlooking Lake Geneva. Interviewed in Paris early in March, he was reluctant to talk of the strenuous period through which he had passed, but expressed high hopes of the future of his country. "I am certain that an era of peace and prosperity has begun for Poland," he said, "and that I have not labored in vain." He declared that he would give no more concert tours, but would devote himself purely to musical composition. He was then at work on the composition of a Polish national anthem.

The Polish Legation at Washington announced on March 1 that negotiations for floating the bonds of a private loan for \$50,000,000 to be raised in the United States for Poland had been concluded with the People's Industrial Trading Corporation of New York. No objections to the proposed loan had been made by the United States Government. The funds raised by this loan, the first to any of the States arising out of the war, were to be used by the Polish Government for purposes of reconstruction.

## General Maurice on Lord Haldane

WRITING in The London Star, James Douglas says: "History will reverse the judgment of journalism with regard to three great English statesmen—Mr. Asquith, Lord Grey and Lord Haldane. Already the process is visible. There is an impalpable shifting of opinion. Revolution is in the air. The tempest of detraction is overpast. There is an uneasy silence that is a kind of remorse."

This judgment is confirmed by Major Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, who in reviewing Lord Haldane's new book, "Before the War," brings out strongly the point made by Mr. Douglas that the fate of the world trembled on a narrow margin of forty-eight hours and that "the organizer of victory who gave the world that margin was Lord Haldane." General Maurice says:

When, at Mr. Asquith's request, Lord Haldane, on Aug. 3, 1914, re-entered the

War Office, which he had left to become Lord Chancellor, to press the button and set in motion the machine he had created, that machine worked without the smallest hitch or friction, and by its means our Expeditionary Force was assembled on Aug. 19 just south of the French fortress of Maubeuge, ready to advance to Mons.

By its presence there in those numbers and at that time it foiled the first carefully prepared German plan of campaign, it saved Paris, and it saved the Channel ports. I will not say that had it not been where it was when it was Germany would have won the war, for I believe that the causes of Germany's defeat were far deeper, but, unquestionably, without it victory would only have been won at a cost far greater than that under which we are today groaning.

Such is our debt to the man, recognized and honored by all soldiers, from Lord Haig downward, who know the facts, as the greatest Secretary for War within memory, a debt which, to our shame, has been paid by ignorant abuse and venomous slander.

# The Problem of Russia

## Progress of the Soviet Drive for Trade Resumption and Peace With Other Nations—Attitude of the Allies

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1920]

THE reaction following the announced intention of the Council of Premiers to resume trade relations with Soviet Russia through the Russian Co-operative Societies without official recognition of the Soviet Government was prolonged throughout February and March. Despite the fact that the representatives of these societies in Paris, after their first confident assertion that the plan was feasible, admitted that the Soviet Government had not lent its sanction to the project, the Government leaders of the two chief allies reiterated their intention to carry it through, and declared that a way would yet be found to make it possible. That both Lenin and Trotzky were eager to bring about such a resumption was stated by both in interviews with Lincoln Eyre, correspondent of The New York World. The attitude of Trotzky may be summarized from these interviews as follows:

We recognize our need for outside help in setting Russia on its feet industrially and economically. It is a tremendous enterprise that may take ten years to accomplish. But Russia is rich in natural resources. The people who help us first will be the first to profit. Foreign capitalists who invest their money in Russian enterprises or who supply us with required merchandise will receive material guarantees of adequate character.

But the condition of the agreement will be such as to prevent its being made a means to strangle us under the guise of helping to regenerate the Russian people. The view that Germany will be admitted "on the ground floor" is absurd. Russia cannot possibly expect economic assistance from Germany, in view of that country's economic instability, due to her defeat in war. It is obvious that we must look to the victorious nations, to Great Britain, or still better, to America, for machinery, agricultural tools and other imports, which Russia's economic renaissance demands. The very countries that are now trying to throttle us are the ones

who have most to gain in getting on a trading basis with us.

Lenin's comment was as follows:

If peace is a corollary of trade with us, the Allies cannot avoid it much longer. I know no reason why a Socialistic Commonwealth like ours cannot do business indefinitely with capitalistic countries. Of course, they will have to have business relations with the hated Bolsheviks—that is, the Soviet Government. This talk of reopening trade relations with Russia seems to us insincere, or at least obscure—a move in a game of chess rather than a frank, straightforward proposition that would be immediately grasped and acted upon. If the Supreme Council really means to lift the blockade, why does it not tell us of its intentions? The statesmen of the Entente and the United States do not seem to understand that Russia's present economic distress is simply part of the world's economic distress. Without Russia, Europe cannot get on her feet. In Russia we have wheat, flax, platinum, potash and many minerals of which the whole world stands in desperate need. The world must come to us for them in the end, Bolshevism or no Bolshevism. There are signs that this truth is now being realized. But Russia can be saved from utter ruin, and Europe also, only by quick action. And the Supreme Council is slow, very slow.

### LLOYD GEORGE EXPLAINS

Some light was thrown upon the allied policy by Mr. Lloyd George's statements in Parliament on Feb. 11. Taking up point by point the various arguments for or against the decision reached by the Government he finally shaped a line of reasoning which may be summarized as follows:

1. The horrors of Bolshevism are admitted. It is true that the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a betrayal. Bolshevism is not democracy, but rule by a privileged minority. The first "war on opinion" was begun by the Bolsheviks themselves when they dissolved the National Assembly.



2. But it has become perfectly clear that Bolshevism cannot be crushed by force of arms. The Allies were bound to give the anti-Bolshevist forces their chance to recover Russia, for it was the Allies who first called them into being, originally for the purpose of arresting the German advance into the grain area. But these forces have failed in their attempt to regain the country, not through any lack of assistance or equipment, but from causes of a fundamental nature.

3. Civil war might again be incited in the South and prolonged for many years to come; Russia could be devastated and left a blackened waste for another generation. But this would transform Bolshevism into a permanent militarism, which would spell danger for the rest of Europe. Furthermore, it would be difficult, because, for reasons not gone into, the volunteer army of Denikin, during its occupation of large areas of Southern Russia, has alienated the population as a whole.

4. An advancing ring of fire might be organized to encircle Soviet Russia and finally penetrate to its heart, through the combination of Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, Rumania, Denikin's forces and the Japanese. But Finland's attitude is opposed to such an attempt; the Baltic States are making peace with the Bolshevik Government; Rumania is busy watching her Hungarian frontier; the Japanese would refuse to wage an aggressive war on Bolshevism. And if such gigantic armies were raised, who would pay them, who would equip them and maintain them? France and Italy will not; America will not, and what British statesman would accept the responsibility of putting such a burden upon the taxpayers of Great Britain?

#### PEACE AND TRADE

5. To the suggestion that peace should be made with the Bolsheviks the only answer possible is this: Until assurances are received—assurance from observation and experience—that the Government in control of Russia has dropped its methods of terrorism and is governing by civilized means, there is no civilized community in the world which will be prepared to make direct peace. Fur-

thermore, this Government's control of Ukraine and the Cossack territory has not yet been definitely established; it cannot yet show that it represents the whole of Russia.

6. What is the only course left? Europe cannot be restored without putting Russia into circulation—its natural wealth and resources. The attempt to restore Russia to sanity by force has failed. This attempt may succeed through the reopening of trade. Commerce has a sobering effect. The Russians are cold and hungry; they need machinery, plows, locomotives, cars, and the whole of Europe is short of what they can give in return for these necessities. Trade alone will bring an end to the ferocity, the rapine and the crudities of Bolshevism more surely than any other method. The withdrawal of Russia from the supplying markets of Europe is contributing to high prices, the high cost of living, to scarcity and hunger. Before the war Russia supplied one-fourth of the whole export wheat of the world—4,000,000 tons. Four-fifths of the flax grown in the world was produced in Russia. One-third of the imported butter used in Great Britain came directly or indirectly from Russia. The grain and flour staples, maize, barley, oats, totaled 9,000,000 tons. The figures are prodigious in every direction. The world needs these vast supplies. There are high prices in Britain, high prices in France, high prices in Italy, and there is stark hunger in Central Europe, while the corn bins of Russia, according to reliable information, are bulging with grain.

7. In conclusion the British Premier said:

I do not say that there is all this grain in Russia now. Nobody quite knows what the facts are. All I can say is that our reports are that there is grain available in Russia if you can get the necessary transport organized to get it out. Europe needs it; but you will not get it so long as contending armies roll across the borders. It is not a question of recognizing the Government. It is a question of dealing with the people who have got commodities to sell and to exchange for what we can give them. When people are hungry you cannot refuse to buy corn in

Egypt because there is a Pharaoh on the throne. The conditions in Europe are serious. Conditions of distrust, jealousy and strife are being used as a leverage by organized anarchy. \* \* \* There is but one way—we must fight anarchy with abundance.

### CO-OPERATIVES AS MEDITATORS

The method by which the renewal of Russian trade could be attained without recognition of the Soviet Government still remained something of a mystery. It appeared, however, from statements made by Sir Hamar Greenwood to the Supreme Economic Council in Paris that wireless messages were being exchanged with Moscow, and a delegation of "extra Russians" had left for that city by way of Copenhagen to initiate negotiations. The Moscow Co-operatives, furthermore, had asked that they should be allowed to come to France and England to discuss arrangements. To avoid the danger of Bolshevik propaganda it had been decided that the Co-operatives outside Russia should demand a list of those to be sent from Soviet Russia, and the Supreme Council would decide if those selected were acceptable.

Moscow announced on March 11 that such a delegation, to consist of Nozin, Rosovsky, Khintchuk, Litvinov and Krassin, had been named. Of these five Litvinov was persona non grata because of propaganda conducted by him while "Ambassador" of the Soviet Government in London. Krassin is one of the leading Bolsheviks of Moscow, the former representative of a German steamship line; the remaining three are acknowledged Bolsheviks, but little known abroad.

The Supreme Council on Feb. 24 had reiterated its decision to encourage commerce between Russia and the remainder of Europe, while still declining to renew diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government until it should have adopted civilized methods of procedure. In its essence this decision merely reaffirmed the council's resolution adopted in Paris on Jan. 16, but by this time the idea, which had formerly led to bitter attacks, was generally accepted as a quite natural development. The International Labor Bureau had decided to

send a delegation to Russia to study conditions there; but the council expressed its belief that supervision of this delegation should be under the League of Nations, in order to give the investigators greater authority.

The main points of the decision reached by the Council of Premiers on this date were as follows: Resumption of trade relations with Russia, with important reservations; the Soviet Government would be asked to abandon propaganda and to recognize existing loans; the Allies, on their part, would not encourage border States to make further war on the Bolsheviks. The British and French Premiers agreed fully on this decision. Resumption of political relations was not pressed, so that the real difficulty of the Russian situation—recognition of the Soviet Republic—remained unsolved.

### NEGOTIATIONS AT COPENHAGEN

Meanwhile it was announced by Harold Scavenius, Danish Minister at Petrograd, that James O'Grady, British representative at Copenhagen, who had been conducting negotiations for an exchange of prisoners with Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet representative, had been authorized to present to the Soviet Government through Litvinov the bases of Great Britain's proposals. The principles laid down, according to a dispatch from the correspondent of the Buenos Aires newspaper, *La Nacion*, dated Feb. 27, were as follows:

1. Tacit recognition of the Maximalist political régime.
2. Noninterference by Great Britain with respect to the internal condition of those countries separated from former Russian rule on the west, namely Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Ukraina and Poland.
3. Noninterference by Great Britain in the affairs of Siberia.
4. Demobilization of the Red Army.
5. A promise by the Bolsheviks to recognize the independence of the southern republics, especially Georgia.
6. Noninterference by Russia with the territories on the frontiers of Georgia and Persia.
7. Payment in gold for goods exported or imported between Russia and Great Britain.
8. A régime of commercial equality for



Russia and Great Britain in the autonomous States on the western front.

The Nacion correspondent stated that the Moscow Government was disposed to accept several of these points, but that it stood firm against the fourth and sixth points.

### SOVIET MILITARY TRIUMPHS

During these pourparlers the Soviet Government's military effort to dispose of its remaining enemies was unrelaxed. In the latter half of February and the first two weeks in March the anti-Bolshevist forces in North and South Russia met defeat after defeat. Archangel was captured on Feb. 20; the "White" authorities fled from the city, and the Russian troops remained behind and joined the Reds. The Government was taken over by the professional workmen through an appointed committee. Murmansk also, which had been the base of operations for the allied forces in 1919, was seized by the Reds on Feb. 23, following a revolution which broke out two days before. A message received by Maxim Litvinov at Copenhagen stated that the whole of North Russia had fallen into the hands of the Soviet authorities. The Bolshevik forces had stopped their advance on the Finno-Karelian front on condition that Finland open peace negotiations without delay.

Along the whole southern front, from Odessa to the Sea of Azov, and thence to the Caspian and Caucasus sectors, the Bolsheviks, despite some temporary reverses, drove the Denikin forces back at will. Rostov, in the ebb and flow of fighting, was taken by Denikin again on Feb. 20, only to be recaptured by the Reds soon thereafter. The forces of Denikin were demoralized and decimated by typhus; the exact whereabouts of his main force was for some time unknown, but it was reported from Moscow on March 1 that his army had been "trapped" in the Kuban district of the Caucasus. Advices received on March 11 indicated that he was still fighting, but with very indifferent success.

In Siberia the spread of Bolshevism went on unchecked; Irkutsk, the former Kolchak capital, according to Moscow statements, had been entered by Bolshe-

vist regulars early in March, but Vladivostok still remained in the hands of the Socialist revolutionaries. In the latter city the new régime showed marked friendliness to the American military authorities, to whose policy of noninterference it attributed in part the success of the new movement.

Details of the capture and execution of Admiral Kolchak, who was put to death by the revolutionists at Irkutsk on Feb. 7, became available through a telegram received by Rear Admiral Smirnov, Minister of Marine in the Kolchak Cabinet, shortly after his arrival at Peking. The story of the dramatic end of Kolchak's career is as follows:

### HOW KOLCHAK WAS EXECUTED

General Janin, commander of Czech forces in Siberia, was under orders from the Allies to protect Kolchak after the collapse of his Government and to convey him to a place of safety. When Kolchak, after the fall of Tomsk, reached Nizhni Udinsk, northwest of Irkutsk, he at once placed himself under the protection of the Czechs stationed there. With him were forty-eight officers and civilians, including former Premier Pepeliayev. As immediate withdrawal from this district was imperative, the Kolchak party was placed in a car attached to a train of Czech soldiers going toward Irkutsk.

When the train reached Chermenkovo, eighty miles northwest of Irkutsk, coal miners who had been informed of Kolchak's presence on board demanded his surrender, threatening, in case of refusal, to cut off all coal supplies from trains on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Kolchak offered to surrender if the miners would permit his followers to proceed in safety, but the latter united in refusing to take advantage of their leader's sacrifice.

The train, with Kolchak still on board, proceeded to Irkutsk, but upon its arrival there pressure was brought to bear on the Czechs, who, fearing that they would be annihilated, finally withdrew their guard and permitted the Socialist revolutionaries to seize Kolchak. At this time there were 5,000 Czechs and a battalion of Japanese soldiers at Irkutsk. After Kolchak had been held prisoner at Irkutsk

for a short time the Socialist revolutionaries learned that an attempt would be made to free the captive. They decided upon his execution, therefore, and he was put to death, former Premier Peleliayev facing the firing squad with him. These details were sent to Admiral Smirnov by members of the Kolchak party who had escaped from Irkutsk and reached Chita, 400 miles further east.

Anti-Bolshevist elements numbering more than 35,000 reached Trans-Baikalia early in March, and the problem of feeding, clothing and giving medical care to the former soldiers of Kolchak after their terrible march was taxing all the resources of this district. Stores belonging to the late Omsk Government kept in Manchuria were hurried to Chita to meet the emergency. It was stated at this time that the Soviet forces, strengthened by the huge stores captured at Omsk and points east of that city, were threatening the whole Trans-Baikal region.

#### SEMENOV LOSING GROUND

General Semenov, in control of the anti-Soviet troops in Eastern Siberia, was reported at this time to have lost the support of the Buriat tribesmen, upon which he had always counted. Colonel C. H. Morrow, commander of the 27th United States Infantry, stated that Semenov's Mongols and Buriats had committed nameless atrocities, and that he had also collected evidence of terrible excesses perpetrated by General Semenov's regular force. All races in this district, including the Japanese, had repudiated him. As for General Horvath, in charge of the operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Socialist Conference at Harbin, Manchuria, issued a note disavowing his administration, and recognizing the authority of the Zemstvo Government of Vladivostok pending reunion of all Russian dominions under the Government of Moscow. The Chinese authorities had resisted this decree, and a clash was said to be inevitable. The Cossack forces at B'agovestchensk had surrendered this city to the Soviet forces, the Japanese forces there remaining neutral.

While thus consolidating its military

successes upon all fronts, the Lenin Government continued its campaign for peace both at home and abroad. In an apparent effort to make its program agreeable to the middle-class peasantry of the Ukraine, which had been violently opposed to the Bolshevist methods, the Soviet Central Executive Committee in Moscow adopted a new agrarian policy for the Ukraine, which was printed in the Kiev Communist paper Borotba, and quoted in part as follows by the Berlin Freiheit of Feb. 13:

In view of the fact that the peasantry forms the majority in the Ukraine to a still greater degree than in Russia, it is the task of the Soviet Government in the Ukraine to win the confidence not only of the country proletariat, but also of the broad masses of the middle-class farm owners. In working out the policy of food supply (the furnishing of grain through the State for maximum prices, compulsory distribution) great care must be taken in putting it into effect, and it must harmonize with the psychology and sentiments of the Ukrainian peasantry. The objects and tasks of agrarian policy in the Ukraine should be the following:

1. Complete liquidation of the system of big land holding restored by Denikin, accompanied by the giving of the land to the landless and those short of land.
2. Communist administrations must only be set up in case of necessity when the vital interests of the local peasantry are to be taken into account.
3. In matters concerning the uniting of the peasants in communes, artels, &c., there must be strictly carried out that policy of the party which in this respect tolerates no compulsion, and leaves these things exclusively to the untrammelled decision of the peasants, severely punishing any attempts to apply the principle of compulsion in these cases.

#### SOVIET PEACE DRIVE

With Esthonia eliminated from the circle of its enemies by the Dorpat peace, with Poland suspending military operations and considering the Soviet overtures of peace with the tacit approval of the Allies, and with Lithuania and Rumania consenting to preliminary negotiations, the Bolshevist Government turned its peace efforts still further abroad.

Official overtures of peace were sent to all the principal allied nations, including Japan, on Feb. 27, and similar overtures were wirelessly to the United



States Government. Each offer was carefully couched to make its special appeal to the nation addressed. For the small, weak Baltic States newly risen from Russia's ruin there was held out the recognition of independence, frontier delimitation on racial lines and cessation of hostilities to permit of rebuilding the shattered national life. To England were offered huge stocks of wheat, flax and hides at low prices. France was promised that the Soviets would assume payment of 14,000,000,000 francs of the bonds issued under the Czar's rule. Japan was assured that the revolutionary propaganda threatening to plunge her into chaos would be stopped; she was also offered a "sphere of influence" in Manchuria. Germany was allured by a promise of trade co-operation and free access to sorely needed raw materials; to America was held out the bait of rich concessions to add new billions to her national wealth.

#### PEACE OFFER TO AMERICA

It subsequently appeared that two peace proposals had been sent to the Washington Government, only one of which had been received. State Department officials announced that no cognizance of it would be taken, and that it had been reforwarded back to Nelson Morris, the American Minister at Stockholm. The text of this offer, which was not given out by the State Department, was sent to The New York American by its Berlin correspondent, Karl H. von Wiegand. The text, as given, was as follows:

Moscow, Feb. 24.

State Department, Washington, D. C.:

The victorious advance of the valiant Soviet army in Siberia and the universal, popular movement against the counter-revolution and against foreign invasion which has spread with irresistible force throughout Eastern Siberia, have brought into immediate proximity the question of re-establishing connection between Soviet Russia and the United States of America.

Reports that have reached us from our representative, Mr. Martens, show with clearness that American commerce and industry are able to help in a very large measure in the great work of the reconstruction of Russia's economics; that the United States can play a gigantic rôle in the realization of this problem, and that numerous prominent representatives of the

American business world are quite willing to take an active part in this work.

The more the trials of civil war that Russia has gone through are retreating into the past, the more will all the forces of the Russian people concentrate upon the fundamental aim of reconstructing the country, and American production, wealth and enterprise can be among the greatest assets in helping us to attain our purpose.

It can be affirmed decidedly that the connection between Soviet Russia and America will be of the greatest use to both parties, and that both will reap from it the largest benefit.

Having no intention whatever of interfering with the internal affairs of America, and having for its sole aim peace and trade, the Russian Soviet Government is desirous of beginning without delay peace negotiations with the American Government.

On Dec. 5 and 7 the All-Russian Congress of Soviets solemnly proposed to all Governments of the allied and associated powers, and to each of them separately, to commence negotiations with the view of concluding peace.

Once more this proposal is made, and we ask the Government of the United States of America to inform us of its wishes with respect of a place and time for peace negotiations between the two countries.

TCHITCHERIN,

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

The second offer, which the State Department declared it had not received, was stated on Feb. 28 to have contained promises of the re-establishment of a Government of democratic principles, and the assumption of 60 per cent. of the Russian national debt, with the payment of accrued interest.

#### AGGRESSIVE POLICY DENIED

Commenting on the Soviet peace terms, both Lenin and Trotzky, in the interviews accorded Lincoln Eyre, denied that Soviet Russia was of a militaristic tendency, and that it had no idea of armed aggression upon any other nation. By dint of stupendous efforts, said Trotzky, a peace-loving population of workers and peasants had been transformed into the strongest army now existing in Europe. No other State, he declared, could have done what Russia, bankrupt, bleeding and starved as she has been for the last four years, had successfully accomplished. Neither England nor France could assemble today an army of the strength and spirit of that of Bolshevik

Russia, and it was the consciousness of this military impotency which had dictated the allied policy of aiding the border States to wage war for them vicariously. "But the defeats our proletarian fighting men have inflicted have had a salutary effect," he added. "Already all the Baltic States are conferring with our emissaries, with a view to peace, which has now become merely a matter of time."

The Red Army, Trotzky declared, was "the most anti-militaristic body in the world." Nine-tenths of its members were workmen and peasants, and pacifists all. The other tenth were soldiers and officers who had formerly served under the Czar. Immediate demobilization would be carried out as soon as hostilities ceased. "Militarism, striking as it does at the very roots of Communism, cannot possibly exist in Soviet Russia, the only truly pacific country in the world."

Lenin, on his part, declared that the only danger of military aggression came not from Soviet Russia, but from Poland; even Foch, however, could not give the Poles victory against the Red Army, which had become invincible. The Soviet Army had triumphed on every front, and peace was coming speedily with all. [An account of the Polish successes won against the Bolshevik forces early in March will be found in the article on Poland.]

### CONSCRIPTION OF LABOR

Russia's internal situation was described by Lenin in this interview as "critical, but hopeful." The cities, he said, would be sufficiently supplied by Spring to save them from famine. The fuel crisis was improving. In this connection he said:

The reconstruction period is under way, thanks to the Red Army's stupendous performances. Now parts of that army are transformed into armies of labor, an extraordinary phenomenon only possible in a country struggling toward a high ideal. Certainly it could not be done in capitalistic countries. We have sacrificed everything to victory over our armed antagonists in the past; and now we shall turn all our strength to economic

rehabilitation. It will take years, but we shall win out in the end.

These "armies of labor" referred to by Lenin were discussed by Trotzky, Minister of War, in his address before the Third Russian Congress, held in Moscow on Jan. 25. His explanation was in part as follows:

Many in the army have already accomplished their military task, but they cannot be demobilized as yet. Now that they have been released from their military duties, they must fight against economic ruin and against hunger, they must work to obtain fuel, peat and other heat-producing products, they must take part in building, in clearing the lines of snow, in repairing roads, building sheds, grinding flour, &c.

We have already organized several of these armies, and their tasks have been allotted to them. One army must obtain foodstuffs for the workmen of the districts in which it was formerly stationed, and it also will cut wood, cart it to the railways and repair engines. Another army will help in the laying down of railway lines for the transport of crude oil. A third labor army will be used for repairing agricultural implements and machines, and in the Spring will take part in the working of the land. \* \* \*

The Russian proletariat already feels responsible for the welfare of its country and for its economic life. The hardships and poverty we are suffering are educating the workers of the proletariat. Under those conditions every workman and every workwoman is beginning to realize what economic life means to the country. This makes us confident that we will overcome our economic disorganization.

We shall succeed if qualified and trained workers take part in productive labor. Trade unions must register qualified workmen in the villages. Only in those localities where trade union methods are inadequate other methods must be introduced, in particular that of compulsion, because labor conscription gives the State the right to tell the qualified workman who is employed on some unimportant work in his village, "You are obliged to leave your present employment and go to Sormovo or Kolomna because there your work is required."

Labor conscription means that the qualified workmen who leave the army must take their workbooks and proceed to places where they are required, where their presence is necessary to the economic system of the country. We must feed these workmen and guarantee them the minimum food ration.



# Why Kolchak Failed in Siberia

## An Official Manifesto

**T**HE following document throws light upon the causes of Admiral Kolchak's failure to get the support of the Siberian communities that came under his rule. It is a manifesto of the President of the Regional Duma of Siberia, issued at Vladivostok last September and embodying a detailed indictment of the dictatorial methods employed by the head of the Omsk Government. The translation here presented is that of *The Contemporary Review*:

In these days of fresh trials, when our Fatherland is face to face with the greatest perils, which threaten it from within and from without, I consider it my duty as the chief of the elected representatives of Siberia, to address to my country the following manifesto:

Nine months of dictatorship of Admiral Kolchak, who has, by sheer violence, overthrown the representative Government of the Directorate, have now brought Siberia to a state of complete disintegration and ruin.

The work of regenerating the Russian State, begun by the democracy with such enormous difficulties and sacrifices, has been criminally ruined by an irresponsible power.

The army, created by the volunteer movement and the enthusiasm of the population struggling for a people's Commonwealth, has been brought to the verge of complete destruction. The retreat beyond the Urals, the loss of Ekaterinburg, Uchaliabinsk, Kurgan, Tulaen, opening to the Bolsheviks the road to the heart of Siberia, all these are the inevitable consequences of the disorganizing policy of the Omsk Government.

Out of touch with the population, peasants and workmen, not recognized by the active elements of the people and by the local executives, the Government of Kolchak proved unfit to accomplish the task of organizing the defense of the country, which it declared to be its foremost object.

Poorly clothed and lacking supplies, the army, not receiving fresh drafts from the rear, was compelled to take care of itself and to renew its forces by mobilizing the population in districts adjoining the front. Again, carts and corn were taken by force from that population which, on the other hand, had no confidence in the Government. The General Headquarters, separated from the front by 1,000 versts, gave no assistance to the army, and at

the same time, through its orders and instructions, created fatal differences in the High Command, paralyzed the work of the best commanding Generals, and sowed among the soldiers mistrust in their officers.

This disintegration of the army simply reflected the general disorganization in the rear.

In spite of the proclamation of a state of war and a state of siege, in spite of severe repressive measures and capital punishment, the irresponsible power could not establish the necessary civil order; on the contrary, it furthered civil war by destroying the order which existed before.

Thanks to the administration of Admiral Kolchak, not a trace is left of the enthusiasm with which the population greeted the fall of the Soviet power. The latent unrest, originating from the time of the proclamation of dictatorship, was steadily growing, and in many places took the shape of open mutiny. A wave of peasants' risings—those same peasants who a short time ago had chased the Bolsheviks out of the country—swept through Siberia and clearly revealed the deep discontent of the population. The Government took no steps to appease the country, except flogging and shooting and brutal violence exceeding that of the Bolsheviks. Always busy with intriguing and political moves, the Government did not show the least trace of statesmanship. It failed even to introduce unity into the administration and to curtail local satraps, every one of whom behaved as an absolute autocrat, making laws and ruling the population according to his discretion.

As a result of such administration the country is now on the verge of a catastrophe. The army and the country could not remain indifferent in the face of such a situation; their voice becomes louder and louder in calling the guilty by their names; they grow ever more definite and persistent in their efforts to find a way out.

Both town and rural councils have again and again warned the Government, pointing out that the salvation of the country will be found not in the dictatorship and in the bayonets, but in the creation of a power that will have the authority and confidence and recognition of the population. The best and most popular Generals, acting as the spokesmen of the army, have many times drawn the attention of Admiral Kolchak to the necessity of radical reforms in the rear in order to insure

the safety of the front. Louder and louder became the voices of local executives, of the various public bodies, of prominent public workers, of the representatives of the High Command, demanding the immediate convocation of a representative assembly and the creation of a responsible Government. And yet the Government of Admiral Kolchak remains deaf and blind and continues to lead the country to unavoidable ruin. It is now evident to all and sundry that this Government can not and must not remain in existence.

It is now too late to negotiate; the enemy is at the gates. For the sake of the Fatherland we must act. If the existing power does not realize its duty toward the country, this duty will have to be discharged by the population itself. As the President of a Siberian representative body I take upon myself the great honor and responsibility of inviting the population of Siberia to proceed immediately to create a body of representatives of the people.

So long as the Constituent Assembly of all Siberia is not convoked such a representative body must be created by the towns and rural councils elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and also by the local executives of the Cossack regions and various nationalities. I invite all these local executives to elect immediately representatives to form the Assembly of Siberia (Semsky Sobor).

The statutes of the Assembly, as well as the time and place of its opening meeting, will be published in due course.

The tasks which will be put before the Assembly are the following:

1. The creation of a provisional Government responsible to the Assembly.

2. The working out of statutes and regulations for the Constituent Assembly of all Siberia and the taking of steps for its prompt convocation.

3. The restoration of the legal foundations of civil order.

4. The handing over of the local administration to the municipal bodies.

5. The abolition of the laws and orders of the Omsk Government restricting the rights of the peasants to the use of the land, and the delegation of the rights and duties of the bodies who now regulate the use of the land to the local Government bodies.

6. The restoration of the freedom of the workmen's professional organizations; urgent legislation for protection of labor.

7. Abolition of the reactionary régime in the army; the increasing of its fighting capacity for the struggle for peace on the basis of a people's commonwealth.

8. An amnesty to the participants in peasants' risings who fought for the defense of the Constituent Assembly.

I publish the above manifesto, being deeply convinced that the country will find ways and means to enable its elected representatives to accomplish their sacred duty toward their Fatherland.

In a complete union of all elements of the population grouped round the Assembly of the land, hand in hand and ready for sacrifices, there and there only lies the way of salvation for the country, of the defense of the people's freedom and authority against all aggressors and usurpers.

J. JAXUSHEW,  
President of the Siberian Regional Duma.  
Vladivostok, Sept. 5, 1919.

## Germans in Morocco

THE local press of Morocco City on Dec. 8 announced the approaching publication of a decree of the Sultan regulating the terms on which German subjects would be allowed to return and reside in the French Protectorate of Morocco and in Tangier. The terms of the decree provide that no German subject can take up residence in Morocco without the authorization of the Sultan's Government; that any German inheriting property in Morocco must dispose of it within one year to a non-German subject; that three months will be allowed

any German for the liquidation of his affairs in case authorization to reside is withdrawn; that punishment shall be meted out to transgressors of this decree, and that the French tribunals shall have authority to apply its terms. The decree was to be officially communicated to the international representatives at Tangier by the Sultan's representative, and the Pasha of Tangier was to have full authority to punish all infractions. The status of Germans in the Spanish zone remained doubtful, but it was believed in Morocco that the Spanish authorities would issue a similar decree.



# The New Russian National Spirit

## View of a Pro-Bolshevist Observer, Who Holds That All Classes Are Now Supporting the Lenin-Trotsky Regime

*The growing tendency toward some kind of recognition of Soviet Russia, as instanced in the allied Premiers' action favoring a resumption of trade relations with that country, may be traced in part to the publication, during February and March, 1920, of numerous articles from correspondents praising the constructive efforts of the Bolshevik régime. CURRENT HISTORY, in pursuance of its policy of giving both sides of controversial questions, herewith presents one of the more significant articles of this nature from the pen of a British pro-Bolshevist correspondent of The Manchester Guardian, who had just returned from a tour of Central Russia:*

UP to and even during the great war there was no Russian national spirit comparable in its intensity with the British or with the French. The Russians fought in the war, and fought well, but the peasant soldiers had only the foggiest notion of what it was all about, and the intelligentsia had always a curious aloofness in considering the struggle and its probable results. Some of them, particularly on the extreme right, were convinced that Russia was fighting on the wrong side.

This attitude of aloofness persists among those who have deserted the revolution and are fighting against it on the fringes of Russia and in the lobbies of the European capitals. They are more or less indifferent as to the source from which they get their help. It does not occur to them as strange that they, dining comfortably abroad, should clamor for the continued blockade of their own country. They agitate in Berlin as in London, and with better hopes. They know that if they do succeed in beating their own country they will find readier help \* \* \* from Germany than from the Allies, if only because Germany is geographically nearer, and German reaction more closely depends on Russian reaction for its own existence. \* \* \*

Central Russia alone is not buying foreigners to fight Russians, but is fighting consciously against foreign interference on the whole of its circumference. It can have no "orientation" toward any saviors, English or German, for all alike

are its enemies. Here, and here only, is Russia, as Russia, fighting for Russia, and it is to Moscow and not to the backwoods that we must look for the organizing force and for the spirit with which Russia will emerge from the hardships to which we are submitting her, as we temper a blade by submitting it to extremes of heat and cold.

This enormous political advantage is perfectly realized by the Bolsheviks, though they are perhaps less conscious of the fact, patent to all independent observers, that they are themselves being transformed into nationalists. The Bolshevik Stalin, an intimate friend of Lenin, thus explains their victories over Kolchak and Denikin: "The victory of Denikin or Kolchak would mean the loss of Russia's independence and the turning of Russia into a milch cow for English and French moneybags. In this sense the Government of Denikin and Kolchak is the most anti-popular, the most anti-national Government; in this sense the Soviet Government is the only popular, the only national Government (in the best meaning of that word) \* \* \*" (Pravda, Dec. 28, 1919).

### EFFECTS OF BLOCKADE

Then, again, the hardship caused by the continuance of the war and the blockade falls not on any political party alone, but on the whole population, and naturally, with every day, more and more of the population is drawn into the common struggle to end that hardship. This is not to be wondered at except by those

who swallow the fairy story that a small minority of hooligans and murderers have been able to keep up a successful fight all these long months against forces equipped far more efficiently than they. That fairy story does not fit the facts, which are obvious to the world, and it is high time that it should be discarded.

Take, for example, medicine and the care of the sick. Is it likely that the doctors and nurses of Russia, who well know that they obtain drugs for their patients only through the smugglers organized by the Soviet Government, should blame that Government instead of blaming the Allies and the White Russians for thus barbarously making the smuggling of medicaments necessary? Of course not. They well know that this Government does its best to help them. Many of them have said publicly that never before have they had such assistance from any Government. Few of them are Bolsheviks, but in the stress of national hardship the realization that they are given all the help they ask brings them into line in the effort to stem the diseases due to that hardship, and the gratitude of the doctor swallows up the opposition of the politician. Thus an active worker under the Commissariat of Health is the well-known Academician P. P. Lazarev, who while working in an X-ray institute which he has organized is at the same time engaged in devising means for circumventing the scientific blockade imposed by the interventionists. Another well-known doctor, working in the Commissariat, N. G. Freiburg, well known for his works on social hygiene, and an old States Councilor under the Czar, definitely refused the invitation of one of the anti-Bolshevist Governments, on the ground that under the Soviets he is being enabled to carry out the plans of a lifetime.

As with medicine so with every other activity in the country. Specialists in industry, in agriculture, not caring two pins about politics one way or the other, suffer from the blockade. It is to their personal interest that the Soviet Government should secure peace and a lifting of the blockade, and more and more of them, though for the most part not Bolsheviks, are doing their best to assist

it. Russia is at stake, and they can do no less.

#### FACTIONS WELDED BY SUFFERING

For the first time since 1914 there is in Russia a general concentration on the needs of the war comparable at all with the concentration of the English against the Germans. There are women police in the streets of Petrograd. In the Government offices women, wherever possible, take the places of men. Numbers of women have gone to the front to assist in any way possible in the defense of the country and the revolution. There is scarcely a branch of peaceful industry in the country not handicapped by the absence of men and women. I have been impressed by the voluntary overtime work with which Communists and great numbers of non-political men and women are trying to help these handicapped factories and railways. A colossal effort of this kind produces the conditions in which national spirit is born. We are welding together the Bolsheviks and their erstwhile opponents.

These erstwhile opponents justify their support of the Government in all kinds of ingenious ways. I have heard, for example, Russians of the old governing classes, now willingly working under the Soviet system, put forward the theory that people abroad are entirely wrong in believing that a monarchist or bourgeois reaction is inevitable in Russia, and will be brought in by Denikin. They say, on the contrary, that the discipline and strict order enforced by the Bolsheviks with increasing success constitute the reaction, and that when historians come to look back on these times they will date the period of reaction from Nov. 7, 1917, the day of the Soviet revolution. These Russians say that in a revolution the army grows weaker and weaker until reaction sets in, after which it grows stronger and stronger; and they point to the fact that Russia has a better army today than at any time under the régime of Lvov and Miliukov and Kerensky.

These Russians say that their cousins abroad fail to recognize this fact only because they are so cut off from Russia, and get their information exclusively from the romantic accounts of other



émigrés, who have to justify their emigration and harp on the events of two years ago as if they were the events of today. The true patriots, they say, do not desert Russia because she is hungry and cold, and, living abroad in London and Paris, urge that war and blockade shall make their country still hungrier and colder. They say that the main stream of Russian history flows through the revolution and will entirely disregard the little backwaters and accidental eddies of Russian opinion which look for help for Russia from outside Russia itself.

### BOLSHEVISM RUSSIANIZED

But, no matter what may be the theories whereby they justify their action, the cardinal fact is that more and more of the old governing classes are throwing in their lot with the revolution. More and more clearly it is being realized that Russia is at stake as well as the revolution. The revolution is being militarized by being compelled to fight. It is being nationalized in the same way. More and more clearly it is felt that whatever may be the international hopes of the revolutionary leaders it is a Russian revolution, a revolution for which Russia is paying in blood and tears, a revolution which is a natural, inevitable, possibly a glorious phase in the development of Russia, a revolution which Russia, starving and equipped with nothing but a new-found indomitable spirit, is defending against the whole world.

I could mention innumerable symptoms of this half-conscious Russianization of the revolution. They have nationalized most things in Russia. We are now witnessing the final nationalization of the revolution itself. In the beginning the revolutionary leaders, fresh from European exile, insisted on the international character of the revolution. Now more and more the language of the revolution insists on its Russianness. More and more the allusions, the quotations, the freely scattered proverbs of the revolutionary orators are taken from Russian sources. Trotsky, the Jew; Lenin, the Russian nobleman; Kalinin, the peasant Premier of the big Executive Committee which is the Russian Parliament, all alike em-

phazie their Russianness in every speech they make. More than once I have heard Kalinin praised for this alone, that "he speaks to the peasants in their own language."

The designers of uniforms for the Red Army do not look to Germany or to England for their models, but have in mind the traditional Russian warriors of old time. I have seen Bolshevik political commissars with high-pointed khaki helmets fronted with a great red star and short-belted leather coats in form exactly modeled on the helmets and armor of the Bogatyrs, the Russian heroes of antiquity. Even the illustrated Calendar issued by the State Publishing House, for all its manifold references to internationalism, is as Russian as the illustrations of Bilibin in its colored pictures and its decorative initials. The symbolic pictures of "War," of peasants at work, of the revolution, all are rich with figures that would not be out of place in an art theatre presentation of "Boris Godunov" or "Tsar Fedor Ivanovitch."

### CZARIST OFFICERS SERVE LENIN

These, it may be said, are small things, possibly accidents. Maybe, but there are other indications of a more solid character. The Whites say that the Reds compel officers of the old régime to serve in their armies under threat of all manner of horrible penalties. The first obvious deduction from these allegations is that indeed officers of the old army are serving in the army of the revolution. Of course they are, and, for the most part, they are serving loyally. Here and there one will desert, believing that the Whites will win. But, for the most part, they do not desert, even in the darkest and seemingly most hopeless moments of the struggle, as when Denikin was at Orel and Yudenitch at the gates of Petrograd. Two years ago their loyalty to the revolutionary army would have been unthinkable. Something has happened in the meantime, and that something is the birth of a new Russian army and the birth of a new Russian national spirit.

During the last two years these officers have seen a new army created out

of chaos and inspired by something that previous Russian armies have lacked. Few professional soldiers could stand by and watch that army forming in the direst moment of their country's difficulties without wanting to have a hand in it. Quite naturally the history of the French revolutionary army is repeating itself in Russia. From France also many good soldiers fled away and came back to fight their countrymen at Quiberon and elsewhere. But far more stayed with France for France's sake, were she revolutionary or reactionary, and came to realize the value of the revolutionary idea, no doubt detestable to some of them, in the new inventory of munitions of war.

So it is in Russia. Kamenev, an old Czarist officer, now Commander in Chief, referred to the flooding of the front with Communists as the chief reason of the army's regeneration after the panic caused by the British tanks. A hundred and twenty years ago, when Napoleon was busy planting his relations and friends on the thrones of Europe, he did not lay aside the idea of revolution which carried his soldiers from one victory to another. And with him young officers leapt swiftly to the top. A revolutionary army, a revolutionary period, offers chances to the soldier of genius such as he can never hope for in normal times. The career of Colonel Gettis, now commanding the western front, is in no way exceptional. A Colonel in the old army, he took part voluntarily in the organization of the new. When we took Archangel he was appointed to command the forces against us, which he speedily turned from a mob into an organized army, as our own soldiers have testified, being ready to attribute his work to the Germans. From the north he was sent to command the army fighting on the Voronezh sector against Denikin. Here, too, he was equally successful, and became commander of the whole southern

front. Thence he was moved to the western front, where the weaker, less disciplined armies were in need of the organization which he has shown himself capable of introducing. It was he who directed the operations that ended in the complete defeat of Yudenitch.

## TWO ILLUSTRATIONS

An ambitious soldier needs no compulsion to serve his country in an army which offers such speedy recognition. And "compulsion" will not explain the readiness of Generals Nikolaev and Stankevitch to die rather than desert the army in which they had fought. General Nikolaev was executed by the Whites on the Petrograd front. The case of General Stankevitch is a still more striking illustration of the fact that patriotism and nationalism in Russia now stand shoulder to shoulder with the Revolution. I am told that earlier in the Revolution he was actually a member of an anti-revolutionary organization. He was an old General of the Imperial Army, then a commander in the Red Army. He was captured by Denikin, but refused to go over to the Whites. He was hanged, and it is alleged that a red star was branded on his breast. When the Red Army recovered Orel peasants who had witnessed the execution pointed out his grave, and told how when the executioner prepared to put the noose round the old man's neck General Stankevitch took it from him and said, "I have served in the Red Army, and if I am condemned to die I am well able to adjust the noose myself." He was 62 years old at the time of his death. His body was exhumed, and has recently been buried in the Red Square in Moscow with fullest honors as a hero of the Revolution. That solemn burial under the red flag of an old General of the Czar is a very remarkable symbol of the changing attitude alike of the revolutionaries and of their one-time opponents.



# The Religious Revolution in Russia

By DR. PETER J. POPOFF\*

FOR centuries the Russians used to style their country "Holy Russia," but under the Bolshevik régime they must give up that appellation, because the so-called holy relics of Russian saints, on examination, prove to be gross deceptions on the part of monks.

There are scores of monasteries in Russia containing relics of saints, which, until lately, were peacefully resting in their shrines of silver and gold. For centuries the dark people of Russia, by thousands, made pilgrimages to these monasteries, reverently prostrated themselves before what they believed to be the incorruptible bodies of saints, and liberally contributed according to their means copper, silver and even gold coins. This was the largest source of income of the Russian Church.

The Bolsheviki decided to find out and expose before the people the real state of these relics. In the presence of high dignitaries of the Church and of representatives of the people, the first examination of a saints' relics took place last year in the City of Varonesh (where the writer of these lines had lived and studied theology for five years, 1864-69). In the monastery of that name, the relics of St. Mitrofan, a contemporary and coworker of Peter the Great, were opened and found to be an imitation of a human body stuffed with cotton. The Archbishop of Varonesh, who was present at the examination, remarked: "It is, of course, very sad to look at such a thing." Next were examined the relics of St. Tikhon at Zadonsk, in Varonesh Province, and found to consist of cardboard containing some bones. And the Archbishop declared: "I especially believed in the relics of St. Tikhon, for they stood out with such clearness from the coffin that one had a perfect impression of a human body which had just been put in there. When I received information from the Abbot of the Zadonsky monastery of what was really found there I was very much grieved, because I shared the gen-

eral conviction that the relics of Tikhon were fully preserved."

The effect produced by these disclosures on the people was overwhelming. One Constantin N. Stechelkoff, who was present at the opening of the relics of St. Mitrofan, declared: "Until the examination of the relics I, as a believer, stood in the church, feeling fear in my heart. When the relics were opened and the deception was revealed all my faith vanished and gave way to a sense of disgust and contempt for this brazen deception."

Together with thousands upon thousands of pilgrims, I, too, over half a century ago, had reverently kissed what we supposed to be the hand of St. Mitrofan, seen through a minute opening in the white kid glove of the saint. I, too, had taken part in the invocation of St. Mitrofan, then believed to be a "great miracle worker," to pray the Lord for us. Now, after the revelation of that gross deception, how can they pray thus any more? And what will become of the Mitrofanievsky monastery, since the legend of the relics of St. Mitrofan is rudely destroyed?

In last April at a conference of workmen's delegates in Tver, counting forty men, the question of the relics was taken up. There came three priests and argued earnestly against the proposal to open

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\*The author of these lines studied theology in the Varonesh Clerical Seminary and, as a senior student, he was bound to preach in churches of Varonesh. The character of life of the local clergy and monks in particular forced him to give up his studies for the priesthood. Thus, instead of the Clerical Academy, he entered the Imperial Medical Academy of St. Petersburg. On account of his liberal political views he was compelled to leave Russia and emigrate to the United States (1871). He finished his studies in the Medical Department of the University of the City of New York (1875). Later on, for fifteen years he was Secretary to the Russian Consulate General, New York. An American citizen, he went to Russia (1895) and stayed there for nine years as Director of an American life insurance company. In 1914 he returned to America. His special studies and his long connection with the Russian official and unofficial world afforded him unusual facilities for observation of Russian conditions.



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. BASIL, IN THE KREMLIN AT MOSCOW—MOST FAMOUS OF RUSSIAN CHURCHES

the local relics. But all the deputies present, except four, voted in the affirmative. On May 18 there took place in Tver the examination of the relics of St. Michael "the Pious," and of St. Arseny, "the miracle worker." Still earlier, on April 9, there were opened the relics of St. Vasily and St. Constantine in the cathedral of Yaroslavl, and those of St. Theodor in the Spassky monastery. In all these cases there were found some bones, cotton and charcoal splinters.

A great sensation was produced by the opening of the relics of St. Alexander Svirsky, one of the most famous saints of the Russian Church. It caused the

Rev. M. T. Fomin, a priest, to leave the church and address the following letter to the Bishop of Olonetz and Petrozavodsk:

The relics of Alexander Svirsky, which were disclosed to be a figure of wax, showed a blasphemous exploitation of the common people by a group of selfish monks. You, the high clergy, could not be ignorant of this deception, but you carefully hid it from us, the common priests, and the people in general. You allowed the worship of idols in place of saints, encouraging it by your own example and preaching. You intentionally darkened the eyes and minds of the people and deceived the trusting Russia. Woe to you when the enlightened people rise and move on you in their terrible anger, demanding an answer and an ac-





CATHEDRAL OF REDEMPTION, MOSCOW, A FINE EXAMPLE OF RUSSIAN GREEK CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

count which you will be unable to give.  
(*The Friend of Russia*, December, 1919).

In 1895, when I was at St. Petersburg, Russia, there was a question about an immediate opening of the relics of Serafim in the Sarovsky monastery. A court physician, who was a member of the committee that made a preliminary examination of the relics, spread a report to the effect that if the Holy Synod insisted upon the assertion that Serafim's body was found incorruptible, he, as an honest man, would be bound to disclose the truth. Whereupon the Metropolitan Isidor, then President of the Synod, found it necessary to publish a letter in the *Novoe Vremya* (the *New Times*)—an act unheard of before—to the effect that, though only some bones and a handful of hair were found, yet Serafim would be canonized because the *people* believed in his miraculous power, which had been manifested many times. The

public was shocked on hearing that Serafim was to be proclaimed a saint, though his body had not been incorruptible, for until then such things were considered in Russia totally incompatible.

The question of holy relics is of the greatest importance in Russia, for it was believed that in town and village churches all over the country there were minute particles of holy relics contained in the corporals. Hence, apparently, proceeded the claim to the sanctity of Russia; for in every Russian church there is a so-called antimins (antimensa), that is, a corporal or communion cloth, on the altar. It is a small square linen cloth placed under the chalice and platen at the service of the mass. It must be blessed by a Bishop, who invokes the divine favor that the cloth may be worthy to cover and enwrap the body and blood of Christ. It represents the winding-sheet in which Joseph of Arimathea wrapped the dead

body of Jesus. We must bear in mind that the Russian Church, like the Greek and Roman Churches, believes in the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Now, since the relics of the Russian saints examined by the Bolsheviki proved to be a deception, all the corporals of all Russian churches, including even those originally brought from Greece, may be placed in the same category. This is a terrible blow to the Russian Church and religion.

Russia adopted Christianity from Byzantium in 988, when the Greek clergy brought to Russia the first corporals containing particles of relics of Greek saints. Later on there appeared Russian saints whose holy relics were used for the corporals of churches all over Russia.

Historians of the Russian revolution will not fail to record the Bolsheviki's blasphemous mockery of icons, the persecution and even execution of some priests and Bishops, and the destruction of many churches and some cathedrals. The Bolsheviki are trying their best to ignore the church authorities. Hence they declare that no church marriage will be

held valid unless it is preceded by a civil license. All births and deaths must be recorded at local civil offices, whereas previous to the revolution all such records were held by the clergy exclusively. No church holidays are now held obligatory on any laborers. By a single stroke of the pen Lenin has moved the Russian calendar thirteen days ahead, that is, he has ordered the adoption of the Western calendar in Russia.

The religious revolution in Russia is as radical as the political and social one. If it is true, as many believe, that the people get their morals from their religion, then it is a pertinent and grave question: Where and how will the Russian people now learn moral principles? The writer of these lines knows some Russian sectarians, living in this country, who did not and do not recognize the Russian Church, and who profess and practice the highest moral principles. They call themselves "Spiritual Christians." When order and peace are established in Russia they will return to their motherland and teach their old friends their new belief.

## Remains of Saints and the Russian Church

By LEONID TURKEVICH, D. D.\*

DEAN OF ST. NICHOLAS CATHEDRAL, NEW YORK CITY

IT is one of the peculiarities of the Eastern Orthodox Church to consider the remains of the bodies of departed holy men as sacred. Our oldest chronicler, when speaking of the baptizing of Russia under Prince Vladimir, speaks of the many sacred remains brought to Kiev by the Greek hierarchs from Constantinople. Later on, when the Christian order developed in Russia, remains of local Russian saints came to be accepted also. These remains were kept hidden in underground vaults, or open in the churches, but the reverence of the believers was the same in both cases. Our Church preserves many authentically verified records of people who, praying over such remains, were cured of various bodily ills or comforted

and strengthened morally by the grace of God invisibly descending on them.

Veneration of the remains of holy men in the Russian Church, however, is not only a peculiarity of the life of the nation; it is also an important ritualistic feature of the liturgic practices. Particles of the remains are sewn in the cloths covering the altars, over

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\*Dr. Turkevich, whose article is in part a reply to that of Mr. Popoff, was graduated from the Theological Academy of Kiev and came to the United States about twelve years ago to be rector of the Russian Theological Seminary in Minneapolis. When the seminary was transferred to Bergenfield, N. J., he came East and remained with it some years. When the former dean of St. Nicholas Cathedral recently went to Russia Dr. Turkevich became Archpriest there by virtue of seniority. He is a frequent contributor to the Constructive Quarterly, a religious magazine.—EDITOR.



which is performed the Holy Eucharist. According to the Canon of the Russian Orthodox Church, such an altar covering, otherwise the holy *antimins*, is irregular without the particles mentioned above, so that the liturgic service cannot be performed on it.

Russians in America hear vague rumors of what is going on in the regions of the religious life of their country. To speak in a positive way *here* of anything that is going on *there* would be taking too much on ourselves; yet we did have indistinct tidings about the remains of many Russian saints having been inspected by some parties, or even destroyed. It is still too early to draw any definite conclusion on the subject from the very scant information at hand.

The true state of things we can learn only later on, when the regular mail service between the two countries is actually re-established. In the meanwhile, it may be a matter of interest to know the actual attitude of the Russian Church in general and of its ritual in particular toward the question under discussion.

Eugene Golubinsky, the famous historian, wrote with much justice: "There are people among us whose zeal exceeds their understanding, and who claim that the remains of the deceased holy men are always and everywhere undecayed, that is, that they are bodies which had suffered no destruction and no change." But the universal church consciousness from the remotest antiquity never knew of any such claim. In the catacombs and the other churches of the three first centuries divine services were held over the tombs of martyrs, but it was not because the bodies remained undecayed, but simply as a visible sign of the continuity of the faith held by the martyrs, whose death bore witness to that faith.

The custom thus acquired by the Church was not given up when Christianity triumphed over heathendom. When persecutions became few and the places of Christian worship many, divine services were held not only over the graves of martyrs, but also over the particles of their bones and bodies,

piously carried to new altars. In time, divine services began to be performed over the graves and the particles of the remains of prelates, ascetics and holy recluses glorified in life and death by the efficacy of their intercession and service for their living brethren.

In the Eastern Church this custom took root in the eighth century, and in its essence it still remains unchanged; it is a sign of the communion of the living and the dead. The Seventh Ecumenical Council meant this when stating in its decree concerning holy images and holy relics, that all the sacred symbols are merely mediums of the transmission of the miracle working grace of God.

We believe that the saints of the Russian Church are still able to protect its children, though their remains in their coffins be disturbed, burned or polluted in any other way, in case all this is actually happening these days in our country.

The way the hierarchs of the Russian Church understand this question can be seen from what Antonios, Metropolitan of Petrograd, said when, in 1903, St. Seraphim of Sarovo was canonized: "Nothing is left of the elder Seraphim in the coffin except bones, the skeleton of the body. But as the remains of a man who pleased God, a holy man, they are holy remains, and are now taken up from under the earth, on the occasion of his solemn glorification, that they may be piously revered by all who travel here to obtain the intercession and prayer of the holy elder Seraphim." To suppose that the chief pastors of the Russian Orthodox Church of the present day understand the question of the remains of saints in a coarse or ignorant way would be to show a complete absence of any clear idea either of them or of the teaching concerning the holy relics which the whole Eastern Orthodox Church has in common.

Here is a noteworthy detail. At the time of the canonization of St. Seraphim quantities of hectographed leaflets were zealously spread all over Russia by a certain "League for Fighting Orthodoxy." The leaflets insisted that the

opening of St. Seraphim's grave should not be allowed; but they failed to affect the Russian Nation. St. Seraphim became one of the most popular saints, beloved of all. The work of the secret league was fruitless. We are not by any means prepared to decide whether the "League for Fighting Orthodoxy," which operated in 1903, is in any way connected with the recent efforts to shake the people's faith in the holiness of the saints' remains and the *antimins* or altar cloths which so intimately depend on them—provided it is true that such efforts are being made. But we can positively maintain that to say any attempts of this kind had succeeded in

discrediting the Orthodox Church of Russia would be equal to saying that the body of Jesus was simply stolen and carried away by His disciples in the hope that by spreading such fables any "league," ancient or modern, could possibly shake the faith of Christians in the Resurrected Christ.

The faith of the Russian people is not supported by the holy remains of saints; on the contrary, these holy relics came as the result of the people's profound faith in the vital power of the Orthodox Church. The blood of the martyrs for this faith shall once more promote the rise, the growth and the strength of the Russian Orthodox faith.

## THE CAUCASUS AND THE WORLD WAR

By DR. J. F. SCHELTEMA

NOTWITHSTANDING peace conferences and treaties of peace, the world war has still its innings, both peace and war in their strange mix-up being inevitably subject to geographical conditions, as again clearly shown by the happenings in the region of the Caucasus. That lofty mountain range, a bridge towering in the clouds between Europe and Asia, more strongly fortified by nature than the watergate of Bosphorus and Dardanelles, played its own important part in the struggle of races and civilizations from which the present international situation emerged. As it turned to the south and southwest the tides of devastation in the wake of conquerors of Asiatic blood, who came from the east across the plains and hills of ancient Media, so it proved an obstacle to the Russian Czars when, following their policy of expansion inaugurated by Peter the Great, they sent their hosts from the north, pushing down to the shores of the Caspian and Black Sea.

But the obstacle was surmounted. Swarming on, the yellow-haired warriors crossed the divide and subjugated the peoples of Transcaucasia, the Georgians, Mingrelians, and other dwellers in the valleys and on the plateaus of the land of perpetual battle and romance elo-

quently sung by Lermontov, with due emphasis on their mediaeval virtues:

Oh, wild the tribes that dwell in those  
defiles;  
Freedom their God and strife their only  
law!

It took the Russians more than three centuries to conquer Transcaucasia here. When the rule of the Czars was at last established, with its local centre at Tiflis, there was an end of freedom. Things changed in the once independent principalities, khanates and vassal States of Turkey and Persia that composed the Russian administrative district of Kavkaz, north and south of the Caucasus proper—between the Black Sea and the Caspian, from near the mouth of the Don to below Batum and from the mouth of the Kuma to below Lenkoran and the mouth of the Aras. In this region Genoese traders used to exchange the dried and salted product of their privileged fisheries in the Sea of Marmora for Georgian and Circassian virgins, whom they sold with great profit and strictly commercial impartiality to the unspeakable Turk or Christian customers of proved discretion. Where Skobelev, as late as 1879, had to ferry his army in flat-bottomed barges, the ports of Poti and especially Batum, not to mention



Baku on the east coast, became the emporia of an immense traffic by steamer and rail. Meanwhile, the Caucasus was transformed into a base for military operations to back the pacific penetration, which expanded the sphere of Russian influence southward and eastward, an oil-stain spreading over the map of Asia.

### OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

After the Turkish revolution of 1908, the dissemination of Pan-Turanian and Pan-Islamic sentiments in the Caucasus by agents of the Committee of Union and Progress made the high army command at St. Petersburg adhere more rigidly than ever to the cautious custom of employing its Georgian, Armenian and other Caucasian troops on the northwestern frontier and its mujik conscripts on the southeastern frontier of Russia.

At the outbreak of the world war the Caucasian garrisons—first of all that of Kars—were hastily reinforced with regiments drawn from the interior to parry the blow struck by Enver Pasha at Sarikamich, terminus of the railroad from Tiflis to the border of Turkish Armenia, with three army corps, the 9th (Erzerum), 10th (Erzinjan) and 11th (Van), supported by a division of the 1st (dispatched from Constantinople) and a division of the 13th (Bagdad). First came Enver's successes, followed by his defeat at the hands of General Yudenitch, who was in pursuit of the retreating Turks when the Grand Duke Nicholas was placed at the head of the Russian forces in Transcaucasia; the Grand Duke was further strengthened with several divisions transferred from General Ivanov's army, which had broken General Mackensen's offensive on the western front.

The moment war had been declared, Nicolai Nicolaievich, co-author with General Joffre of a plan for Russian participation in the task of foiling German designs, had been appointed Russian Generalissimo by his cousin the Czar. A typical soldier, compared by his admirers to the *bogatyr*, or hero of Russian legendary lore, it was more his political creed, unpalatable to the Imperial Court, than his reverses in the field which led in September, 1915, to his removal from

the supreme command and his exile to the Caucasus, customary place of banishment for military offenders, officers of ill-regulated habits, or men of rank suspected of too liberal views.

### GRAND DUKE'S SUCCESS

True, the pill was sugar-coated by giving the discharged Commander in Chief the title of Viceroy, which, since the days of the Grand Duke Michael Nicolaievich, had been in abeyance, save to provide a decent exit from St. Petersburg to Count Vorontzov Dashkov when Nicholas II. came to the throne; but that did not take the bitter taste away. Submitting, the new Viceroy bore up under his disgrace, and, throwing back the Turks, who were delivering a second attack to reach Kars as a stepping stone to Tiflis on the line of communication between Baku and Batum, he gave the enemy no rest. Sweeping on, General Prjevalsky seized Erzerum on Jan. 16, 1916, which made the Russians masters of the military road to Trebizond (taken on April 18) and the roads to Karpuz and Diarbekr.

While Enver Pasha's attack was developing, some Mohammedan tribes of the Caucasus, among them the Adshars of Georgian nationality, joined the Turks, and Tatar malcontents from As-trakhan and Kirghizistan traveled all the way around the Caspian Sea and through Kurdistan to fight the *giaour* in the ranks of their Osmanli co-religionists; but the Russian successes west of Lake Van and east of Lake Urmiah, where General Baratov was pushing on toward Hamadan and Kermanshah, prevented the spread of the insurrectionary movement by such bands.

Linking up with the British forces in Mesopotamia, picked sotnias of General Bicharakov's Cossacks took part in the skirmishing along the upper course of the Dyala after Sir Stanley Maude's capture of Bagdad, but, despite such exploits, the junction in greater number, near Kifry, was, doomed to remain without effect. The revolution of March, 1917, put a stop to Russian operations in Iran and the Asiatic pashalics of the Ottoman Empire.

With the Russian troops retiring from

the Turkish and Persian fronts the revolutionary Government at St. Petersburg left the Caucasus to its own devices and foreign intrigue, which became increasingly bold when the central administration broke down, the Grand Duke Nicholas having been succeeded by Yudenitch, and Yudenitch by Prjevarsky, and Prjevarsky by no one in particular. The ensuing confusion and the Brest-Litovsk agreement furnished Germany with an excellent opportunity to carry through in those regions her scheme for an alternative line of communication with the East to countervail the imminent failure of her Berlin-Bagdad railroad enterprise.

Germany's efforts in that direction showed such a lack of consideration with respect to her Turkish ally that the Porte entered a vigorous protest against its interests being sacrificed by a compact which, among other bargains, recognized Russia's prescriptive rights to Baku, the centre of the world's oil industry, though on the other hand it stipulated the future independence of Georgia. But, says a Turkish proverb, by dint of playing one is sure to find the proper tune, and so, while the whole of Transcaucasia, Georgia included, proclaimed its independence, Talaat Pasha obtained the satisfaction of seeing Baku returned to Turkey; at least, Baku was returned in principle, though it had to be taken and was lost again and retaken, the powers of the Entente, whose agents were very active in Tiflis and Batum and around Krasnovodsk in the Caspian oil fields, bravely resisting the consummation of this deal.

#### CHAOS AFTER THE WAR

A Transcaucasian Government did not exist. All was chaos and internal strife. Georgian, Mingrelian, and Armenian bands seized with their habitual gusto for blood revenge and internecine feuds the military stores, guns, rifles, and ammunition abandoned by the regular army in Tiflis, Alexandropol and other towns of strategic consequence. Though less well armed, the Tatar clans of the neighboring territories improved the advantage of their geographical location to control for their own profit the routes of entrance into and exit from

the districts that were reverting to the ferocious barbarism reported sixteen centuries earlier by the missionaries of Constantine the Great.

It should be remembered that Russia in its widest sense counts far more Turkish-speaking inhabitants, most of them Tatars, than Turkey itself. It has been asserted that without them Muscovite civilization could never have attained its comparatively high level and preserved its characteristic originality; at any rate their influence is marked enough to account for the adage: Scratch the Russian and you will find the Tatar.

Those Tatars that remained more or less in the nomadic state were not always amenable to the progressive Muscovite rule introduced through contact with western modes of Government. Their slowly budding ideas of civic liberty, stimulated in the sixties by leaders like Gasprinsky, took oftener than not a violently socialistic form, which necessitated repressive measures, such as in 1906 culminated in the arrest of the instigators of quasi-seditious demonstrations in Kazan. The program of these agitators differed very little from that of the political party represented by the Cadets, with whom the Mohammedan faction in the First and Second Dumas identified itself. The Turkish revolution of 1908 found the Tatars, generally speaking, in full sympathy with the aims of the Committee of Union and Progress; the Russian revolution of 1907 grouped them together more closely than ever before for the realization of Pan-Turanian ideals. Pan-Islamism, too, entered into the projects for a future policy of self-assertion as developed in Mohammedan congresses held at Baku, Orenburg, Moscow, and Kazan, capital of the tribes whose predominance the Caucasian, Crimean, Kirghiz, and Astrakhan Tatars seem inclined to acknowledge.

#### DANGEROUS SITUATION

Hindering the communication by rail of the Transcaucasian Christians with Europe, the Tatars became a troublesome factor in an already complicated situation, still further involved by the traditional enmity between the Georgians





A TROOP OF CAUCASIAN COSSACKS

and the Armenians. Christians, but of different stock and creed, these nations are so widely separated by sectarian and racial hatred that to spite and circumvent each other they gladly have recourse to Mohammedan assistance, a disposition of which the Tatars were never slow to avail themselves. When the Moslem population of the lands from Tabriz down to Kurdistan rose to resist the wave of Armenian encroachment, which had been set in motion by the impulse of wholesale deportation and was rolling eastward, the Georgians sided immediately with the Tatars against their brethren of the Gregorian Church. In the furious local war kindled by disputes about boundaries and sustained by religious ardor, German and Turkish agents espoused the Georgian cause, as agents of the Entente favored the Armenian cause, to shove a dependent nation into the vacuum created by the Russian débâcle; both sides were seeking an advanced guard in the perpetual struggle between East and West, which, according to the father of history, forms the warp and woof of our preordained sub-lunar performance.

On the Caspian Sea the Russian Reds have seized Krasnovodsk, holding as

in a vise, preparatory to attacking, the "land of the eternal fire." By establishing themselves in and around the Peninsula of Apsheron, for thousands of years the Mecca of the Ghebers, whose priests tended there in the Temple of Surakhany the sacred Flame of Life that had been burning since the flood, and by commandeering the output of the richest oil wells known, the Bolsheviks threaten to introduce a new and superlatively alarming element into the situation in the Caucasus.

The danger is intensified by the parallel propaganda of the Turkish nationalists, with Mustapha Kamal Pasha at the head of the Anatolian movement and Enver Pasha plotting in Kurdistan, both converted, like Talaat Pasha, and for the same reason, to ultra-socialistic tenets only one shade less red than downright Bolshevism. The imperiled defenders of the mountain barrier between the Euxine and the Caspian may well repeat the hymn of invocation, the song of Shamyl of Daghestan, champion of the Caucasus against Russian aggression under the old régime:

O servants of God!  
Help us in the name of God!  
Give us your aid!

# The Turks to Stay in Europe

## Treaty Leaves the Sultan in Constantinople, but Internationalizes the Straits—Lloyd George Explains

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1920]

THE Council of Premiers, which succeeded the Peace Conference, met in London early in February and labored on the Turkish Peace Treaty almost continuously for several weeks. The British, French and Italian Premiers were present, and Japan was represented by her London Ambassador. Belgium and Greece took an active part in the later sessions. On Feb. 15 Premier Millerand announced the decision of the Allies to allow the Turks to keep their seat of Government at Constantinople, on condition that the Dardanelles be placed under international control and that the Turkish Army be reduced to a mere police force.

This decision, which was understood to be tentative, created a sensation all over the world. The chief reason given for allowing the Ottomans to retain their European capital was the danger of Moslem uprisings in the British and French colonial possessions if the "bag and baggage" policy were applied. This reason failed to satisfy many critics. The opposition party in Great Britain raised strong objections to any such settlement of the Turkish question without its first being referred to the House of Commons. Sir Donald Maclean, the Opposition leader, brought up the question in Parliament on Feb. 19 and compelled Premier Lloyd George, against the latter's protest, to promise the House an opportunity to debate the whole Turkish situation on Feb. 26.

The sharp cleavage of opinion in Great Britain over the question was also seen in hundreds of press articles expressing both points of view and in memorials sent to the Government by people of prominence. A special memorandum of Emir Ali, Indian Privy Councilor, was supplemented on Feb. 24 by a public statement made by the Hon. E. S. Mon-

tagu, Secretary of State for India, in which he declared that if the taking of Constantinople from the Turk was to be a result of the war, Great Britain ought never to have asked the Indians to take part in the war against Turkey. The Indian Secretary continued as follows:

From one end of India to another, all those who have expressed an opinion on this subject, of whatever race or creed, believe that non-interference with the seat of the Caliphate is indispensable to the internal and external peace of India.

### EFFECT OF NEW MASSACRES

The rumors that the Sultan was to be ejected from Constantinople, in the opinion of Mr. Montagu, had been one of the prime causes of the new Armenian massacres which had just occurred at Marash and Aintab, in Cilicia, some sixty miles from Aleppo. These massacres were made the subject of many questions in the House of Commons on Feb. 18. It was learned at this time that Great Britain had instructed Admiral de Rubek at Constantinople to announce there the fact that the Allies had decided not to deprive Turkey of Constantinople, and to warn the Turkish Government that if the persecution of the Armenians continued, the Peace Treaty might be considerably modified. The Allies, he was instructed to say, would not deal leniently with Turkey should the atrocities reported from Cilicia be continued.

In statements given to the press on Feb. 19 and 20, Lord Bryce, one of the most influential of the "Oppositionists," declared that these new massacres were directly due to the extraordinary leniency shown to the Turks in the armistice. That leniency, he said, had allowed them to recreate armed forces in Anatolia and Armenia and to resume the work of extermination which in 1915 Enver and Talaat and other ruffians of the Com-





THE MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, ERECTED AS A CHRISTIAN CATHEDRAL BY EMPEROR JUSTINIAN IN 531. CONVERTED INTO A MOSQUE BY MOHAMMED II. IN 1453

mittee of Union and Progress had carried out by the slaughter of the Christian population—Nestorian, Chaldean and Armenian—including women and children. Cilicia was the scene of some of the worst of these new massacres; the large Christian population had been comparatively safe before in the high valleys of the Taurus Mountains. The Allies could easily have occupied this country on the conclusion of the armistice sixteen months before, when the Turks were still depressed by their defeat. Untouched and unpunished for so long, the Turks had taken heart and begun anew the work of destruction, undertaken in the obvious intention of annihilating all the Christian population and then claiming the country on the ground that there were no Christians in it. As the French occupying forces had not protected the Armenians from these new massacres, he declared, it was the clear duty of the allied powers to see that protection, at least for the future, was assured. Lord Bryce scored severely the reported

French intention to make terms with the Turkish nationalists, whom he characterized as merely continuers of the Young Turk movement.

The First Battle Squadron of the British Navy, commanded by Vice Admiral Sir Sydney Fremantle, arrived at Constantinople on Feb. 21, and proceeded to drop anchor in the Bosphorus facing the Dolma Bagtche Palace. The squadron consisted of five battleships and four destroyers, the whole forming the most imposing array of sea power ever seen in the Bosphorus. The visit, though it had been announced beforehand, was supposed to have a bearing upon the critical situation in Turkey.

Meanwhile the allied Premiers went on with their plan to internationalize the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and commissions were appointed to report on various issues of the whole problem. Of these commissions, one was to decide upon the boundaries of the Armenian Republic, another to report on Turkish finances, and a third to examine into the

Greek claims in the Smyrna territory, which Premier Venizelos had expounded anew on Feb. 16. Delay in drawing up the treaty with Turkey was occasioned by the necessity of awaiting the reports of these commissions. It was announced officially that arrangements had been made to publish throughout India the allied decision to allow the Sultan to remain in Constantinople, with the object of mollifying Indian resentment over the reported removal of the head of the Muslim religion from his spiritual capital.

#### LLOYD GEORGE EXPLAINS

The eagerly awaited explanation of Premier Lloyd George regarding the motives which had led the allied powers to their decision regarding Constantinople was given before the House of Commons on Feb. 26. This decision, he said, was reached only after long study of the Turkish situation. Advantages had been weighed against disadvantages, and the council had finally decided that the best way to preserve the highest interests of everybody concerned was to retain the Sultan in his Bosphorus capital.

Referring to the agreement made early in the war, under which Russia was to obtain Constantinople, Lloyd George said this agreement had ended, so far as Russia was concerned, with the revolution of 1917 and the peace of Brest-Litovsk. He reiterated his pledge that there would be "a different porter at the gates," however. It would be the height of folly again to trust the guardianship of those gates to a people who had betrayed their trust, and never again would those gates be closed by the Turks in the face of British ships.

The Premier referred to the "perfectly deliberate pledge" given by the British Government in January, 1918, in which it was asserted that Great Britain was not fighting to deprive the Turks of Constantinople, subject to the straits being internationalized and neutralized, and he remarked parenthetically that this was what would be done with the straits. This pledge, he explained, was not an offer to the Turks or the Germans, but was made to reassure the English people and the Mohammedans

of India. He pointed out that Great Britain was the greatest Mohammedan power in the world, and that as a result of the Government's statement of its war aims there had been an increase in recruiting in India at a time when Great Britain was making a special effort to raise additional troops.

The influence which had decided the Peace Conference to retain the Turks in Constantinople, the Premier continued, had come from India. The two peace delegates of India in Paris, neither of whom was a Mohammedan, had declared that unless the Allies retained the Turks in Constantinople their action would be regarded as a gross breach of faith on the part of the British Empire. When the peace terms were disclosed, however, they would be found drastic enough to satisfy Turkey's bitterest foe. The Premier continued as follows:

Let us examine our legitimate and main peace aims in Turkey. The first is the freedom of the straits. The second is the freeing of all non-Turkish communities from the Ottoman Army. The third is the preservation for the Turks of self-government in communities which are mainly Turkish, subject to two most important reservations.

The first of these reservations is that there must be adequate safeguards within our power of protecting minorities that have been oppressed by the Turk. The second is that the Turk must be deprived of his power of vetoing the development of the rich lands under his rule which were once the granaries of the Mediterranean. These are the main objects of the peace.

#### SUBSTANCE OF THE TREATY

Mr. Lloyd George then explained that the freedom of the straits would be assured because all of Turkey's forts would be dismantled, she would have no troops within reach and would not be permitted to have a navy, while the Allies would garrison the straits. The only alternative, he said, was an international military government of Constantinople and all the surrounding territory, which would be very unsatisfactory and costly to the Allies. The Premier said that if the Mohammedans believed the terms were dictated with the purpose of lowering the Prophet's flag before that of





INTERIOR VIEW OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, SHOWING SOME OF THE GREAT  
PILLARS OF GREEN MARBLE AND RED PORPHYRY, OF WHICH THERE ARE 107 IN ALL  
(© Underwood & Underwood)

Christendom, it would be fatal to the British Government in the East.

Expressing regret that America had not taken a mandate, Mr. Lloyd George said: "For the moment America must be reckoned as entirely out of any arrangement we can contemplate for the government of Turkey and the protection of Christian minorities." He contended that every precaution had been taken in the treaty for the protection of Christians in the future, because any decrees authorizing persecution of Christians would be signed under the menace of British, French and Italian guns. The

Premier said he believed the Armenians would be far safer from such persecution with the Turkish Government in Constantinople under such a menace than if it were in Asia Minor, where the nearest allied garrisons would be hundreds of miles away.

#### DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

Following the Premier's explanations the Turkish question was debated for many hours in the House, much difference of opinion being shown. Sir Donald Maclean and many other Liberals and Labor men favored the expulsion of the

Turks on the ground that Constantinople was a fruitful source of international disputes, and because of the crimes and misrule of the Turkish Government. Lord Robert Cecil made a strong plea for expulsion, declaring that Turkey must go sooner or later, and calling on Mr. Lloyd George to influence the Supreme Council to reverse the decision taken, and to remove this blot from the peace settlement. The Turkish residents and even the Sultan himself might remain, he intimated, but the Sublime Porte, with all its intrigues and crimes, must be ousted forever. He advocated control of Constantinople by the League of Nations.

The conference of allied Premiers closed its London sessions on March 3, after preparing the Turkish treaty and its economic conclusions in such a manner that they might be completed by assistants. It was announced that the treaty would be handed to a Turkish peace delegation at Paris on March 22. It was stated that by the terms of the treaty Turkey would be left with a population of only 6,000,000 instead of 30,000,000, would occupy, in addition to Constantinople, only the Asiatic province of Anatolia, and would lose what remains of her navy, the ships of which would be broken up, and practically all her army. The question of reparations had not been settled.

#### DISCIPLINARY ACTION

The allied Premiers announced on March 6 that a note had been dispatched to the Turkish Government containing drastic demands, including the military occupation of Constantinople with the support of an interallied fleet. The idea was to impress upon the Turks the fact that the world would not tolerate further massacres. The Allies had agreed that the French must retrieve quickly their recent defeat in Cilicia, and that the Turkish Government must be shown that the Allies were ready to back their notes of warning with military action.

The attacks upon the allied decision regarding Constantinople continued; meanwhile, in Great Britain, France and the United States. A member of the House

of Commons rose and asked the Premier when the famous Mosque of St. Sofia, in Constantinople, would be reconsecrated to the Christian uses for which it was built. Stéphane Lausanne, editor of the *Matin*, warned France on March 3 of the unfavorable effect in America—as well as in other friendly countries—of French support of the plan to leave the Sultan in Europe. Henry Morgenthau, former United States Ambassador to Turkey, declared at a mass meeting in Philadelphia that the Turks should be driven from Europe forever. At a mass meeting held in New York on March 1 it was asserted that Constantinople was saved for the Turks by the large French holdings of Turkish bonds. James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, said the only way to save the American Nation was to drive the Turks into Asia. A resolution introduced by Senator King in the United States Senate on March 3 declared in favor of the expulsion of the "Government of the Ottoman Turks" from Constantinople and the erection of three independent States in the old Turkish Empire under the allied nations or the League of Nations.

An important meeting of the conference of Premiers in London was held on March 10, at which the report of the Peace Council's commission to Constantinople was presented. Though the proceedings were not made public, it became known that sharp measures of repression had been decided upon, which would probably take the form of allied military control of certain Turkish Governmental activities. M. Venizelos of Greece, who was present at this session, was foremost in urging stern measures against the Sultan, on the ground that they would check the excesses against the Armenians. He offered 100,000 Greek troops for the purpose of crushing Mustapha Kemal and the Turkish Nationalists.

Meanwhile, the allied Governments had asked President Wilson his views on their proposed settlement of the Turkish question, the query being submitted to him by the British, French and Italian Ambassadors. His reply had not been



made public when these pages went to press. On March 11, however, Earl Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, told the House of Commons that the Turkish question should have been settled a year

ago, and that the later months of delay were due solely to the inaction of the United States; America, he said, was responsible for many of the difficulties which must now be confronted.

## Dangerous Complications in Syria

### The Massacres at Marash

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1920]

THE opposition to the French occupation of towns in Syria, especially in Cilicia, which resulted ultimately in the massacres at Marash and the driving of the French forces from that town, was of a twofold nature. Ever since Emir Faisal's return from Paris in January, bearing what was erroneously believed to be an understanding on the question of boundaries between the Arab State and the French territory,\* events had shown that the views of the French on this question differed fundamentally from those held by the Arab Nationalists, supported tacitly, if not officially, by Emir Faisal himself. But though Faisal and his father, Hussein, King of the Hedjaz, made no attempt to use the Arab regular army, numbering some 10,000 troops, to attain their national aspirations by force of arms, a great organization of so-called Arab Nationalists was created throughout Syria to resist the encroachments of the French at every cost, and a volunteer army was created, said to be

able to muster from 30,000 to 40,000 men. The menace created by this army and the hostility of the Arabs throughout Syria were so great that the French forces, which had originally consisted of only some 15,000 or 20,000 men, were hastily reinforced until they reached a total of 30,000, mostly Senegalese and Moroccans.

Clashes between the French and the Arab volunteers first arose over the French occupation of the Bekaa Plain, which the Arabs pointed out had been neutralized by the French agreement with Emir Faisal. Serious fighting occurred, in which the French met with considerable losses. The report of this caused intense excitement through Syria and strengthened the influence of the Arab volunteer movement.

The French also had trouble in the Merj Ayun district (west of the Upper Jordan, about twenty miles inland from Tyre), where an Arab uprising began, to repress which the French military authorities sent all their spare troops from Beirut and Lebanon. In Lebanon itself differences arose between the French command and the Lebanese administration, which had previously been Franco-ophile, on the ground of excessive interference with the local Government.

### THE MARASH MASSACRES

On the other hand, the French found themselves faced by Turkish Nationalist hostility in Cilicia, which included the much hated and unfortunate Armenians within its scope. As the occupation movement of the French Senegalese extended from town to town in Cilicia Turkish bad feeling grew. This resentment was particularly strong in the town

\* The general lines of the French demands as given out in Paris on Jan. 7 were as follows: The Emir was to agree to a French mandate for the whole of Syria, France in return agreeing to the formation of an Arab State, taking in the four towns of Damascus, Hama, Homs and Aleppo, which were to be administered by the Emir, assisted by French advisers and inspectors. In the Bekaa (Bika) region, between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, claimed both by the Lebanese and the Arabs, the policing was to be provisionally intrusted to an Arab gendarmerie with a cadre of French military inspectors. The ultimate destiny of this district was left for later decision. The Emir was to accept financial and economic collaboration with France to the exclusion of all other powers. It was subsequently stated that the Emir had warned both the French and British that he feared the Arab population would never accept the French territorial claims, and had returned to Arabia to discuss the whole question of boundaries with his Government; the French demands, it appeared, had not been definitely agreed to by him, and the question still remained unsettled.



SOLDIERS OF THE NEW ARABIAN KINGDOM OF THE HEDJAZ, WITH THEIR NATIONAL FLAG

of Marash, where the massacre of the French garrison and of the Armenian population of the town was planned by the Turkish Nationalists. On Jan. 20 five Americans and one French officer, proceeding by automobile to Aintab, were fired on by the Turks, but without effect.

On Jan. 21 the massacres of the Armenians began. More than two weeks of horror followed. The number of victims was variously estimated from 5,000 to 18,000, the latter figure being vouched for by a British relief agent, Dr. Kennedy, stationed at Adana. The Armenian quarters of the city, including the churches, had been burned, he said,

and 1,300 women and children had perished in their flight to Adana. Eight thousand Armenians still remained amid the ruins of Marash, many of them wounded. The American home for Armenian girls who had been rescued from Turkish harems was sacked and eighty-five girls were murdered on Feb. 7. American missionary buildings were burned.

To defend these victims of Turkish fanaticism General Gouraud, the French commander in Syria, had sent an expedition to Marash under General Normand and Colonel Bremond. This force fought almost continuously until Feb. 10, when, being greatly outnumbered, the French



were compelled to withdraw from Marash, followed by a bewildered throng of homeless Armenians fleeing from further massacres. The French losses in Cilicia from the end of January to Feb. 15 were 158 killed, 279 wounded and 181 missing. At least 3,000 Armenians left the city on foot for Islahieh. A small group of missionary workers from the United States reached that town in safety.

#### DIARY OF THE TRAGEDY

A dramatic diary of the tragic days in Marash was kept by the Rev. C. T. S. Crathern, a Boston Y. M. C. A. Secretary, who depicts the nerve-racking experience of seventeen members of the American Committee for Relief in the Near East shut up for twenty-two days without outside communication in a mission compound at Marash. The narrative grimly etched by these brief daily extracts recalls the horror of the siege of Peking. Mr. Crathern, with two Americans, a French Lieutenant and two Armenians, attempted to leave Marash by automobile for Aintab on Jan. 20, but was driven back by a hail of bullets despite the missionary's display of the American flag.

Turkish bad feeling over the French occupation of Marash and other Cilician cities had continued for weeks. On Jan. 21 Mr. Crathern found Marash with its shops and bazaars closed, and the Turks engaged in talking in small groups throughout the city. The expected clash began at noon that day, and soon there was shooting in all parts of the city. On the 22d the Americans were awakened by guns and exploding shells. The American Hospital was attacked, the doctors and nurses having a narrow escape. Through his field glass on the 23d the missionary said he could see Armenians fleeing through the streets before the Turks, who shot them down, while snipers picked off others from the hills above. The diary says: "It was pitiful to see them throw up their hands and scream while attempting to escape. We watched them fleeing over the hills until they reached our compound, some dropping wounded and others staggering into the

mission grounds with wild eyes and purple faces, telling of the awful massacres just beginning."

#### HISTORY OF MASSACRE

After describing an unsuccessful attempt by the French commander, Gen-



EMIR FAÏSAL,

*Third son of the King of the Hedjaz proclaimed King of Syria*  
(© Harris & Ewing)

eral Querette, to arrange a cessation of hostilities, the diary continues:

Jan. 24—At night the city is in total darkness. Whenever we go from one compound to another we creep along walls to escape being hit. Every compound is filled with frightened refugees, alarmed over the fate of their relatives. The American Committee for Relief in the Near East is feeding 2,000 orphans and refugees, with only a few days' supply, and the bread problem is grave.

Today we raised the American flag, but no sooner had we raised it to the mast than a salute from a dozen guns sent us scampering to cover. The whole country is in the flame of revolt. While the days are exciting the nights are more so, with the great guns booming and soldiers creeping stealthily forth with benzine torches and hand grenades. Fires are

raging in various sections and the city is like Dante's Inferno.

Jan. 25—Hundreds of Armenians are trying to reach our compound, but the light made by fires the Turks are setting to Armenian quarters makes their escape impossible.

Jan. 27—At this moment there is a young woman in our house who tells us she prayed for five nights in a cellar with a hundred other persons. The Turks asked them to surrender, promising them protection. They agreed. The Turks told the men to come out of the house. The woman said her husband went first, and



MAP SHOWING CILICIA AND LOCATION OF THE MARASH MASSACRES

was shot by their own Turkish neighbor, whom she knew well.

Jan. 28—A pitiful case arriving today was that of Mrs. Selattian, wife of the pastor of the Third Church. She was bleeding from bullet and knife wounds. She says her child of 18 months was slain.

Jan. 30—No relief in sight.

Jan. 31—Nine persons were shot today on the college grounds, some of them seriously. Fortunately, we have plenty of wheat now, and by keeping the women grinding from sunrise to sunset we can feed the people. Mrs. Selattian died today. The uncertain situation is a great strain on the nerves of the ladies of our party, but they are bravely and cheerfully ministering to the unfortunates.

Feb. 1—More children have been shot in orphanages, and hospitals continue to be attacked. The refugees are much alarmed at the success of the Turks.

Feb. 6—This is the eighteenth day of the siege of Marash. We had a joyful surprise. An airplane flew over the city, dropping several messages, which a high wind carried into the Turkish part of the city. But we knew help was near. We were not forgotten. More victims today for the operating table. More graves in the cemetery. I hope help will come be-

fore all the Armenians have to pay the awful price of this needless war.

Feb. 8—French troops are in the valley, their guns shelling the hills, but it may be days before they can encircle the city. Wounded continue to come in, and there are many deaths daily. We spent the afternoon watching the battle in the plain from the upper college windows. We saw French relieving troops finally effect a connection with French forces in the barracks.

Feb. 9—General Querette informed us today that he has orders to evacuate the city at midnight. This news has caused wild alarm among the women and children, who are crazed with fear. We urged General Querette to delay evacuation. He said he would try to secure a delay of twenty-four hours. If the French evacuate we are not sure what treatment we will receive at the hands of the Turks.

The diary then relates in detail the horror of the journey to Ishlahieh, in which many Armenians perished.

In commenting on the massacres French officials on March 5 admitted their gravity, but pointed out that it was impossible to foresee and prevent them, as the army of occupation was not large enough to furnish strong guards at every point where the Turks were likely to engage in an uprising. Other Turkish attacks on the French occurred throughout February, following in the wake of extremist propaganda in Anatolia; irregular forces had made raids from the mountains; a station on the Bagdad Railway had been attacked and raids by brigands had been repulsed. The murder of James Perry and Frank Johnson, Y. M. C. A. men, which occurred on Feb. 4 near Aintab, was in one of these attacks by brigands, who mistook the American relief convoy for a French patrol. Near Houran, Palestine, a combined attack by Turkish and Arab Nationalists resulted in the death of 400 French troops.

### WARNINGS TO TURKEY

The allied warning to Turkey on this subject brought belated action by the Ottoman Minister of the Interior toward the end of February. Circulars were distributed and posted urging that attacks on non-Moslem peoples be prevented as "prejudicial to the good disposition of the powers toward Turkey." Definite news of the seriousness of the





CHIEFS OF THE HEDJAZ ARABS

massacres at Marash, however, impressed upon the allied Governments the necessity of taking stronger measures, especially in view of the defiant attitude adopted by the Nationalist majority in the Turkish Chamber. The program of this party rejected all foreign interference, called for the return of all territory not occupied at the conclusion of the armistice, and demanded the acceptance of whatever decision the Arabs of Syria reached regarding their future. It also repeated the threat of the Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal that war would be begun in the Spring if the Greeks were left in Smyrna and the French in Cilicia.

The Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Safa Bey, in discussing the Cilician situation with a Constantinople correspondent of *The Associated Press* on March 6, asserted that the Turks at Marash had acted in self-defense, having been attacked first through a misunderstanding, and that "only 100 or 200 non-combatants" had been killed or wounded. He added:

The Government has done its best to keep order, but it is a hopeless task when foreign troops penetrate far into our country, as they have at Smyrna and

Marash, and antagonize the population and submit them to indignities. Free men will defend themselves under such conditions.

#### FAISAL PROCLAIMED KING

Meanwhile, the Arabs, who were cooperating more or less openly with the Turkish nationalists in Cilicia and Anatolia, were completing plans for a coup. A Pan-Syrian Congress at Damascus on March 8 formally declared Syria to be an independent State, and the event was celebrated with fireworks in Beirut that evening. Palestine, Lebanon and Northern Mesopotamia were included in the districts where the Arabs were undertaking to force allied recognition of a greater Syria under a Moslem ruler, with possibly a French adviser.

The next step followed on the 11th, when Prince Faisal, third son of King Hussein of the Hedjaz, was proclaimed King of Syria, according to Cairo advices to *The London Times*. At the same time an assembly of twenty-nine Mesopotamian notables sitting in Damascus was preparing to proclaim Mesopotamia a State under the regency of Prince Zeid, a brother of Faisal. Thus the situation in Asia Minor continued to acquire new complexities day by day.

# Syria and the Hedjaz: A French View

By GUSTAVE GAUTHEROT

*The Allies are in the embarrassing position of having promised to the King of the Hedjaz certain important portions of Syria, including Aleppo and Damascus, which are now claimed by France. Great Britain from the beginning was the chief sponsor for the new Arab kingdom, and France was increasingly unfriendly, until at length the rivalry came to an armed clash between the Arabs and General Gouraud's army of occupation in Syria. The present article, which is translated from La France Nouvelle, presents the facts about the Hedjaz, but is written with a strong French bias. It is, however, of timely interest in connection with the grave situation in Cilicia following the withdrawal of French troops and the massacres of Armenians there. Dispatches have tended to confirm M. Gautherot's charge that the Arab nationalists and the Turkish unionists are working together.*

THE Franco-British agreement of Sept. 15, 1919, somewhat dispersed the obscurity of the allied policy in the Levant, and in assuming command of our Syrian and Cilician troops General Gouraud, more fortunate than his predecessor, General Hamelin, will not be obliged to leave the French flag unfurled. But many clouds still remain to be dispelled beyond the mountains, artificial clouds which the Allies themselves, since 1916, when Hussein I. mounted the "throne" of the Hedjaz, have created.

The demands made in 1915 by the Shereef of Mecca on the British negotiator, Sir Henry MacMahon, as the price for his military co-operation, have now become known; they embodied the creation of an Arab State bounded by the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, Persia and the 37th degree of latitude (including Cilicia). Only that! The Shereef was willing to yield Cilicia, but not Syria. The Damascus-Aleppo region, through which passes the Euphrates-Nile and Constantinople-Cairo railway, remains Zone A (Arab Zone), and the British troops will evacuate it without our being called to take their place.

What is the Hedjaz, which thus outweighs the powers whose victorious arms are the re-creators of life and civilization in the Orient? What domination do the followers of the Shereef aspire to establish? They proclaim Wilsonian principles. What traffic is covered by this flag? What soil, what race, what dynasty, what services, what policy?

Cast your eyes upon the historical maps where the boundaries of vanished empires mark the furthest advance of successive civilizations: From Cyrus and Alexander to the Romans and the feudal lords, the Arabian peninsula, south of Palestine, has been left intact; the great Arab sovereigns of the Middle Ages themselves left it neglected, the Ottoman Empire did not embrace it, and if it was attached to it in our days, it was only by the weakest of ties; and yet it contained Mecca!

The reasons for this abandonment are obvious to the traveler in Arabia: volcanic mountains, deserts where every year four or five torrential rains revive a fugitive vegetation. \* \* \* Is it famine which perpetuates the divisions among the inhabitants? In the Hedjaz, a region relatively populated, between the coast of the Red Sea and the desert of the West, the territory is distributed between the many Bedouin tribes, half nomads, ready to fight for the highest bidder, but unwilling to go too far from their possessions lest they be seized by their neighbors during their absence. The "warriors" readily attack a rich convoy; they know how to make use of the ground, but aside from this they have no knowledge of military science and will not stand before any real danger. "I cannot fight any serious battle," acknowledged Emir Ali, "for the day that I should lose a hundred of my men all these tribes would turn their backs on me." After discharging their guns from shelter the Bedouins fall back





ARABIAN PENINSULA, PRACTICALLY THE WHOLE OF WHICH IS CLAIMED BY THE KING OF THE HEDJAZ AND HIS SON, PRINCE FAISAL

immediately; should we then be surprised that Medina remained in the hands of the Turks until January, 1919?

The Governors of the towns are Sherreefs or Lords tracing their descent from the two sons of the Prophet Ali. Formerly pensioners of the Turkish Government, their wealth, their material power determined their degree of influence; there are some who belong to the lowest classes.

Mecca, still a city forbidden to Christians, is inhabited by merchant importers, by robbers of pilgrims, by pilgrims representing all the races of Islam—Persians, Hindus, Malays, Javanese, Senegalese and Moors. Debauchery and the putridity of the worst maladies pervade the Holy City as much as they do Djeddah, its port on the coast.

#### HUSSEIN AND HIS SONS

Hussein Ben Ali, of the tribe of Hachem, governed these two cities; he

was thus an important Shereef. But the war, by ruining pilgrimage and by blockading the Hedjaz, cut off his revenues and his supplies. He had been for thirty years the pupil and confidant of Abdul Hamid; he derived from this master, as well as from his old friend, the ex-Khédive Abbas, his political principles. His second son, Abdallah, became Vice President of the Ottoman Chamber, and continued to lean toward Constantinople; Abdallah, who was very ambitious, was jealous of the hereditary rights of his elder brother, Ali, and carefully fostered his own popularity among the Bedouins. The two younger brothers, Faisal and Zeid, pursued the profits of war, and each showed himself as jealous of the other's successes as he was unmoved by the other's defeats.

Faisal, the most enterprising of the four Emirs, wished above all to carry out his great project of becoming Prince of Syria. To accomplish this he needed

strong foreign aid. He found this in the English and in the connivance of certain Syrians which he purchased with cash or with fine promises; certain Christians formerly favorable to the French, certain Libanese who before the war had showed themselves fervent patriots, constituted his "court" and showed great activity, placing at his disposal all their education, their diplomacy and their own ambitions.

Such was the extent and the political nucleus of the Arab Empire dreamed of by Hussein.

In 1916 the revolt against the Turks by the High Shereef of Mecca aroused great hopes in the Allies; on the Asiatic front it meant a mortal blow dealt our enemies, it was "Pan-Islamism" confiscated in our favor, the Sovereign of the first of Holy Cities being bound to substitute his favorable influence for that of the Sultan of Constantinople. This "Pan-Arabism" would safeguard the African interests of France, a great Mussulman power.

The uprising of the Hedjaz certainly offered us immediate advantages; the immobilization of two Turkish divisions to the west of the Arabian Peninsula would facilitate the operations in Palestine and Mesopotamia; the breaking off of too-easy communications between Germanized Turkey and the African Continent would dam up the stream of emissaries who, through Abyssinia, Darfour, and Sahara, went forth to foment trouble in our possessions. The alliance with Hussein, then, was useful; but what help did it bring us in the Hedjaz itself?

#### THE SHEREEF'S ARMY

Richly paid with fine gold pieces sacrificed by the patriotism of allied citizens, and well provisioned, Hussein was able to add lustre to his crown, to pay off his immediate dependents, his functionaries, his soldiers and his partisans, who had never known such abundance before. His action was thus extended to some 40,000 or 50,000 Bedouins, bands naturally without organization, without power of resistance, without warlike valor. His small regular army, less than 4,000 soldiers composed of Turkish deserters, and natives of the Yemen, black

slaves, was commanded by former Turkish officers or by Arab officers who had learned their trade among the Turks, or by the dozen or so of European officers and the few hundreds of soldiers of the French and British Military Missions. A few Captains and Lieutenants, with their 65 and 80 millimeter guns and their machine guns, were the centre of every operation of any extent, and the Bedouin chiefs, before taking part in it, would ask if our men were in it. At the School of Military Instruction of Mecca an officer and ten French sharpshooters trained "regulars" for the "armies" of the Emirs.

It is impossible to sum up here the guerrilla warfare initiated by these "armies" against the 4,000 to 5,000 Turks of the Expeditionary Force to the Hedjaz. The narrow gorges and the mountain regions favored it, and, above all, the interminable line of Turkish communications. The small Turkish posts doing vigil over the thousand kilometers of the Maan-Medina railway were often surprised, the rails often damaged, with a frequency increased by the prospect of convoys to be pillaged; but trains still continued to run in 1918! On Nov. 11, 1917, Emir Ali tried to destroy the road at Bouat and obtained no result, his Bedouins having refused to fight against the Turks; on Nov. 17 Captain Pisani himself lighted the explosives placed on the rails near Akabet, but saw the Arabs disperse as soon the enemy's fire was discharged. On Jan. 24, 1918, the attack on Maan failed despite a very great numerical superiority and the aid of the English automatic machine guns, because the Arabs refused to attack the fortress. And one could cite many other examples analogous to these.

#### THE SHEREEF'S ADMINISTRATION

The administrative and political incapacity of Hussein's Government corresponds to its military impotency. In November-December, 1918, the Kibla, his official sheet, published long lists of Generals, officers, soldiers, officials and even servants. As a matter of fact, the old Turkish officials continued their administration, and it was British officers, British soldiers, who governed and main-



tained order—a wholly relative order—in the Arab-Syrian zone. How could it have been otherwise when Hussein had no firm ground on which to stand?

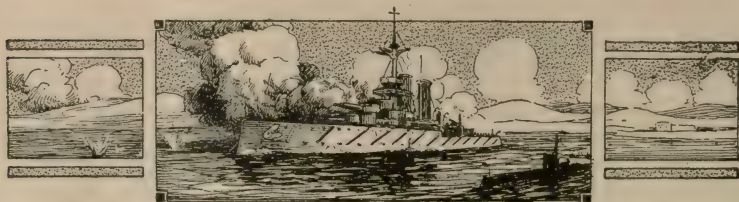
We had believed in the unifying virtue of his religious ascendancy. Gross illusion! The religious unity of Islam was non-existent, and this Sunnite Emir could no more subject to his control the Shiites of Arabia than those of Syria, Persia, or India. Mussulmans of all sects wished from him only one service: To guard the holy places and to assure the freedom of pilgrimage; toward him personally they preserved an independence ever ready to revolt if he dared to threaten them. In December, 1918, as in 1915, he exercised authority only in Mecca, where he was virtually as much besieged as Fakri Pasha was at Medina. The hostile tribes of the Wahabites and the Shammars had defeated him to east and south in November and December; further to the south the Turkophil Arabs and the Turks of Moheddin held various towns. In the north, in Nedj, the Emir Ibn el Seoud, conqueror of the royal Emir Abdallah, and in Central Arabia the Emirs Ibn el Reshid and Ibn Sabah, whom even the Turks had never conquered, showed themselves indomitable. When in May, 1919, Hussein proclaimed himself "Commander of the Faithful," that is, Khalif, the high religious leader of Islam, Ibn el Seoud swore that he himself and his two brothers "in God" would never cease their struggle against the usurper. "All the Sultans of Arabia are lords and shereefs," he observed, "whose noble origin is more authentic than that of the Emir of Mecca."

The royal throne which the Allies

have erected in Mecca is therefore maintained only by their support and otherwise has no foundation in reality. The Hedjaz is not the "power" which certain diplomatic organs would lead one to suppose, and the conception of which was inspired by political strategy. \* \* \* But under the cover of war the drones have swarmed. Bedouins have occupied the western half of Syria, are installed in its principal towns, Damascus and Aleppo, on the railway which connects three continents, and which, for Western civilization, of which it is the creation, has inestimable value for the reclaiming of immense tracts of territory to economic life. Must we leave these Bedouins there?

"I am only a Bedouin," Emir Faisal is reported to have said on meeting M. Clemenceau, "a wandering Bedouin of the desert, who comes to speak to you with his heart." We have learned since of the feeling which he cherished toward us in his heart—a deep and unscrupulous hostility; and in regard to the Allies generally, an Arab "nationalism" which, in its essence, in its procedures, in its collusions, is the brother, the younger brother of the Young Turk Nationalism. Already the movement of Arab independence has been fused with that which the Turkish "Unionists" persist in conducting, and it can end only in renewals of the most violent fanaticism.

The interest of Syria itself requires us to save her from such a danger, and compels us, acting in harmony with our allies, to enforce the superior rights of humanity as against the unjustified and vain ambition of a son of the desert.



# Constantinople Under the Germans

Life in the Turkish Capital in 1917 and 1918 Described by  
an American Eyewitness

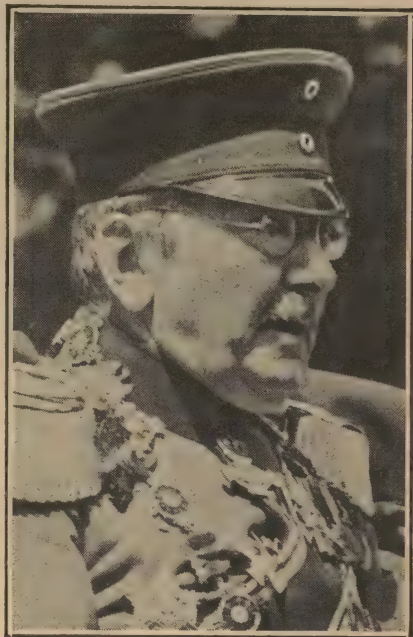
THE Germans were literally the masters of Turkey and the lords of Constantinople in 1917 and 1918.

The Turkish cafés were full of them, drinking beer and champagne; they "swanked" in the streets and on the cars and trains; the dun-colored, swiftly flying automobiles of the German officers were everywhere; high living, concert and chamber music, garden parties, *sangefeste* occupied their days and nights. The very Professors of Turkish and Oriental languages in the colleges were supplanted by bespectacled Teuton pedants. The army, navy, the Cabinet, the railways, and all foreign policy were controlled by them.

Naturally those nationals of the allied nations who for various reasons remained in the Turkish capital after the departure of the allied missions were cordially hated by the swaggering Germans, and their feeling was reciprocated in kind, though with discretion. Americans, on the whole, were much better treated than other nationalities. They were at no time interned, and though always conscious of surveillance, enjoyed full freedom of movement; the American colleges and other institutions, despite the efforts of the Germans to have them confiscated, remained untouched owing to the favorable attitude of Djavid Bey, the Minister of Finance during the Armenian massacres, and of Talaat Pasha, the Grand Vizier, with both of whom on this matter Enver Pasha, Minister of War and virtual dictator under the Germans, stood constantly in opposition.

One of these American residents of Constantinople during the last two years of the war—Barnette Miller, a Professor of History in Constantinople—in a vivid narrative published by The Yale Review in its January issue, tells the story of German "occupation" of the Sultan's capital throughout this period.

This story, which might be entitled



FIELD MARSHAL VON DER GOLTZ  
*The German officer who trained the Turkish Army. He died in 1918*  
(© International)

"Germany's Decline and Fall in Turkey," begins logically with the wrecking of all the German hopes of the famous Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway as a result of the terrific explosion of the Haidar Pasha Arsenal on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus on Sept. 6, 1917. The writer says of this momentous and symbolic disaster:

Though we did not realize its full meaning at the time, this terrible event proved to be an important link in the chain that led to the victory of the Allies. For in those few hours on that fateful September day in 1917 the last great hazard of the Turks in the game of war literally went up in smoke. What had fed the flames that leaped half way across the Bosphorus was the greater part of the ammunition, the rolling stock, the motor lor-





GERMAN OFFICERS WHO COMMANDED THE TURKISH FLEET

ries, the artillery, and all the varied paraphernalia of modern war which the Turks and Germans had assembled for a colossal drive that was to retake Bagdad. The campaign had been christened in advance with the magic name *Yilderim* (Thunderbolt), by which one of the early Turkish Sultans was called "Yilderim Bayazid" — whom, curiously enough, we Westerners know only in his eclipse as the Bajazet of Marlowe's "Tamburlaine." "The Yilderim campaign—Yilderim—Yilderim"—one heard the phrase on the lips of the bearded old men in the cafés and in the bathhouse gossip of the Turkish *hanums*. . . .

All during the Summer of 1917 preparations for this great drive, which was to save the Turkish Empire, had gone on. The assembling of the materials was at its height, the Germans had promised 150,000 men, and the transportation had begun—there were even trains loaded with troops ready to pull out of the station—when the end came.

For several days afterward we heard the rumor that an English airplane from Mudros had dropped a bomb on the arsenal. The official explanation of the disaster was that some part of a crane had broken as it was hoisting a box of ammunition and the box fell—for the rest no expert testimony was needed. Overnight the word "Yilderim" passed out of the street vocabulary of the Turk—the Thunderbolt had struck, but not in Bagdad, as he had planned. The Haida Pasha explosion was irrevocably the beginning of the end of his dream of Pan-Turanism and a German victory.

#### THE FOREIGN RESIDENTS

Of all the allied residents the British, says this writer, were the most hated, as the Germans doubtless intended they should be. Of the 10,000 Kut-el-Amara prisoners about 85 per cent. died from disease and hardship. A score of Eng-

lish women and children and two men, exiled from Bagdad on the approach of the British Army, were nine months on their journey across the desert and mountain. At Mosul, with other refugees to the number of thirty-six, they were confined for months in a black hole. When they finally reached Constantinople, after indescribable sufferings, two of their number had fallen in their tracks and died. But in the capital civilian Eng-



ENVER PASHA

*Turkish leader chiefly responsible for alliance with Germany*

(© Underwood & Underwood)

lishmen were in general discreetly treated, though several were exiled into the interior.

The Armenians and Greeks, who were counted among the pro-ally groups, were not deported in a body, but many incidents occurred which brought before the writer's eyes all the horror of the persecution to which the first-named nation was being subjected. One of these episodes, dramatic and horrible enough in its suggestion, is narrated in these words:

One day as I was riding on the tram

through the European suburb of Bechiktash I was startled by the sight of a great brute of a young Anatolian Turk—dressed in the shapeless, unpressed fez, the open shirt, the baggy blue trousers and the pointed shoes of the interior—dragging a handsome Armenian girl (a peasant of perhaps 15 or 16) along the street by the arm. Evidently she had just been torn from her home, for she wore no head covering, and she half walked, half ran, with difficulty on the wooden clogs that Oriental women wear in the house. On the face of her captor was an expression of almost satyrlike glee as he hauled the girl along, while she looked absolutely paralyzed with terror. As the tram passed on we continued to hear the man's shouts of fiendish laughter. So dramatic was the incident that the German and Turkish officers, of whom the car was full, all stood up to see what was happening, yet not a single officer lifted a hand or a voice against the wanton brutality of the act.

The life of the German allies of the Sultan in the capital is graphically described by Professor Miller. The Germans were everywhere; they

filled not only the trams of Constantinople but the streets as well. Their wide, low, dun-colored cars, emblazoned with the Imperial German crest—the type used by the German superior officer—drove ceaselessly and recklessly through the crowded thoroughfares packed to full capacity. They were always parked near the War Office in great numbers. On Monday mornings these cars were lined up at the quays awaiting their owners, who would return to town loaded with flowers, fruits, vegetables and other spoils of a week-end at the Prince's Island. The lack of regulation of the food supply and higher pay for foreign service made life so much pleasanter in Constantinople than in Berlin that Germans openly expressed a preference for a billet in the Turkish capital during the latter part of the war. Here they not only enjoyed greater leeway themselves, but they were able to provide their families with extra supplies. In addition to the large quantities of food which the Germans forced the Turks to let them export from the country, individual officers smuggled out a great deal by post, and they filled to overflowing their compartments in the Balkanzug when they made journeys home. \* \* \*

## GERMANS AND TURKS

There was of course no fraternization of the German officers with the Turkish officers, nor even with the Austrians, whose social life was quite apart. The German officers were generally very bumptious and overbearing in their de-



meanor toward the Turk; in return they were cordially detested, and their assumption of authority was greatly resented. I think the heavy loans made by Germany to Turkey had convinced the Germans that the Turks were wholly in their power—as in fact they were. The Turks feared the sixty or seventy thousand German troops, said to have been kept in Constantinople for use in case of an anti-German uprising, and especially the battleships Goeben and Breslau, whose guns could easily have terrorized the city.

It was a curious fact that, though the two ships had been rechristened the *Selmie* and the *Medelli*, the Turks were never allowed to man or officer them, and the several thousand German sailors did not even bother to change the original names on their caps. Near where the battleships were anchored in Stenia Bay on the upper Bosphorus, in one of the broad valleys that intersect the hills at right angles to the strait, these sailors cultivated a large garden of twenty or thirty acres, from which they supplied themselves with the delicacies of the season. Its trellised gates and extremely neat asphalt paths were eloquent testimony to the idea of permanent occupation in the German mind. The wholesale corruption by the German sailors and soldiers of the Greek and Armenian, especially the Greek, women in the Bosphorus villages, whose husbands had been drafted or deported, and who were compelled to choose between starvation and German money, was one of the most deplorable results of the German occupation.

An interesting account of the air raids on Constantinople by British bombing planes from the Summer of 1918 on is given by the narrator. During July, August and September of that year these raids occurred on all moonlight nights. The chief targets of the British aviators were the War Office in Stamboul, the arsenals at Haidar Pasha and Haskeuy, and the Goeben anchored off Stenia. The Turks had no airplane to defend themselves with, and they resented the fact that the Germans did not supply them with any. Anti-aircraft guns, however, were mounted at all suitable places, and with the guns of the Goeben made a fine tumult when the British planes made their hits and flew back over the Thracian Hills.

The main Turkish representative of German influence in Constantinople was Enver Pasha. His exterior personality, as described by the narrator, is strange-

ly at variance with his real characteristics. Professor Miller says:

Enver Pasha was, when I met him, still a slight, very youthful looking soldier with a noticeably shy manner. His smile was winning, and his brown eyes were so gentle as to be positively gazelle-like, if I may use a favorite Eastern figure. Yet, his appearance to the contrary notwithstanding, he was a man of absolutely iron will, who, though brilliant, knew what he wanted and how to get it; and he was totally devoid of the humanizing emotions. During the war he became, with German backing, practically an autocrat far more powerful than the Sultan or even the Grand Vizier, Talaat Pasha.

### THE END OF GERMAN POWER

News of the Bulgarian débâcle and of the opening of negotiations with the Allies reached Constantinople in September, 1918. On receipt of these tidings the Armenians showed self-restraint, the Turkish population apathy, but the Government and high officials were panic-stricken. For two or three days the Germans tried to rally public opinion by guaranteeing that whatever happened they would keep open communication by railway between Turkey and Berlin. The impossibility of this was soon evident. They then promised to keep open a route by land and water via Bucharest. In this, too, they failed, and the second boat to try the route was forced to put back. Its return was a signal for panic among the Germans and the pro-German element.

The resignation of Talaat's Cabinet and the hasty flight of the committee followed. Enver Pasha, seeing that the game was up, gave an elaborate dinner at his palace on the Bosphorus nine days before the entrance of the allied fleet, and bade farewell to his guests standing on his quay. He then went ostensibly to his harem; the lights of the palace were darkened, and the sentries went off guard. Half an hour later the launch which had taken away the guests returned without lights, took Enver on board, and steamed away to the Black Sea. Thus the famous Turkish triumvirate disappeared from the scene, to reappear, according to recent reports, in Switzerland and Germany. Enver Bey

as the leader of the Turks and Tatars of Western Asia with German material and Bolshevik aid against the allies.

### ALLIED FLEET ARRIVES

On Tuesday, Nov. 13, the long-awaited hour of deliverance from Turk and German arrived for the allied residents of Constantinople. At 8 o'clock in the morning the advance guard of the great fleet of sixty or more vessels steamed into view coming up the Sea of Marmora.

There was a light mist [writes Professor Miller], not enough to obscure but merely to soften the outlines. It gave a touch of unreality—an effect of mirage—to the stately procession of silent ships. There were no salutes, no strings of flags on the masts, no tootings. \* \* \* It was almost impossible, as we stood on the hill watching, to realize that we were present at the fall of the Turkish capital. And of course, at that moment, we hardly sensed the fact that only twice before in the course of its unparalleled sixteen centuries of empire had Constantinople surrendered to a victorious power.

Thus the last chapter of German dominance in the East was written. The narrative concludes as follows:

The English made it their first business after they were installed in Constantinople to sweep the city clean of Germans. Four ships were provided to convey them to Odessa, whence they were to make their way through Russia. After the manner of their kind they, of course, complained bitterly of the dangers and hardships of the journey. And what a sudden and amazing change there was in their manner! They were no longer condescendingly arrogant, but crestfallen, almost slinking. For a few days German libraries and archaeological collections were offered at bargain prices, but the more easily transportable goods, such as fine Oriental rugs, metal work, and curios of their own and of their allied landlords—for they were thieves to the bitter end—the Germans attempted to take with them, until even the Turkish authorities forced them to disgorge their loot. The streets were noticeably free from German soldiers; the quays were crowded with them, waiting to embark. The woebegone few for whom there was no room on the ships remained to be interned. So also did the chief offenders, whom, by the way, the excellent British Intelligence seemed to know all about. Thus within a remarkably short time the far-reaching German grip on Turkish affairs—which not long before had seemed to us so hopelessly strong—had been loosed; and the German sway of a decade in Constantinople had passed into history.

## Hallowed Ground

By E. MYRTLE DUNN

Oh, let them sleep in peace! They paid the price  
For rest and quiet in that stricken land.  
They gladly gave their lives! Let that suffice  
To hold in sacred bond that noble band.  
Is it not so? The world looked on, amazed  
To see the eager thousands cross the sea;  
To watch the brave young faces as they gazed,  
And heard that "Forward March" for Liberty!

Oh, let them rest! You would not know them now!  
Their forms were sadly broken in the strife.  
You could not kiss the lips nor touch the brow  
That feels no more the thrilling pulse of life.  
They went to fight, and die if need there seemed;  
To rescue tortured brothers from the foe.  
You would not find the smiles in eyes that beamed—  
The tones that answered when you let them go.

So let them rest! The work so nobly done—  
A grander monument than marble tomb.  
The victory sure which they so bravely won  
Will shine forever through the saddest gloom.  
A little while, and they will rise again,  
Responsive to that last long trumpet sound.  
Then grief shall be effaced—no weeping then,  
For wheresoe'er they sleep is Hallowed Ground.



# Popular Highlights of the Great War

By FRANKLIN B. MORSE

THE years of the great war were fraught with countless episodes, dramatic, tragic, sentimental and, in some instances, comic. Historic sayings were plentiful. Hundreds of personalities emerged above the level of their fellows—and so with the songs, books, speeches, military orders, music, &c. To pick out of this conglomeration the outstanding things which made the greatest appeal to the popular imagination—the things which the people remember in connection with the war most vividly—is the object of this article.

Every one who has read anything concerning the war is familiar with the first battle of the Marne, in which the initial tide of the German invasion was rolled back from the gates of Paris to the Aisne River. Doubtless the people of Germany are more familiar with the great victory at Tannenberg, as the details of the Marne were purposely kept from them; but the Central Powers represented a minority of the populations of the world arrayed against them. Thus to the first battle of the Marne is accorded the position as the outstanding battle.

Those competent to judge tell us that poets were inspired to write a few examples of verse destined to be preserved. No attempt is being made in this article to judge of the merits or demerits of anything or any one. Its purpose is to judge, as nearly as possible, what most appealed to the popular fancy, what was most referred to either in speech or in print, and thus brought before the masses. It is doubtful if anything in the realm of poetry made a greater appeal, either in England or in this country, than "In Flanders Fields," the beautiful lyric written by Lieut. Col. Dr. John McCrae of Montreal, Canada, while the second battle of Ypres was in progress. The author's body a few months later found a resting place in Flanders fields. No bit of verse was more quoted than

the last stanza of this poem, which reads:

Take up our quarrel with the foe;  
To you from falling hands we throw  
The torch; be yours to hold it high.  
If ye break faith with us who die,  
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
In Flanders fields.

This poem was particularly favored by the "Four Minute Men and Women" who spoke in the various patriotic drives for loans and other war activities. They had much to do with bringing the poem to the notice of the public.

There are many, however, who may be inclined to think that Allan Seeger's "I Have a Rendezvous with Death" struck an equally popular chord, and with them we have no quarrel. It is a fact, however, that this poem did not adapt itself to quoting as did McCrae's, and so failed to reach the public to the extent of "In Flanders Fields." There are several other poems inspired by the war which found much favor, but I do not believe there were any more favorably received or popularly known than the two mentioned.

A poem which had a great vogue as reprint matter in the newspapers throughout the country was "A Toast," by George Morrow Mayo, printed in The Washington Star. Its appeal was more local—confined to this country—as shown in these three stanzas:

Here's to the Blue of the windswept North,  
When we meet on the fields of France;  
May the Spirit of Grant be with you all,  
As the Sons of the North advance.

And here's to the Gray of the sun-kissed South,

When we meet on the fields of France;  
May the Spirit of Lee be with you all,  
As the Sons of the South advance.

And here's to the Blue and Gray as one,  
When we meet in the fields of France;  
May the Spirit of God be with us all  
As the Sons of the Flag advance.

Of music and songs there appeared to be no end, and yet no great composi-

tion seems thus far to have been born of the war. "Over There," by George M. Cohan, probably was played by more marching bands and sung by more gatherings than any other song written for and on the war. "Tipperary" will doubtless be identified for all time with Tommy Atkins in the great war, even as "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," with common consent, has been turned over as the property of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's famous regiment of Rough Riders in the Spanish-American war. The song "Joan of Arc" would seem to be deserving, at least, of an honorable mention.

### FAMOUS WAR CARTOONISTS

The war made known two artists to the world. They are Louis Raemaekers of Holland and Bruce Bairnsfather of England. Of the hundreds of cartoons drawn by Raemaekers favoring the cause of the Allies it would be difficult to select any one which is better known than a dozen others. In the case of Bairnsfather, who touched on the lighter side of the conflict, although he was quite as prolific as his contemporary, it is not difficult to place one's finger on "The Better 'Ole" as being one of the outstanding cartoons of the war in the mind of the people. No more whimsical conception ever was produced than the depiction of the two British war veterans crouching in a shell hole, with a hail of bullets flying close over head. One of them is made to remark: "Well, if you knows of a better 'ole go to it." Artists all over the world borrowed from this drawing, rendering their "apologies" to the man who conceived it.

Among the war pictures exhibited at the London Royal Academy none made a deeper impression in England than that by Alfred Priest, entitled "Mother! Mother!" It was described by the critic, Sir Walter Armstrong, as "too painful for description." It depicts a young soldier in the shambles of a trench after a fight, surrounded by the dead, calling in his agony to his mother.

### MOST POPULAR WAR BOOKS

It has been said that, next to the Bible, the great war already stands sec-

ond in the vastness of the literature it has called forth. To any one who, like myself, has conceived the fancy to collect a war reference library, this does not sound like an exaggeration. In selecting the book with the greatest vogue—the best seller—we are aided by figures obtainable from publishers, and by the statistics of librarians. From these it would seem that of the nonfictional books Guy Empey's "Over the Top" has the right to claim a place among those at the head of the list. Of the fictional works H. G. Wells's "Mr. Britling Sees It Through" had a tremendous vogue during the war. The post-war fictional work to arrest the largest share of popular attention has been "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse," by the Spanish author Blasco Ibañeta.

In picking out the personalities of the great war, which, for one reason or another, have become most widely known, one courts the endless possibilities of differing opinions. I will make my selections without comment, feeling fairly confident they will be fit company for any others selected by the reader by way of substitution:

America—Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, General John J. Pershing.

Great Britain—Lloyd George, Field Marshal Haig.

France—Clemenceau, Marshals Joffre and Foch.

Belgium—King Albert, Cardinal Mercier, Burgomaster Max.

Italy—Gabriele d'Annunzio.

Germany—Kaiser, Crown Prince, Hindenburg, Ludendorff.

Of the lesser heroes, aside from Major Whittlesey of "Lost Battalion" fame in this country, the airmen appear in the limelight. Of the Americans we have William Thaw, Raoul Lufbery and Eddie Rickenbacker. Few will dispute first place to Guynemer among the French aces, while Richthofen, Boelcke and Immelmann are the particular stars among the German birdmen. For Italy d'Annunzio overshadowed all her other fliers in the newspaper reports during the war, and this fact made him the foremost character of that country in the popular estimation. Even General Diaz, who was in command of the armies that finally brought victory to Italy, is little known



to the masses in other countries. England hid the feats of her aviators under a cloak of secrecy, so that none of them may be said to be "popularly" known.

Of the men, the millions in the ranks, the limelight beat most fiercely on Alvin Yorke, popularly rated as the greatest individual hero of the American Army.

### POPULAR PHRASES

Many historic sayings are recorded, but probably none enjoys the worldwide reputation of "They shall not pass," which was the watchword of the French amid the bloody scenes of carnage enacted about the Fortress of Verdun during 1916. The origin of the slogan has never been definitely settled. It has been variously ascribed to Marshal Joffre, Marshal Pétain, in command of the forces there, and to the troops themselves.

As a matter of fact, already considerable doubt exists as to the origin of a number of well-known dramatic phrases, epigrams, slogans or army orders. Among these is the famous sentence, "Lafayette, we are here!" popularly put in the mouth of General Pershing when he placed a wreath on Lafayette's tomb in the Picpus Cemetery. Iconoclasts have begun the work of tearing down before history is fully reared by attributing this saying to Colonel Charles E. Stanton, a member of General Pershing's staff, and there seems to be every reason to believe he is entitled to the credit. As this particular incident is one of the popular dramatic highlights of the war in connection with the arrival of the American Army in France, it is worth while to know what The Spokesman-Review of Spokane, Wash., has to say on the subject editorially:

All the King's horses and all the King's men cannot keep out of the next crop of school readers the statement that General Pershing of the United States Army made a gesture and enunciated (in French): "Lafayette, we are here!" No matter how many times the General raises his right hand and swears (or affirms) that he never said it, that he doesn't know so much French, that he couldn't have thought of anything so dramatic, that he was there and knows who really did say it—in spite of all these things, the phrase is going down in history with Pershing's name tagged to it.

One does not wish to be a kill-joy. It is freely admitted that an American officer, at the proper time and place, said: "Lafayette, we are here!" It is a noble phrase, and mankind should not be cheated out of it. It was said, and it deserved every one of the thrills it aroused between here and Paris. But Colonel Stanton of Pershing's staff, who said it, ought to have the credit, particularly as Pershing would not have the credit at any price, being a just man.

However, the Colonel has very little chance. A first-class historical blunder like this never dies, but gets bigger and more exaggerated as the years go on, and is found invaluable as a topic for commencement orations. You will remember that General Sherman always contended that he never said "war is hell," but he might as well have saved his breath.

### FAMOUS WORDS OF OFFICERS

Admiral Sims and one of the officers in command of one of the vessels of the American fleet variously are credited with having made the reply, "We can start at once," to the question of a British Admiral as to when the American fleet would be ready, after its arrival, to join the British in stalking the skulking German submarines. Americans were thrilled by the retort of the American officer at Château-Thierry to the French order that a retreat be commenced. "The American flag has been compelled to retire. This is unendurable. We are going to counterattack," are the words attributed by some to Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard and by others to Major Gen. Omar Bundy. To the casual observer it would seem as though it would be easy to fix definitely upon the authors of these disputed utterances while they still are alive. Later on the chance will be gone.

No question exists as to the authorship of the words, "Too proud to fight." Those in opposition to the President saw to that. This phrase was quoted around the world and was the inspiration of countless cartoons and newspaper paragraphers.\*

\* The phrase was used by President Wilson in an address delivered in Philadelphia before 4,000 newly naturalized citizens on May 10, 1915, three days after the sinking of the Lusitania. "The example of America," he said, "must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating

Of the many "orders of the day" issued by army commanders to their troops, the two which made the greatest appeal to the popular imagination came out of the tense crisis of battle. These are Joffre's immortal words before the first battle of the Marne: "The hour has come to advance at all costs—to die where you stand rather than give way."

It was Field Marshal Haig who, on April 13, 1918, ordered his men as follows: "Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, every one of us must fight to the end."

When the Germans called on Major Whittlesey to surrender the "Lost Battalion" his brief reply, "Go to hell!" made an instantaneous hit in America.

Of the incidents appealing to the sentimental side, none probably is better known than the request made by General Pershing of the French commander that the Americans be permitted to share in the great conflict which was being waged to stem the supreme effort of the Germans in the Spring of 1918. "Infantry, artillery, aviation," wrote Pershing, "all that we have is yours. Dispose of them as you will."

### MOST NOTORIOUS DEEDS

There were so many German atrocities and brutalities during the war that it would seem well-nigh impossible to select any one which shocked the civilized nations more than another; yet a few may be mentioned as having especially revolted the world and aroused indignation against the German perpetrators. These were:

- The sinking of the *Lusitania*.
- The execution of Edith Cavell.
- The execution of Captain Fryatt.
- Drowning of forty of the crew of the Belgian Prince.

The first three incidents are too well known to need comment. In the case of the Belgian Prince, Kapitan Paul Wagen-

fuhr sank the vessel; then, lining up the members of its crew on the deck of his submarine, he closed the hatches and submerged.

It may be contended that the wholesale slaughter of men, women and children before German firing squads was quite as monstrous. It was; but this article is dealing only with incidents which were so presented to public attention that they fired the imagination of the masses. They are the outstanding cases that people remember.

Amid so much of tragedy there was little room for comedy. Strange as it may seem, the greater part of the comedy was furnished to the newspapers and magazines, and through these to the public, by the persons of William Hohenzollern and his eldest son, until lately a Crown Prince of Prussia. No end of sarcasm resulted from the Kaiser's "will to dine" in Paris. The son was treated as a buffoon by both cartoonists and paragraphers. A cartoon by Bronstrup of *The San Francisco Chronicle* is an example of the fun derived at the expense of both father and son. This artist depicted a war-tattered Crown Prince, bandaged and court-plastered, standing at a field telephone back of the fighting lines. He was saying: "Iss dot you, papa? Yah, dot's all drue aboutt dose Americans."

The former Kaiser's right to be classed among the highlights of the war is derived largely from the fact that probably in no age has a personality been more thoroughly and heartily detested by so great a number of the world's population. Other men have been as intensely hated, either in their own country or in an enemy country, or in both; but the Hohenzollern Emperor is unique in all history in that practically the whole world was his enemy.

No single event has, in such a comparatively short period of time, added so many words to the English language. A number of war books have had to supply glossaries for the information of their readers. Even the United States Government published a "War Cyclo-pedia" defining the new words and terms used in connection with the war.

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influence of the world, and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right."—EDITOR.



How many of these words will remain a part of the spoken and written language, time alone can tell. At the present time we can think of no one word which has

become more universally adopted by the people than "camouflage." In this country the verb to "hooverize" has made some headway.

# One Hundred Tests of Intelligence

## Questions and Answers

By CARSON C. HATHAWAY

**H**ERE are one hundred questions concerning men, women, and events frequently mentioned in the magazines and newspapers.

By grading yourself 1 per cent. on each question you may get a fair estimate of your information on present-day world affairs.

These persons died in the year 1919. What were they, or what had they done that made them widely known?

1. Frank W. Woolworth.
2. John Fox, Jr.
3. Adeline Patti.
4. William Waldorf Astor.
5. Horace Fletcher.
6. Dr. Mary Walker.
7. Charles E. Van Loan.
8. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.
9. John Mitchell.
10. Sir William Osler.
11. Henry Clay Frick.
12. Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

In what position has each of the following named persons acquired national or international prominence?

13. Joseph P. Tumulty.
14. Norman Hapgood.
15. Franklin D'Olier.
16. Dr. Frank Crane.
17. Frank L. Polk.
18. Joshua W. Alexander.
19. Walker D. Hines.
20. Lew Dockstader.
21. Henry Cabot Lodge.
22. Walt Mason.
23. John L. Lewis.
24. William O. Jenkins.
25. Harry A. Garfield.
26. Gilbert M. Hitchcock.
27. David F. Houston.
28. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
29. Edward M. House.
30. John W. Davis.
31. Nicholas Murray Butler.
32. Glenn E. Plumb.
33. Frank H. Simonds.

34. George E. Vincent.
35. Alexis Carrel.
36. James W. Gerard.
37. Franklin K. Lane.
38. W. P. G. Harding.
39. Homer S. Cummings.
40. Calvin Coolidge.
41. Miles Poindexter.
42. William S. Sims.
43. Peyton C. March.

These are foreign names frequently mentioned. Why? What was or is the position or the activity that made these persons widely talked of?

44. Rosa Luxemburg.
45. Admiral Kolchak.
46. Francesco Nitti.
47. Bela Kun.
48. Ludwig C. A. K. Martens.
49. Harry G. Hawker.
50. Ignace Jan Paderewski.
51. Georges Clemenceau.
52. Gabriele d'Annunzio.
53. Eamonn De Valera.
54. Viscount Grey.

Here are a few questions on happenings abroad:

55. What limit does the Treaty of Versailles place on the number of men in the German Army?
56. Where was the interned German fleet sunk?
57. What nations made up the "Big Five"?
58. What is meant by "Bastille Day"?
59. What important coal region was awarded to France by the Peace Treaty?
60. When was the German Peace Treaty signed?
61. What nation refused to sign the treaty?

These individuals spend their lives entertaining you. What is each?

62. Harrison Fisher.
63. Alma Gluck.
64. Fritz Kreisler.
65. Rose O'Neil.
66. Bud Fisher.
67. Josef Hofmann.
68. Alice Brady.

What do these characters stand for?

69. G. O. P.
70. H. C. L.
71. Y. M. H. A.
72. S. O. S.
73. R-34.

And of course you can answer these questions:

74. Who are called the "Bitter Enders" ?
75. What distinguished Belgian prelate visited America in 1919?
76. What Constitutional amendment was passed by Congress in 1919 and submitted to the States for adoption?
77. What man resigned from President Wilson's Cabinet to become a United States Senator?
78. What United States Senator was recently indicted for alleged corruption in his election?
79. What man was elected Governor in 1919 on the promise that he would make his State as "wet as the Atlantic" ?
80. Where will the Republican National Convention meet in 1920? The Democratic Convention?
81. How many States ratified the prohibition amendment to the Constitution?
82. What Socialist was denied a seat in the House of Representatives?
83. What airplane made the first transatlantic flight?
84. Who was Director General of the American Relief Commission in Europe?
85. What Cabinet member narrowly escaped death from a bomb in 1919?
86. When did wartime prohibition go into effect?
87. What incident occurred at Centralia, Wash., on Nov. 11, 1919?
88. What bill was vetoed twice by President Wilson and was then passed by Congress over the Veto?
89. What honor was conferred on Pershing by Congress?
90. What reigning sovereign addressed Congress in 1919?

If you have the normal American interest in athletics these last will be the easiest questions of all; feminine readers, however, may enlist the help of expert masculine friends:

91. What baseball team won the 1919 world series?
92. Who headed the batting list in 1919?
93. Who broke the major league record for home runs?
94. Who is the manager of the New York "Giants" ?
95. What baseball team is known as the "Tigers" ?
96. Who won the national lawn tennis championship in 1919?
97. Who won the amateur golf championship in 1919?
98. Who holds the world's altitude record in airplane flying?

99. Who is the French heavyweight boxing favorite?
100. Who is called the "Flying Parson" ?

## ANSWERS

Following are the answers to the foregoing questions, arranged with corresponding numbers:

1. Founder of 5 and 10 cent stores.
2. Author of "The Trail of the Lonesome Pine," &c.
3. Concert singer.
4. American millionaire who became British peer.
5. Advocate of proper food mastication.
6. Advocate of male attire for women.
7. Short story writer.
8. Suffragist.
9. Conservative labor leader.
10. British physician, popularly (but inaccurately) believed to have said that a man is useless after he is 40.
11. Steel magnate.
12. Writer of popular poetry.
13. Private Secretary to President Wilson.
14. Ex-Minister to Denmark.
15. National Commander of the American Legion.
16. Writer of inspirational articles.
17. Assistant Secretary of State.
18. Secretary of Commerce.
19. Director General of Railroads.
20. Comedian.
21. Republican leader of the Senate, and chief figure in the fight to attach reservations to the German Peace Treaty before ratifying it.
22. Kansas poet whose verses are widely syndicated.
23. President of United Mine Workers of America.
24. United States Consular Agent at Puebla, Mexico.
25. Federal Fuel Administrator during the war.
26. Democratic Senator in charge of the Administration's fight for the Peace Treaty.
27. Secretary of the Treasury.
28. Assistant Secretary of the Navy.
29. President Wilson's private adviser; American delegate to the Peace Conference.
30. Ambassador to Great Britain.
31. President of Columbia University.
32. Advocate of nationalization of railroads.
33. Newspaper correspondent.
34. President of Rockefeller Foundation.
35. French-American physician.
36. Ex-Ambassador to Germany.
37. Secretary of the Interior until March 1, 1920.
38. Governor of the Federal Reserve Board.
39. Chairman of Democratic National Committee.
40. Governor of Massachusetts.
41. United States Senator from Washington.
42. Rear Admiral United States Navy.
43. Chief of Staff United States Army.



44. Leader of German radicals, or Spartacans; she and Karl Liebknecht were killed by a Berlin mob, Jan. 15, 1919.
45. Anti-Bolshevist Russian leader, who was captured by the Reds at Irkutsk and executed Feb. 7, 1919.
46. Premier of Italy.
47. Ex-dictator of Hungary.
48. "Ambassador" to United States from Russian Soviet Government.
49. Daring Australian who made the first (unsuccessful) attempt at a non-stop flight across the Atlantic in an airplane.
50. Famous pianist; ex-Premier of Poland.
51. Ex-Premier of France.
52. Italian poet who seized Fiume.
53. "President of Irish Republic."
54. British Foreign Minister at the beginning of the war; recently special Ambassador to the United States.
55. One hundred thousand men.
56. Scapa Flow.
57. United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan.
58. French national holiday commemorating the fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789.
59. The Saar Valley.
60. June 28, 1919.
61. China.
62. Artist famous for his "Harrison Fisher" pictures.
63. Concert singer.
64. Austrian violinist.
65. Designer of the "Kewpies."
66. Creator of "Mutt and Jeff."
67. Pianist.
68. Actress.
69. Grand Old Party, term applied to Republican Party.
70. High cost of living.
71. Young Men's Hebrew Association.
72. Wireless distress call.
73. Name of the first dirigible to cross the Atlantic.
74. A group of United States Senators, led by Borah and Johnson, who are opposed to ratification of the Peace Treaty on any terms, so long as it contains the League of Nations covenant.
75. Cardinal Mercier.
76. Woman suffrage amendment.
77. Carter Class of Virginia.
78. Truman H. Newberry of Michigan.
79. Governor Edwards of New Jersey.
80. Chicago; San Francisco.
81. Forty-five.
82. Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin.
83. NC-4.
84. Herbert Hoover.
85. A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General.
86. July 1, 1919.
87. Death of four ex-soldiers at hands of I. W. W. during Armistice Day parade.
88. Repeal of daylight saving law.
89. Made a General for life.
90. King Albert of Belgium.
91. Cincinnati "Reds."
92. Tyrus R. Cobb.
93. "Babe" Ruth.
94. John McGraw.
95. Detroit American League team.
96. William M. Johnston.
97. S. Davidson Herron.
98. Major R. W. Schroeder, Feb. 27, 1920, reached a height of 36,020 feet.
99. Georges Carpentier.
100. Lieutenant R. W. Maynard.

## Changes in the Strand

THAT famous thoroughfare of London, the Strand, which has undergone so many changes in the last fifteen years that most of its Victorian landmarks have already disappeared, is to be still further transformed. The blocks of buildings between Simpson's restaurant and Wellington Street have just been purchased for something like £1,500,000, and the buildings will be cleared away and a large new hotel, a newspaper office and shops are to be built on the space thus made available. The Strand will be widened starting from the Savoy Hotel. Among other landmarks Bur-

gess's fish-sauce shop, one of the old London shops with a yard behind and a quay of its own on the river, where small ships discharged limes and oils from Italy, which had been converted into a cinematograph theatre, will finally disappear. There is still a queer, narrow little entry near by, leading to steps that descend picturesquely to the Savoy churchyard. A large area touching the Strand on the other side is also for sale. The Strand and its environments, from the Savoy Hotel to Australia House, when these plans are completed, will take on the aspect of a wide, modern metropolitan avenue.

# Losses of France in the War

By GABRIEL LOUIS-JARAY

[DIRECTOR OF THE FRANCE-AMERICA COMMITTEE]

*In this important article from the official organ of the France-America Committee (France-Etats-Unis) the war sacrifices of France are thrown into bold relief. In comparing them with those of the great allied powers, as M. Firmin Roz, the editor of the review, points out, one is struck by the fact that France, apart from her moral anguish, has suffered far more heavily in material ways than the United Kingdom, Italy, and the United States. The reasons for this disproportion are explained in detail. The article is based in part on statistics formulated by Joseph Kitchin, an English statistician, and in part on statistical data collected by the French Deputy, M. Louis Dubois, and presented to the French Chamber on Dec. 18, 1919.*

THE sacrifices accepted by France during the war in defense of her own liberty and that of the world are beyond anything the imagination could have grasped in 1914.

Sacrifices in money, in men, in land, the sum total seems to be too heavy for the forces of the nation. And yet we are assured that, from this bath of blood and pain, a new France may rise, rejuvenated, thanks to the marvelous qualities of labor, social equilibrium, and natural moderation of the French people, if only our politicians are not too inferior to our soldiers, and if our allies and friends guarantee to us the help which justice, regard for their defense, their own interest rightly understood, and their friendship command them to grant us.

## THE MONEY SACRIFICE

Before the war the yearly budget of France was over 5,000,000,000 francs, and during those five years our expenses amounted to some 150,000,000,000 francs. In the period we are now entering our national debt will be not less than 188,000,000,000, the yearly interest thereon being about 9,290,000,000, and our annual general expenses, counting 2,000,000,000 for pensions, about 15,600,000,000.

Such figures, no doubt, cannot be taken as absolutely accurate; but what a light they throw on the burden France will have to support!

But to appreciate its full weight, noth-

ing is better than the comparison Mr. Kitchin, the British statistician, draws between the different great nations. The result proves that France's sacrifices in money have been unequaled; if the amount of the national wealth of the country at the eve of the war and that of the national debt at its close are put side by side, it is seen that the United States has mortgaged, so to speak, only 4½ per cent. of national wealth, the United Kingdom 32 per cent., Germany 50 per cent., and France 62 per cent. And let us notice that the English statistician compares our national debt after the war with our national wealth before the war. What would it be if he had written opposite it our present national wealth decreased in ten devastated departments? Germany doubtless will have to make good this destruction, but when, and how?

Still keeping to Mr. Kitchin's calculations, let us compare the national revenue of the great nations before the war and the annual expenses they have or will have to meet after the war; in the United States 4 per cent. of the revenue will suffice, in England 23 per cent., in Germany 35 per cent., and in France 42 per cent. Germany doubtless will have to refund the sums paid for pensions and relief, but France's pre-war national revenue has been decreased by the loss of all that our devastated regions brought in, and their reconstruction will



not be complete, nor even well under way, ten years hence.

Is another comparison desired? Mr. Kitchin compares the population of the great States in 1914 and the amount of their real national debt at the end of the war, and comes to the conclusion that each Frenchman will have to bear a burden of 4,675 francs on this head, whereas each citizen of the United States will have one of 525 francs only, the Englishman 3,100 francs, and the German 2,950 francs. And if our population has been somewhat increased by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, let us think of the 2,230,000 Frenchmen in the devastated provinces whose sources of wealth have been destroyed.

In the tragedy of the great war, it is on France that the financial burden falls by far the most heavily, as may be seen by the tabulation at the foot of the following page. (See also Diagram I.)

### THE HUMAN SACRIFICE

And it is of France again that the heaviest sacrifices in men have been asked on the side of the victorious powers. The official figures furnished by the different military administrations have not been fixed immutably; yet, if they have to undergo certain alterations, these will certainly be unimportant; on the other hand, the methods of calculating and checking are perhaps not everywhere so rigorous as in France, as M. Louis Marin shows in a report laid before the Chamber of Deputies. But such as they are today, the figures are sufficient for one to be able to draw painful conclusions from them; it is sufficient to consider the graphic presentation of comparative losses as shown in Diagram II., [on Page 132,] to be struck by the enormous sacrifices

accepted by France, and the part she takes in the bloody payment of our common victory; 1,355,000 of her sons have fallen in battle, against 648,000 citizens of the United Kingdom, 465,000 Italians, and 51,000 North Americans; out of 100 inhabitants of France, 3.4 have perished, whereas the proportion works out at 1.4 for the United King-

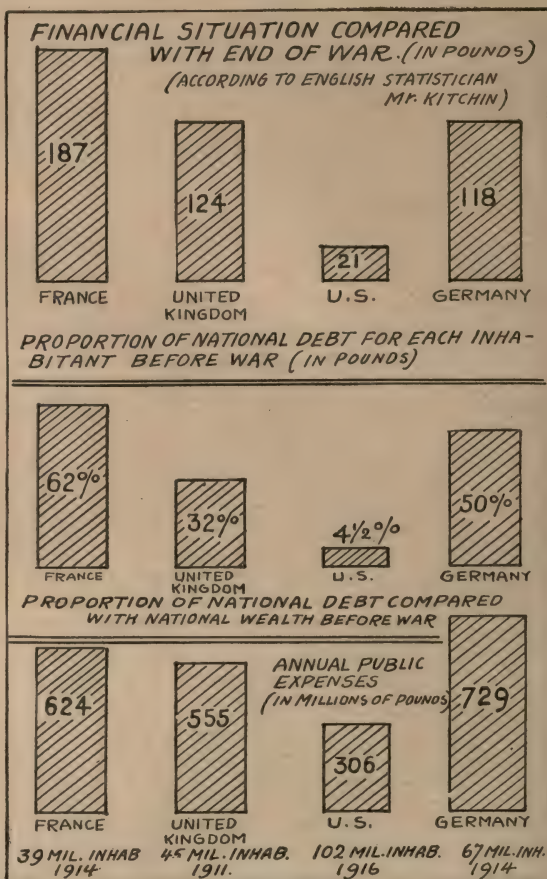


DIAGRAM I.

dom, 1.3 for Italy, 0.05 for the United States, and even at 2.9 for Germany. It may therefore be affirmed that in France, out of 100 physically sound men, young enough to work, 10 at least have been killed, and the number of those who have either been slightly or severely wounded or are mutilated is put at 20.

Such is the particularly cruel price

of our victory, a price to which France has once again contributed more than her due. To the moral sufferings undergone by nearly every family in the country add the economical and social consequences, which are particularly grave, owing to the very extent of the sacrifice; these dead, like the wounded and mutilated, are chiefly young men, the flower of French youth, those who should have put out the greatest economic effort in the years to come, those who should have given the most sons to France\*; 100 men of 25 have a quite different economic value and national value for the repopulation of a country than 100 men of 60; the calculations have not been made, but I am certain that out of 100 sound young men living in 1914, about 20 have been killed, and

between 20 and 40 have been wounded or mutilated. Such is for France the awful balance sheet of the great war, as concerns men; it may be seen at a glance in the tabulation at the foot of Page 133. (See also Diagram II.)

If the great allied and associated powers have shared largely in the common sacrifices in men and money, com-

\*I shall say nothing new to Frenchmen, but something perhaps of which foreigners are ignorant, in stating that at the beginning of the war there was a thorough hecatomb of the élite of our youth; our young officers and non-coms, knowing nothing of the new methods of warfare, let themselves be killed at the head of their troops with extraordinary enthusiasm, in order to stimulate their men and make up for our inferiority in armament and preparation.

#### FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR

(ACCORDING TO JOSEPH KITCHIN)†

*In millions of pounds sterling.*

##### BEFORE THE WAR

	United Kingdom.	France.	United States.	Italy.	Germany.
National debt .....	650	1,315	200	550	240
Yearly interest on the debt.....	19	52	5	20	8
National wealth .....	18,000	12,000	50,000	..	16,000
Yearly national revenue .....	2,400	1,500	8,000	..	2,100
Yearly public expenses .....	198	208	145	..	166
National wealth (in pounds, per inhabitant) .....	390	300	476	..	235

##### DURING THE WAR

Direct war expenses (not including advances between allies).....	7,600	6,000	4,000	2,400	8,750
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##### AFTER THE WAR

National debt .....	5,700	7,500	2,250	3,000	8,000
Yearly interest on the debt.....	285	368	96	150	400
Yearly public expenses .....	555	624	306	..	729
Proportion of the national debt to the national debt before the war.....	32%	62%	4½%	..	50%
Proportion of the yearly public expenses to the national revenue before the war.	23%	42%	4%	..	35%
National debt (in pounds per inhabitant).....	124	187	21	..	118

†M. Kitchin has fixed approximative figures, which were published in The London Times on January 6, 1919, and are chiefly valuable as a means of comparison, by supposing that the expenses of the war will finally be what they would have been if the expenses of the last year of the war had been continued until July 31, 1919, and suddenly stopped there; that is to say, had lasted during a five years' war. The questions of the reparation of damage done and of indemnities are not taken into account. For the calculation of the public expenses after the war, Mr. Kitchin adds the interest of the debt (not counting the sinking-fund), the pre-war expenses (without counting interest on the debt, but including the average military expenses), the increase in different expenses and pensions (which he puts at 2,000,000,000 francs for France, against a total post-bellum expense of 15,600,000,000 francs. Mr. Kitchin put the total direct expense of the war, incurred by all the belligerents, at about 975,000,000,000 francs), or \$195,000,000,000.



parison is needless if the third class of sacrifices accepted by France is taken with consideration. When it is said and written that France has been the boulevard of the liberty of the world, it is not sufficiently remembered that she has paid for that honor not only by the occupation of ten departments, as took place in Belgium and in the north of Italy, but especially by a systematic destruction of her territory which nothing can parallel in the slightest extent in the West. Generalized devastation is a spectacle which the foreigner can see on French soil only; it affects a tenth of our territory and 2,250,000 of our inhabitants.

Nothing is more difficult than to translate into figures the cost of the disaster, and the treaty of peace has given until May 1, 1921, to fix the estimate. But a preliminary inquiry has been carried out for the Budget Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, and makes it possible to gather an idea of the extent of the damage.

M. Louis Dubois has determined the essentials of it in an eighty-page pamphlet which we summarize in the schedule we have drawn up; he reaches the tremendous figure of 100,000,000,000 for direct material damage to property; this is the damage the treaty of peace makes Germany responsible for.

This circumstance leads superficial minds to think that France, from an economic point of view, at least, will not suffer from it, since reparation has been granted her.

This is a strange verbal delusion, which a little reality soon dissipates. First of all, we do not know when the reparation due will be carried out. Germany has to refund to all the powers, not only their damage to property and civilians, but also the cost of pensions, of grants to families, the upkeep of the

armies of occupation, and the payment of food and raw material that the Allies and associates furnish to her. The total amount will be tremendous and there is no prior right for the payment of the cost of the reconstruction of devastated territories. After what lapse of time then will our population be indemnified? They cannot tell, and if Germany takes a hundred years to pay her debt, where

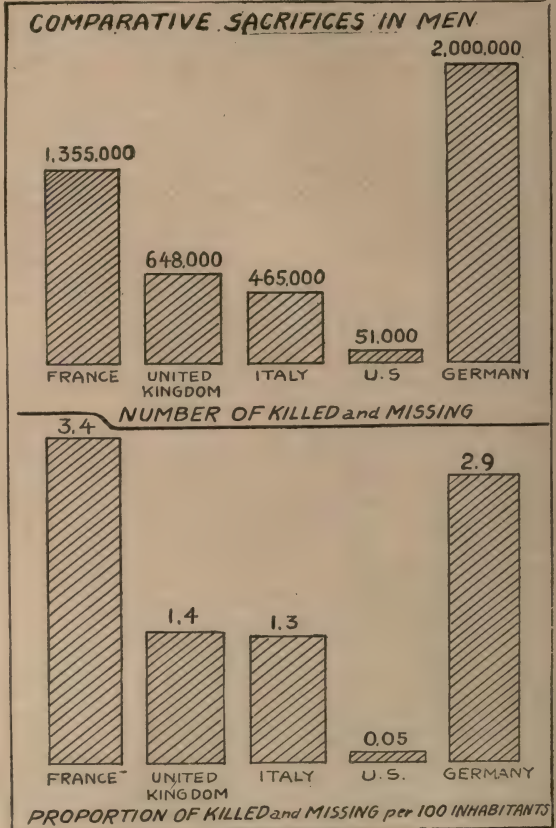


DIAGRAM II.

shall we find the necessary advance? Justice would require that these indemnities for reparations should have the preference over all others and that an interallied loan should discount the total sum owed by Germany on this head; the populations would be paid their indemnity, and Germany, for a hundred years, if need be, would pay the allied and associated powers the in-

terest and the sums necessary for the amortization of this sacred debt. This would be an international loan for the reconstruction of the devastated territories.

But this very important question of lapse of time and execution is not all.

Let us examine a concrete case, which will enable us to grasp the reality better. A cultivator had in the devastated part of France a house, land and stock worth 20,000 francs, from which he drew by his work a revenue of 5,000 or 6,000 francs yearly. You renew his stock, you

restore his land to its former state, you rebuild his house, you give him back his stolen agricultural instruments, you recover the money and savings taken from him, you present him with furniture in exchange of that which has disappeared, you do, in a word, everything the Peace Treaty provides for, and to the fullest extent. For many cultivators, all this will be done only two, three, five, or ten years hence. Let us suppose, however, that the one we are considering is particularly favored, that he is fully compensated, and that all this restitution and reparation is carried out during the years 1920-21, and is finished at the end of July, 1922. He will have been deprived of the normal fruit of his labor from August, 1914, till August, 1922, that is, for eight years. This loss will have been absolute for five years, partial for three years; that is to say, he will have lost at the least 35,000 francs. It is true he will have been able to do work during these five years, but what

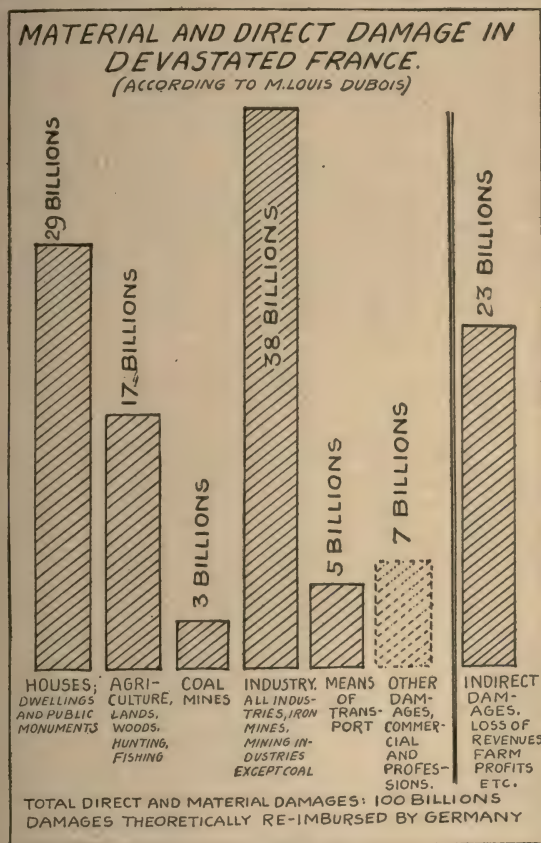


DIAGRAM III.

#### MILITARY SACRIFICES OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES DURING THE WAR

	France.	United Kingdom.	Italy.	United States.	Germany.
Population**	39,600,000	45,370,000	35,858,000	102,017,000	67,810,000
Number of mobilized†	8,390,000	5,700,000	5,250,000	3,800,000	11,200,000
Number of killed and missing†	1,355,000	648,000	465,000	51,000	2,000,000
Proportion of the number of killed and missing to 100 inhabitants.	3.4	1.4	1.3	0.05	2.9

\*\*According to Lieutenant. François Maury: *L'apogée d'effort militaire français*, Union des grandes Associations françaises, 1919, Page 156.

†Officers and men. The figures for France and Germany are drawn from the above work; the other figures from the report of M. Louis Marin, député, on (de pécule aux familles des militaires disparus) (Chambre des Députés, No. 6235, annex to the sitting of June 3, 1919).

‡Of Marin's report, Page 48; Page 43 for America, Page 32, for England.



kind of work, and under what conditions? We show that elsewhere. It is thus probable that his real loss in revenue is not inferior to some 20,000 francs, that is, it is equal to his loss in capital.

What will Germany refund on this head? Nothing for the period between Aug. 1, 1914, and Nov. 11, 1918, 5 per cent. for the period commencing on May 1, 1921, and a sum not fixed by the treaty, but one which will represent only normal interest for the period between Nov. 11, 1918, and May 1, 1921. Thus, in the concrete case we are examining, and supposing that the interest during the intermediary period is fixed at 6 per cent., Germany could make good the loss of the 20,000 francs capital on Aug. 1, 1922, by adding thereto merely about 4,200 francs for loss of revenue, and only if it be a question of reparation in money and not in kind.

The longer the period of reconstruction is the greater the loss will keep growing, since on the one hand the annual revenue the cultivator drew from his land was from 5,000 to 6,000 francs, and the annual interest Germany would pay, if she does not settle the indemnity due, is only 1,000 francs.

It is thus only by a misnomer that it may be said that the damage done to France will be entirely repaired by Germany. Even if the problem is considered merely from the financial point of view, a very large part of the losses experi-

enced will always be laid upon France, and the surplus will be paid under conditions and at a period about which nothing is known.

Our friends and allies can thus understand that they are being singularly deluded when the "integral reconstruction" of France is promised, as is shown clearly at the foot of this page. (See Diagram III.)

[To this figure is to be added, as direct material damage, damage relative to: (1) commercial enterprises, public offices of courts of justice and different professions; (2) specie and personal property, by theft, pillage, war contributions, &c., as well as damage done to persons considered as factors of production. An estimate completed thus would rise about 100,000,000,000. This damage is that for the reparation of which the treaty makes provision; it has been estimated at about three times the pre-war value, conformably to the clause of the Peace Treaty which provides that the expense occasioned by reparation and reconstruction shall be estimated according to the cost of reconstruction at the time when the work is carried out.]

Such is the balance sheet of France as regards men, money, and territory. This balance sheet is so striking that the foreign business men who are studying our country are somewhat inclined to pessimism. This pessimism does not seem to me to be justified for any one acquainted with French traditions. The

#### ESTIMATE OF THE DIRECT MATERIAL DAMAGE IN THE DEVASTATED REGIONS OF FRANCE

(ACCORDING TO M. LOUIS DUBOIS)\*  
In millions of francs

	Immovable Property.	Movable Material, Stock.	Raw Material, Agricultural Produce, Provisions.
1. Dwelling (and public monuments).....	19,000	10,000	..
2. Agriculture (shooting, fishing, irrigation, woods and forests) .....	6,580	5,364	5,839
3. Coal mines .....	1,434	1,404	400
4. Industry (comprising iron mines and extracting industries other than coal mines).....	3,236	12,789	22,522
5. Means of transport.....	5,196	295	..
Total.....	35,446	29,852	26,761
General total .....		94,059	

\*Note brought forward in the name of the Budget Commission, by M. Louis Dubois (Chambre des Députés, No. 5432, sitting of Dec. 18, 1918); the figures have been determined according to the information which had reached the author up to Jan. 31, 1919.

nation has given proof of sterling qualities of work, balance, moderation, and perseverance. Just as the French soldier has astonished the world by his calm, his stoicism, his endurance, his optimism and his intelligence, so the French peasant will show the same qualities, being the same man. Frivolousness, carelessness, vivacity, exaltation followed by depression, all these defects which were said to be the basis of the French character are just the reverse of our qualities. The legend has set up the contrary of the truth, and it is thus only that all French history can be explained: in her gravest misfortunes, France has never let herself lose heart; after passing convulsions and crises in her growth, France has always recovered her calmness; her social equilibrium is wonderful, and no country in the world

has so many small peasant landholders cultivating the soil with their own hands, and uncompromising enemies of all far-reaching social upheavals. His turn for saving is the outward sign of his perseverance and moderation: he does not consume in a day the fruit of his labor, but puts it by to make it bear fruit anew in its turn. Thus, defying every economic and financial appearance, the French peasant cultivating the soil of France will recreate French prosperity in peace, as in war he defended his native land, not only with the ardor and enthusiasm he was credited with, but with a coolness, a tenacity, a calm, imperturbable optimism he was said not to have. However, for the gigantic task of revivification our people need good economic and political guidance and the help of our allies and friends.

## German Losses in the War

Official figures of the German Imperial Department of Health, published at Berlin in January, 1920, gave the military deaths in 1914 as 193,201; in 1915, 390,669; in 1916, 311,160, making a total for the three years of 895,030. Statistics for the remaining years were still lacking. Assuming that the military deaths were 350,000 in each of the two succeeding years, the total German loss would reach about 1,600,000.

According to figures published in the *Vorwärts* of Berlin, the casualties suffered by the German Army in the war were as follows:

	Officers.	Men.
Killed .....	62,693	1,655,553
Wounded .....	116,015	4,118,092
Prisoners and missing.	23,104	1,050,515
Total .....	201,812	6,824,160

A Socialist publicist named Thiele, who collected lists of dead published during and after the war, states that these official lists contain the names of 1,718,246 persons belonging to the German Army who were reported dead, 1,655,553 of these being men in the ranks and 62,693 officers. The number of wounded according to these lists was 4,234,107, of whom 116,015 were officers, while the number of non-commissioned officers and

privates reported as prisoners or missing is 1,050,516, and of officers 23,104, which brings the total loss incurred up to over 7,000,000.

According to the same lists, the German Navy lost 24,112 sailors and petty officers dead, 29,830 wounded, and 11,654 prisoners. The number of naval officers who were killed and wounded during the war is not given.

The Imperial Office of Health reports that of the members of the German Army who died during the first three years of the war, 829,361, or 92.7 per cent., fell before the enemy or died of wounds received, and only 65,669, or 7.3 per cent., died of illness. Of these latter 7,751 died of typhus, 6,007 of infection resulting from wounds, 5,248 of tuberculosis of the lungs, 5,891 of inflammation of the lungs, 6 of smallpox, 2,516 of dysentery, 66 of venereal diseases, 47 of leprosy, 1,505 of diseases of the respiratory organs, 472 of concussion of the brain, 2,006 of diseases of the nervous system, 4,035 of diseases of the digestive organs, 1,631 of diseases of the urinary and genital organs, and 2,592 committed suicide. In 14,685 cases the cause of death could not be ascertained.



# Foch One of the "Immortals"

## His Tribute to French Soldiers

**M**ARSHAL FOCH took his seat in the French Academy at the afternoon session of Feb. 5, in the presence of 4,000 people, who had come to look upon "the greatest soldier of them all" as he received the highest tribute France can pay to her men of achievement. A Marshal of France, General in Chief of the Armies of the West, and conqueror in a World War, welcomed to the highest literary and scientific body of the world by the President of a great and triumphant republic, is not a spectacle witnessed every day. The ceremony was marked by the traditional formulas, including the wearing of the green frock coat consecrated by custom. Marshal Foch entered at 1 o'clock, heralded by the long roll of drums, accompanied by his sponsors, General Joffre and M. Freycinet, and followed by Marshal Pétain. He was welcomed by a thunder of applause. Following the traditional custom, he pronounced a eulogy upon his predecessor, the Marquis de Vogüé. As he spoke his virile face, typical of the French officer, illumined by clear blue eyes, full of intelligence and kindness, and cut by a heavy mustache, remained calm and impassive. Extreme simplicity and absolute self-control characterized all his words and all his bearing. He began with this tribute to the armies he had led to victory:

Above my head you have done honor to the glorious phalanxes who for more than four years waged, despite all hardships, in many kinds of weather, and at the price of hitherto unknown sacrifices, the most violent and longest of battles. It was to do homage to the greatness of the duty accepted by all, to the unanimous intention to conquer at all cost, to pay a humble tribute to that army,

that the Academy desired to take into its company yet another soldier, "after the illustrious chief who, far from despairing for the safety of his country, broke the invasion and conquered on the Marne (Joffre)."

Marshal Foch then paid this tribute to the French soldier:

Constantly great through the ages, with his noble disregard for danger and his lofty idealism: the soldier of the old monarchy, of the Revolution, of the Empire, the soldier who will show himself grander still in the war of 1914, crusader of the eternal crusade of Justice and Liberty, against oppression and force.

President Poincaré in his speech of welcome reviewed the career of Marshal Foch. In concise but telling style he sketched all the salient features of the great war, stressing particularly the crisis of Ypres, where Foch's resolution and swift action averted disaster, and the fateful day of Doullens, when the decision to make Foch General in Chief of all the allied forces was taken. Commenting on the charge that the Marshal was more of a metaphysician than a man of action, he declared that General Foch had shown his ability to translate his deductions into realities. A storm of applause greeted the following words:

It was for you to make war; it was not for you to make peace. Yet you had the right to say what, in your opinion, that peace should be in order to prevent a recurrence of war. The memoirs which you have written since November, 1918, to set forth the military guarantees which you judged indispensable, bear the mark of your patriotism and your experience. Let us hope the world will never repent of only partially following your judgment. \* \* \* Your victory is a victory of reason, of intellectual and moral power; it is profoundly national from every point of view. Not only did it save our nation; it bears its very mark.



# Achievements of French Surgeons

By DR. FRANCOIS HELME

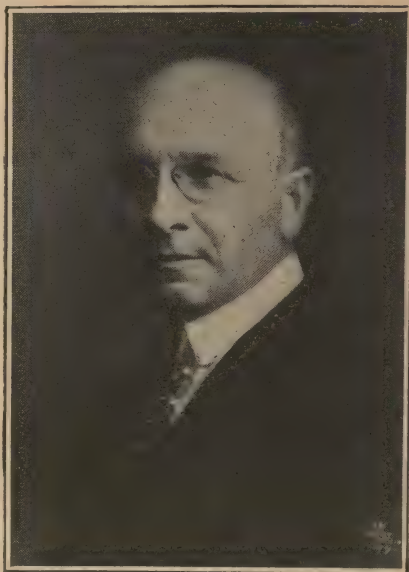
*It is not generally known that, after the infantry, it was the French medical service that suffered most on the battlefield; of the 10 per cent. that fell in the aggregate, the names of the young assistant surgeons and Battalion Surgeon Majors were by far the most frequent on the casualty lists. The following tribute to these unsung heroes, which has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY, was delivered by Dr. Helme before a large congress of surgeons and medical men in the main amphitheatre of the Sorbonne in Paris on Jan. 25, 1920:*

TO our medical service fell, first of all, the task of protecting the combatants against the deadly microbes that surround embattled armies. The typhus bacillus, from the time the non-vaccinated reserves entered the line, threatened to destroy the army. The medical service drove out the typhus bacillus and eliminated typhoid fever.

Then came tetanus—each day brought a new scourge. By means of injections—"barrage" injections, as they were called—tetanus, as later the new development of gas gangrene, was also dominated. As the result of a fatal error, shared by all the belligerents, it was believed that the projectiles of modern warfare would be aseptic, while in reality they were contaminated by the most infective germs. Gas gangrene, acute infection of wounds, even hospital gangrene—all the scourges that had afflicted our ancestors in the wars of old—rose up again before us one by one. Ah, the dark days of fear and despair! But France, like the young Antigone of Greek tragedy, was resolved not to yield to Fate.

Like our fellow-belligerents we immediately modified our technique. Carrel from the beginning brought us new hope by his system of the continual irrigation of wounds, a method which can never be overpraised, and which the Germans immediately adopted. Then came Professor Gaudier of Lille, to whom the surgical society has awarded its chief medal of honor. This benefactor of humanity, whose name deserves to be remembered, had the simple yet momentous idea of using the bistoury—a slender surgical knife—to clean out wounds contaminated by germs and projectile splinters or

shreds of clothing. When the wound was thus emptied, as one cuts away the bad portions of a spoiled fruit, the healthy tissues, by the simple operation of the laws of life, sufficed to resist all com-



DR. ALEXIS CARREL

*Eminent French surgeon, now of Rockefeller Institute, New York  
(© Savoy Studio)*

plications. And complications disappeared.

But medical aid had to be administered swiftly and good operators were likewise necessary. Surgical groups were organized; Marcille created the mobile surgical ambulance, the so-called "auto-chir." The big hospitals at the front were organized, cities of pain



peopled by thousands of wounded. For the divisions, the complementary surgical groups, recalling in a more modern form the flying ambulances of Larrey, brought assurance of victory over evil. Everywhere the sanitary transports were multiplied, from all sides the surgeons hastened, following the need, from one sector to another.

At the same time large organs of information and control were formed. The younger men first gathered the data, and then the army medical groups arranged the facts, organizing and criticising them. The surgical society, taking up these preliminary studies, then passed them through the sieve of experience, while the consultative commission of the health service studied and supervised the application of new measures. Finally large congresses of physicians and surgeons of the interallied armies met periodically to discuss questions which remained obscure. The results reached by these assemblies will remain the indestructible monument of man in his fight against death, at the moment when the work of death had to be pursued!

From this methodical organization, to which each, from the humble to the great, brought all his heart, there came forth many new developments, from which all humanity will profit in time to come.

First of all, surgery became more closely united with medicine, whose processes it adopted for the exact study of the human tissues. The laboratory became the indispensable annex of the operating rooms. There, through the use of instruments more perfect and penetrating in their means, the human senses, more limited in action and sometimes fallacious, were supplemented. Here were instruments of the physicist, of the chemist, of the bacteriologist, instruments to measure the strength and suppleness of the heart or the blood vessels—a whole new arsenal employed by the latter-day surgery. And we may say, even though no epoch-making discovery was made, that surgical art made more progress in four years of war than in forty years of peace. A splendid work, and fertile for the future, honoring not only the profession but the country which en-

gendered it: even our enemies have had to pay it homage.

In recalling what was done, I have wished only to honor the dead in my own fashion. Nothing could have been accomplished without their co-operation. Such good men they were, if you but knew it! I have known some who had in their hearts all the tenderness and fervor of the saints: sometimes, beneath the helmet, it seemed to me that I could see a halo.

There were men of all ages in the health service, for the medical and pharmaceutical services furnished more elderly men than any other branch. It was these veterans who set the example for the ambulances at the front. At certain times the medical staff worked beyond all human strength. No useless word was uttered; only the muffled moans of the wounded: one felt one's self in a silent realm. After the work came relaxation, and only then broke forth discussions from every side, invariably about the destiny of man. This ever-active chosen group was unwilling to limit itself to the present, for it knew that it was paving the way for the future. How many various problems have I heard debated with the vigor of youth and the sincerity of men whose whole code and scale of values was summed up in their attitude toward danger!

I should like to reproduce here the long conversations of the former country physicians in the ambulances, with men who, like themselves, had come from the soil. The home soil! They spoke of it constantly. How many times, they wondered, would it change its Summer, Winter, Spring, or Autumn dress before it would be vouchsafed them to see it again. They forgot this theme only when they spoke of their wives, their children, whose photographs, taken out of their knapsacks, were soon spread out upon the beds. No more differentiations of rank and origin existed among those sons of the same mother: they were only brothers in misery consoling one another.

During these intervals of calm the nurses, both men and women, were able to take a little rest. They, too, did good service for the country. As the result of lack of sleep in their constant attendance

on operations, many of them lost their health and even their lives. It is such a delicate task to remodel the living flesh, so long to sew it up again, a body torn with shot and shell! And then, can one even think of sleeping when the stream of wounded flows in from every side? But the next day the operations were even more numerous.

The litter-carriers should also be remembered. Tired fathers of families, or young auxiliary aids with narrow shoulders, they played their part as beasts of burden in a work whose obscure merit only their chiefs understood. "If only, from time to time, we could fire a shot, what a relief it would be!" one of them said to me. "But always taking, and never returning—that's what is hard!"

As a matter of fact, it was the battalion doctors and the auxiliary doctors—"the little auxis," as we called them—whom we loved the most. Students, hospital interns or externs, invariably fond of athletics and sports, they had never been willing to admit that they were sons of a vanquished nation. And when the drum-beat resounded, they departed resolutely to settle the old account which could be settled only with blood. Brave little chaps! They were in all the bloodiest battles. Always on the go. Their name written on a paper, with a new address, and they were off, sometimes to the other end of the world, made into other men, with other responsibilities, other dangers. One moment changed their destinies. And here one saw at the same time all the nobility of war and the harsh service of the army in its most formidable grandeur!

When our "auxis" returned, after the first releases were granted, with their pale faces, their eyes which the terrible visions of war seemed to have made larger, their mothers could scarcely recognize them under their steel helmets. Sometimes, when they raised their voices

a little or made an impatient gesture, signs of new strength of will still developing, the mothers divined that they had become more remote from them, that these were less their sons. A tender fear would take possession of them then, soon driven away by a smile. In spite of all, they were proud of them: "Just think: my soldier!"

I was always their friend, their confidant sometimes, in the black hours of the "cafard."\* They would seek me out, and I would watch them go back to their battalion or their battery at a brisk pace. We would exchange the banal greeting of farewell, in which each of us would put his whole soul. How many never returned, how many of these young flowers of manhood were prematurely cut down! It is here that their splendid performance of Christ's work must be revealed.

Non-commissioned officers by rank, officers by their attainments, the "auxis" and major battalion physicians soon won an authority which had important consequences. Revered priests of the new cult, science, they exercised on the poilus an undeniable moral influence. Until that time, for the simple-minded, the physician had been a man who watched suffering, who aided suffering, but who seemed himself superior to suffering. But during the war the soldier saw at his side the little "Major," who suffered like himself in the trenches, who, like himself, rose when the hour of attack had sounded, who was wounded and died like himself. Imagine what an affectionate esteem, on the one side, what a legitimate authority on the other, must have sprung from such a fraternity of arms. This beneficent influence was used by these young men wholly in the service of their country. Doubly leaders, our young doctors were not only healers but arousers of energy. We must never forget it.

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\*French military slang for "the blues."





# Fate of German Spies in England

## How the British Secret Service Countered the Underground Campaign of the Kaiser's Agents

**T**HE hitherto unpublished details of how the British Government, by skillful secret service work, was able at the outbreak of the war to arrest twenty-one of the twenty-two spies distributed by the German Intelligence Department at various important ports, and thus to frustrate that country's whole program of espionage, sabotage, and arson in England, have become available through a series of

The outbreak of the European war found Germany without a spy system in Great Britain, despite the unceasing and widely ramifying activities of that German Master-Spy, Herr Steinhauer, the Kaiser's personal friend, appointed as the head of the German Secret Service in 1905. It was in this year that the German Emperor first began clearly to reveal his deep-rooted hatred for England and his projects of world domination. What those projects were the so-called "Willy-Nicky" letters have revealed.

Steinhauer signalized his advent by throwing around Europe, and especially around Russia, France and Great Britain, a network of male and female spies. Those in Great Britain were long known to the British Government, whose secret agents followed all their movements, intercepted their correspondence, and drew up a full "tree" of every spy employed. Much of the information on which the British agents worked was furnished unconsciously by a German barber named Karl Gustav Ernst, who, at a princely salary of one pound a week, later increased to thirty shillings, reported with British stamps large packets of German letters sent to him periodically by a German "Commerical Agency." This forwarding of instruction to secret agents had been known to the British Intelligence Division since 1910. All these "commercial" letters were opened and carefully read by the British agents, then re-forwarded. It was mainly on the basis of this information that the list of German spies referred to was drawn up.

For their own purposes the authorities refrained from arresting any of those involved, but their knowledge of the latter's activities was so complete and damning that when Aug. 4, 1914, came, the Military Intelligence Department had only to wire to the Chief Constables of the various coast towns where the Ger-



IGNATIUS T. T. LINCOLN  
*Spy sentenced to prison by the British*  
(© Bain News Service)

articles by Sidney Theodore Felstead which began in the London Morning Post on Feb. 2, 1920. The authenticity of this narrative, written from the inside, and confirmed by facsimile illustrations of important documents, was vouched for by the publishers.

mans were operating to net the arrest of twenty-one of the spies involved. Only one escaped by way of Hull.

#### LIST OF SPIES ARRESTED

One of those arrested was Ernst himself. On cross examination he alleged that at first he had been ignorant of the real character of the work to which he had lent himself. He confessed, however, to communicating with Steinhauer in Berlin, whose *nom de guerre* was temporarily Madame Reimers. His tale was destitute of all plausibility, and he was sentenced on Nov. 13, 1914, to seven years' penal servitude. The full list of the other spies arrested, as given by Mr. Felstead, was as follows:

##### Arrested in

Antonius J. F. Dummenie	London
Karl Stubenwoll.....	Newcastle
Karl Meyer.....	Warwick
Johann Kuhr.....	Newcastle
Oscar Buckwaldt.....	Brighton
Karl Hemlar.....	Winchester
Frederich Apel.....	Barrow-in-Furness
Max A. Laurens.....	London
Franz H. Losel.....	Sittingbourne
Thomas Kegnamer.....	Southampton
Adolph Scneider.....	London
Karl von Weller.....	Padstow
Marie Kronauer.....	London
Celse Rodrigues.....	Portsmouth
Frederich Diederichs.....	London
August Kluncker.....	London
Lina M. Heine.....	Portsmouth
Heinrich Schutte.....	Weymouth
Fredrich Lukowski.....	Newcastle
Otto Kruger.....	Mountain Ash
Johann A. Engel.....	Falmouth

It will be seen at once, from this list, that what the German Government specially desired was naval information. Most of the spies arrested cheerfully revealed all their secret activities in full detail, and quite as cheerfully departed for the internment camps, which were "much to be preferred to fighting for the Fatherland on the already blood-stained battlefields of France and Flanders." Thus, scarcely had the war begun, when Germany found her espionage-gaze into the naval and political secrets of her formidable rival, England, completely blinded, and English troops were enabled to cross the Channel to bring aid to their hard-pressed French brothers seventeen days before the German Government had knowledge of what had hap-

pened to her staff of agents under English skies.

Her attempts to rebuild that staff were attended with a certain amount of success. Despite the taking over of the railways by the Government the evolution of the cable censorship, and the registration of aliens, large numbers of neutrals still passed unchallenged through British ports, and no satisfactory means of differentiating the harmless South American or Dutch trader from the German agent who came spying under the cloak of commerce, duly provided with a forged passport quite *en regle*, was at first devised. It was only much later that this defect of the intelligence system was remedied; meanwhile, Germany found means to get a certain number of paid agents into the country. "It is one of the greatest mysteries of the war," says Mr. Felstead, "that with 32,000 Germans in Great Britain, no attempts at sabotage took place. Whatever the reason, it is beyond all doubt that we were never subjected to sabotage of the kind so common in America in 1915 and 1916."

#### KARL HANS LODY

Two of the German spies who appeared in England soon after the outbreak of the war, Karl Hans Lody and Anthony K pferle, met a tragic end; one died an officer's death, the other committed suicide in his cell. They were not mere hirelings, but men actuated by strong patriotic motives. Both were betrayed by the callous neglect of their employers at Berlin. Both were noteworthy for utter inefficiency in the exercise of the new calling which they had adopted and for which their mental equipment was apparently unsuited.

Lody, however, had special qualifications for the r le he volunteered to play. A man of about 50 years, who had long resided in the United States, and who spoke excellent English with an American accent, the year 1900 found him a Lieutenant in the German Navy, whence he was subsequently transferred to the Reserve of Officers after a resignation due to lack of means. He then served as a tourist-guide on the Hamburg-



American steamship line, traveling in that capacity all over England. Lody returned to Berlin from a Norwegian tour a few days before Aug. 4, 1914, and offered his services to the German Government as a professional spy. To secure his entrance to England, the German Intelligence Department abstracted the passport of an American, Charles A. Inglis, from the Foreign Office where it lay awaiting visé to enable its owner, then staying in Berlin, to continue traveling through Europe, substituted Lody's photograph for that of Inglis, and handed it over to Lody made out in Inglis's name.

### LODY'S WORK IN ENGLAND

The first time the presence of Inglis, alias Lody, came to the notice of the British authorities was after the arrival of the spy in Edinburgh, where, posing as an American tourist, he took a room in the North British Station Hotel. A telegram sent by him thence to one Adolf Burchard in Stockholm aroused suspicion and Lody became thenceforth a marked man. Recognizing the danger of staying in a large hotel, he took private lodgings and cycled for a fortnight, searching out places of naval interest around Edinburgh. In Rosyth especially he aroused more than ordinary curiosity with the questions he asked. Still in the guise of an American sightseer, Lody next turned up in London at a Bloomsbury hotel and studied the protective measures that were taken after the first Zeppelin raid on London. The covering of the Houses of Parliament, Buckingham Palace, the Bank of England, and other places, with strong wire netting, was reported by Lody to Berlin via Stockholm; or at least Lody thought he was so reporting; as a matter of fact his messages were already being intercepted by the postal censorship.

After two days in London Lody went back to Edinburgh, and thence to Liverpool, wholly unaware that his every movement was being closely watched. The business of fitting out big ocean liners as auxiliary cruisers was then in full blast at Liverpool, and Mr. "Inglis,"

using his technical knowledge to full advantage, made a detailed report on these activities to the German Secret Service in Berlin. From Holyhead he took boat for Ireland. He was permitted to land at Dublin after a challenging of his identity which so aroused his fears that he wrote a letter to Herr Burchard, in



KARL HANS LODY  
*German spy, shot in the Tower of London,  
Nov. 6, 1914*  
(© Underwood & Underwood)

which he suggested the advisability of his disappearing for some time to come. In this letter he reviewed all that he had seen so far. Most of his information, from the first to last, would have been of little value to the Germans even if it had reached them, which it did not. One piece of "news" which was allowed to go through was that of the landing of thousands of bearded, booted Russians, "with the snow of the steppes still clinging to their boots," passing through England on their way to the western front, an item, incidentally, which evoked much perturbation in the German General Staff.

Lody's "career" was at last cut short at Killarney, where he was detained by

the Royal Irish Constabulary on Oct. 2 to await the arrival of detectives from Scotland Yard. In his kit-bag were found the forged passport, £145 in Bank of England notes, £30 in English gold, some German gold and Norwegian notes, a notebook with particulars of the naval fight in the North Sea, addresses in Berlin, Stockholm, Bergen and Hamburg, and copies of his four communications to Burchard in Stockholm, sufficient of themselves to condemn him irrevocably.

Lody was brought to London and tried by court-martial at the Guildhall, Westminster, on Oct. 30 and 31. With flushed, clean-shaven face and deep, bespectacled eyes, he listened to the damning evidence against him; then, through his counsel, he declared to the court that he had simply done his duty, and left the consequences completely in their hands. His grandfather, he stated, had been a great soldier who had held a fortress against Napoleon, and it was in that spirit that he appeared before his judges on this day. He did not wish to cringe for mercy, was ashamed of nothing he had done, and would accept the court's decision, whatever it might be, as that of just and righteous men.

#### LODY'S LAST MESSAGES

The accused was found guilty and sentenced to death. The execution was carried out five days later. Before his death he wrote two letters, one to his relatives in Stuttgart, the other to his prison guard. They were as follows:

My Dear Ones: I have trusted in God, and He has decided. My hour has come, and I must start on the journey through the Dark Valley, like so many of my comrades in this terrible war of nations. May my life be honored as a humble offering on the altar of the fatherland.

A hero's death on the battlefield is certainly finer, but such is not to be my lot, and I die here in the enemy's country silent and unknown. But the consciousness that I die in the service of the Fatherland makes death easy.

The supreme court-martial of London has sentenced me to death for military conspiracy. Tomorrow I shall be shot here in the Tower. I have had just judges, and I shall die as an officer, not as a spy.

Farewell. God bless you. HANS.

Lody's letter to his guard was as follows:

London, Nov. 5, 1914.

Tower of London.

To the Commanding Officer of the 3d Battalion, Grenadier Guards, Wellington Barracks.

Sir: I feel it my duty as a German officer to express my sincere thanks and appreciation toward the staff of officers and men who were in charge of my person during my confinement.

Their kind and considered treatment has called my highest esteem and admiration as regards good-fellowship, even toward the enemy, and, if I may be permitted, I would thank you to make this known to them. I am, Sir, with profound respect,

(Signed) KARL HANS LODY.

Senior Lieutenant, Imperial German Naval Reserves.

It was strongly felt by all the English officials who came in contact with Lody during his short imprisonment that his character was a fine one, and his demeanor even won their admiration. The date set for his execution was Friday, Nov. 6, 1914. On the morning of that day, when the Assistant Provost Marshal came to his cell to tell him that his time had come, he said: "I suppose you will not care to shake hands with a German spy." "No, I would not," said the Provost Marshal, "but I will shake hands with a brave man." Lody was then taken to the place of execution, where he proved the truth of the Provost Marshal's words by meeting his death without flinching, and refusing to have his eyes bandaged. So Karl Hans Lody died.

#### THE STORY OF KUEPFERLE

Anthony K pferle, alias Copperlee, an ex-non-commissioned officer of the German Army, who went to England from America ostensibly as a traveler of Dutch extraction, was "the German spy of the fiction writer: stiff, upstanding hair, round spectacles," and a painfully forced attempt to pass himself off as an American. "He was quite an artless individual," says Mr. Felstead, "and apparently imagined that his simulation of frankness would disguise the real purpose of his visit." From Feb. 14, when he arrived in Liverpool, the British Counter-Espionage Department was busily engaged in collecting evidence



against him: An apparently harmless letter to an address in Holland first aroused suspicion when opened by the postal censorship in London, because of the very futility of its content, merely announcing his arrival in Liverpool and his intention to continue his way to London to open business transactions there the following day. A trace of invisible ink between the lines led to the application of a re-agent which revealed a description of the war vessels which the writer had seen in his trip across the Atlantic.

After a short trip to Dublin, K pferle went to Euston, where he wrote to his employers in Holland asking for money and saying that he was held up "because of those damned U-boats." An intensified submarine campaign had just been started, in fact, but this had no effect on K pferle's departure, as he was already under close observation and marked for arrest. He was taken in custody at Victoria, and brought to Scotland Yard. When searched all the materials for invisible writing were found in his possession. Under interrogation he lied so clumsily and even stupidly that he stood convicted before he left the room. At the trial in Old Bailey he stood in the dock, dressed in a black frock coat, buttoned tightly across the chest, his cold, pale-blue eyes following the proceedings with the closest attention. There was virtually no defense, and when the court adjourned until the morrow, it was beyond question that, barring a miracle, he would pay the penalty of his espionage with his life. But the second day of the trial never came; on the following morning K pferle hanged himself in his cell. There was found written on the slate allowed prisoners the following message:

To whom it may concern: My name is K pferle, nee to (born in) Sollingen, A/Rastatt I/B (Baden). I am a soldier with rank I do not desire to mention. In regard on my behalf lately, I can say that I have had a fair trial of the U. Kingdom, but I am unable to stand the strain any longer and take the law in my own hand. I fought many a battles and death is only a saviour for me.

I would have preferred the death to be shot, but don't wish to ascend the scaf-

fold as a—[here follows a Masonic sign]. And hope the Allmighty Architect of this Universe will lead me in the Unknown Land in the East. I am not dying as a spy, but as a soldier; my fate I stood as a man, but can't be a liar and perjur myself. Kindly I shall permit to ask to notify my uncle, Ambros Droll, Solingen, A/Rastatt I/B Germany; and all my estate shall go to him.

What I done, I have done for my country. I shall express my thanks and may the Lord bless your all. Yours,

(Signed) ANTON KUPFERLE.

My age is 31 years and I am born June 11/1883.

The body was buried in a nameless grave at Streatham Park Cemetery. It was ascertained that K pferle had fought against the British on the western front, and his face bore the scar of the butt-end of a clubbed rifle. Before his suicide he wrote a letter to another spy awaiting trial, breathing the deepest hatred of his country's enemy, England.

#### MASTER SPY IN FRANCE

Rudolf Funck, considered one of the most important German spies in France during the war, was executed at Vincennes at dawn on Feb. 2, 1920. Funck, who was 54 year old, had formerly been a Lieutenant in the Austrian Army. The outbreak of the war found him living in Paris. With the aid of false papers, which enabled him to claim Australian citizenship, and having a perfect command of English and French, he passed unsuspected through the severe test applied to every foreigner during the early days of the war, and obtained a minor post in one of the Paris banks. This he held to the end of July, 1918, when he apparently came to the conclusion that, as a result of Foch's last great offensive, all hope of German victory was at an end. At that time he managed to cross the frontier into Spain.

After his departure the French authorities came into possession of irrefutable evidence that for many months he had given valuable assistance to the enemy by furnishing information as to the points where Gotha bombs and Big Bertha shells had fallen in the city. Even then he probably would have managed to escape unscathed if he had not made the mistake of again venturing on

the French side of the frontier for the purpose of claiming a trunk belonging to him which had been left at the frontier station of Hendaye. He was immediately arrested as a spy and was condemned to death by court-martial last June, but the judgment was quashed on technical grounds. A second trial brought Funck to the firing post.

The condemned man met his death bravely. Tall and erect, with pointed white beard and dressed in well-cut clothes, with patent leather shoes and soft hat, Funck was probably the calmest man in the little group that left the prison for Vincennes. When they reached the door he asked for an overcoat, which he put on with a shiver due to the chilly morning air, then carelessly held out his hands for the handcuffs. Refusing to allow his eyes to be bandaged or his arms to be tied to the post, he claimed the privilege as an officer to give the order to the firing squad, and then after calmly removing the overcoat, which he placed on the ground beside him, politely lifted his hat as a signal to the soldiers to fire the fatal volley.

#### OTHER CASES IN BRIEF

Other spies captured were Karl Friedrich Müller, Robert Rosenthal, Haicke Petrus Marinus Janssen, Willem J. Roos, Ignatius Trebitsch Lincoln, George T. Breeckow and his accomplice, Mrs. Lizzie Wertheim, Fernando Buschman, Augusto Roggen and Ernst Waldemar Melin.

Rosenthal's advent was betrayed to the British authorities by a letter from Copenhagen, addressed to Berlin, which by some error had been put in the London mail bag. He was caught at Newcastle on a steamer about to sail to Copenhagen. After strenuous denials, he was confronted with the evidence, confessed, and proclaimed himself a German soldier. It turned out that he was a convicted forger, and had never been a soldier. He died with apparent pride that he had rehabilitated himself with his countrymen.

Janssen and Roos were fellow-spies on the same mission, whose detection was due to the extraordinary number of cigars ordered by them from Holland. It developed that the name of each brand

indicated the figure of a cipher code. Janssen died stocially; Roos, after an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, died nonchalantly. This was in May, 1915. By the Summer of 1915 the British counter-espionage organization had become so efficient that in one fortnight seven spies were taken—a record haul that paralyzed the enemy schemes of re-establishing a spy service in England.

Augusto Roggen was a dapper, dark-haired little individual, who had been born in Montevideo. He was caught at Lake Lomond, where he was sojourning ostensibly for his health, which seemed excellent; the proximity of Tarbet, where vital experiments were being carried out with a new torpedo, coincided with information received by the authorities of important "leaks." Roggen was executed in the Tower of London in September, and met his death boldly. Melin was a well-educated German of 52, who had entered the espionage service to make a living. Scraps of information written by him on the edges of newspapers brought his conviction and execution.

#### MUELLER AND LINCOLN

Müller is characterized by Mr. Felstead as "probably the most important spy, individually, who came our way during the war." His arrest and execution had far-reaching effects on the enemy's espionage plans. Long resident in England, he passed as a Russian citizen from the Baltic provinces, where he had been born, and spoke Russian and various other languages with facility. An apparently harmless letter, treated with a hot iron, brought out information of considerable importance written in German between the lines. The trail led to the bakeshop of one Peter Hahn at Deptford. Hahn was arrested, and finally, by clever detective work, the whereabouts of Müller was discovered in London. Hahn received a prison sentence; Müller was executed in the Tower on June 23, 1915. All night long before the day set he was heard sobbing in the cell for his wife and children.

Ignatius T. T. Lincoln was one of the most brazen spies ever known. By origin a Hungarian Jew, he finally drift-



ed to England, rose by his undoubted abilities to the position of Liberal member of Parliament for Darlington, tried to insinuate himself in the counterespionage service despite the fact that he was an alien, and proposed to betray pseudo naval secrets of North Sea operations ostensibly to trap the German fleet. He was finally advised to leave England by the authorities; after coming to America he was extradited for forgery, and returned for a penal sentence. He remained in prison during the war, but in 1919, after his English naturalization papers had been canceled, he was shipped back to Germany. The Ebert Government, shortly before its overthrow last month, appointed Lincoln to the post of telegraphic censor.

#### HOW TWO SPIES FACED DEATH

Breeckow posed as an American of wealth traveling in England for his health. Put in touch through the German Intelligence with Mrs. Wertheim, a woman of immoral life, who had obtained British citizenship through marriage, he joined her, and the two together played their game of espionage as long as the authorities allowed them. Much of their time was spent in pleasure junkets. Mrs. Wertheim went to Scotland to pick up information of the Grand Fleet. Some of her questions of the naval officers to whom she made herself "more than agreeable" finally led to her arrest and conviction. Both the man and woman were brought before the authorities and questioned; Breeckow broke down completely, but the woman was so unabashed

that had it not been for Breeckow's confessions a conviction might not have been assured. The woman was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude. Breeckow was executed in the Tower. He was so agitated that he died of heart disease before the bullets of the firing squad entered his body.

Almost a poetic figure was that of Fernando Buschman, with whom this series closes. Born in Paris, brought up in Brazil, a musician of ability and an expert in aeronautics, he had traveled widely in Europe. He entered the German Intelligence in 1914, and in 1915, after a course of training in espionage, he appeared in England in the guise of a commercial traveler. He visited both Portsmouth and Southampton. His career was cut short by falling short of money, which prompted him to write to Holland for a renewal of funds. The arrest took place at his lodgings in South Kensington. Letters found on his person established his guilt. He was tried at the Westminster Guild Hall on Sept. 20, 1915. He thanked his judges courteously after the trial. His request that he be allowed to keep his violin was granted, and for hours he sat discoursing beautiful music, oblivious to the death that awaited him. Taken to the Tower the night before his execution, he again asked for his violin, and for hours he forgot his coming doom in the solace of music. When taken to execution he picked up his violin, kissed it passionately, and exclaimed: "Good-bye, I shall not want you any more!" He refused to have his eyes bandaged, and met his death with a smile.





MEDALS EXPRESSING GERMAN HATRED OF ENGLAND

## Germany's Hatred of England

### Historical Light on the Legend of "Perfidious Albion" and Its Part in Causing the War

**N**O theory of modern times has been more dangerous to the prestige and influence for good of any given nation than that embodied in the now classic and familiar phrase, "Perfidious Albion," as applied to the underlying motives of the Continental policy of Great Britain. Firmly established in France since the French Revolution, and expanded and intensified by the rancor of Germany, barked in her designs of crippling and dividing France, it grew beyond the Rhine into a credo of hatred through the embittered utterances of Treitschke, was given constant expression in Germany's foreign policy, which aimed at England's isolation, and burst forth with volcanic fury when Great Britain intervened in the war to save France.

In a long and carefully documented review of the subject Professor W. Alison Phillips, in the January issue of the *Edinburgh Review*, has investigated the origin and growth of the whole legend, and marshals a considerable body of evidence to prove that it is a legend, and nothing more. That the existence of such a belief was momentous he has no doubt at all. "It is worth while," he

says, "to inquire into the origins of a legend which has had so profound and terrible an effect upon international relations."

The height which this fever of hatred and distrust reached in Germany is brought out by citation of the remarkable memorandum addressed by the ex-Kaiser to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg on July 30, 1914, in which Wilhelm declared that, in spite of all efforts to prevent it, the "encirclement" of Germany, plotted by King Edward VII., had become an accomplished fact; and that a situation had been created which gave England the desired pretext for destroying Germany, "with the hypocritical semblance of justice presented by helping France to maintain the notorious balance of power in Europe." All these machinations, he said, must now be unsparingly laid bare, and "the mask of Christian peaceableness openly and violently torn from them in public." Finally, the whole Mohammedan world must be incited to "a savage uprising against this hated, lying, unscrupulous nation of hucksters."

Professor Phillips comments on this as follows:



At first sight this language suggests that the Kaiser's mind had become unhinged; but if so, there was method in his madness. There was even something more; for it is possible to detect in this insensate outpouring of hatred against England a note of sincerity and of a conviction that is more than the outcome of mere individual prejudice. And indeed, \* \* \* the Kaiser's language was not his own, but a mere echo of what he had been taught as a boy, and of what all other German boys of his age and generation had been taught, about the character of England and the selfishness and unscrupulousness of her foreign policy. There is plentiful evidence that in using this language the Emperor was at one with his people, whose long pent-up hatred of England burst forth in an amazing torrent of vituperation the moment the floodgates were opened by the British declaration of war.\*

A manifestation so unbridled and so disreputable came with a shock of surprise to the English. They would have been less surprised had they known that for two generations past the German people had been methodically taught that England, as a power, had always been mercenary, selfish and cowardly; that she had consistently abused her insular position, her policy having always been to set the continental peoples by the ears in order that, herself safe behind her "moat," she might be able to profit by the exhaustion of her rivals to extend her colonial empire, and secure a virtual monopoly of the world's wealth. It has to be remembered, too, that this legend—for legend it is—has been in the past by no means confined to Germany. Before the war it was equally current in France, and it is only since the war that French historians have begun to suspect the fundamental misconception underlying the traditional estimate of *la perfide Albion*.

Even with the object lessons of the war before them, not all have been able to rid themselves of their inherited prejudices. M. Edouard Driault, for instance, in a volume published in 1917, at the very time when the British blockade was forcing Germany to loosen the grip that was strangling France, declared: "It is certain that Napoleon (in the proclamation of the Continental blockade) represented right, strict right, natural right, against the indefensible misuse which England made of her supremacy at sea." It is, then, not surprising that the legend of the peculiar unscrupulousness and hypocrisy of British foreign policy should have been widely accepted on the Continent, since the selfishness and perfidy of

England were the stock themes of both French and German publicists.

## HISTORY OF THE LEGEND

Tracing down the origin of the legend and its development through the nineteenth century, this writer finds its first evidence in the France of the Revolution. The political dogma formulated by Montesquieu even before the Revolution, that the republic, *per se*, was Virtue, brought the inescapable corollary that all opposers of the republic were open to criminal reproach. Hence, from the moment the convention resumed the traditional French policy of aggression in the Netherlands, and incurred thereby the enmity of Great Britain, it followed logically that English statesmen were, of all other statesmen of Europe, the most destitute of moral principle. The attacks of Barrère and Robespierre in the convention sound today like the anti-British onslaughts of the Germans. "It is this Government which uses the treasures of India to enslave Europe," declared Barrère, "the benefits of commerce to destroy freedom, the favor of social relations to corrupt men, and the tributes of the people to compass the death of Frenchmen." "It is in England," asserted Robespierre on May 7, 1794, "that Machiavellianism has pushed this royal doctrine (that honest men are of no use to Kings) to the highest degree of perfection."

This legend of *la perfide Albion*, spread under the republic in countless orations, in official documents, in books and polemical pamphlets, was seized joyously by Napoleon as a multiple confirmation of his hatred of the British, whom he had contemptuously stigmatized as "a nation of shopkeepers." Deliberately, according to this writer, he employed a host of hired scribblers to spread the legend throughout the Continent. The object of Napoleon, who, like William II., recognized in that impassable moat the unscalable barrier to the consummation of his dream of world dominion, was clearly evident in his stirring up in all Europe a clamor for the "freedom of the seas." Such isolated voices as that of the German, Friedrich von Gentz, who protested that Britain was the guarantor of the liberties of Europe, and that it

\*In confirmation of this statement the writer cites "Wehe dir, England!" an anthology of 117 "hymns of hate," Leipzig, third edition, 1915.

was British sea power which stood between Europe and slavery, were voices crying in a German wilderness.

### THE LEGEND IN GERMANY

One might have supposed that the common effort at Waterloo would have mitigated the virulence of the legend in Germany. If it survived and persisted, stronger than ever, this was due to the trend of policy pursued by the British statesmen in 1814 and 1815. Realizing the rapacity of Prussia's designs on France, a danger to the world which must be diverted, they successfully opposed demands including the partition of France, the restoration to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine, and the calling into being of a formidable German confederation, planned to englobe both Switzerland and the Netherlands. Disappointed and enraged, Prussian patriots heaped abuse on Britain and accused her of desiring to throw the Continent into new convulsions for her own profit. So the old legend was revived, notably by the great Prussian soldier Gneisenau, in a memorandum addressed to Emperor Alexander I. Professor Phillips says in this connection:

This was not merely the splenetic outburst of a soldier who believed himself to be cheated of the spoils of victory; it was the deliberate expression of a revived opinion, and as such it is quoted by Treitschke, in his "*Deutsche Geschichte*," with entire approval, and enlarged on by him with characteristic venom and characteristic contempt for historic probabilities. \* \* \*

Although Treitschke did not create the legend, he did more than any other man to give it a wide currency in modern Germany. His influence during the critical formative period of the new German Empire was enormous, and until his death, in 1896, he used this influence to destroy the admiration surviving among German Liberals for England and English institutions, in order to establish in its place the worship of the Prussian militarist ideal. In season and out of season, in his historical works, in his professorial lectures, in the pages of his "*Preussische Jahrbücher*," and doubtless also as the future Emperor's tutor, he played endless variations on the theme of England's "shamelessness" (*die Unverschämtheit Englands*), and the blindness of her so-called democracy by "huckster's egotism" (*Krämeregoismus*).

Such is the legend of *la perfide Albion*

as originated in Revolutionary France and developed by German hatred. This legend was undoubtedly favored by Great Britain's traditional foreign policy, though that policy, rightly understood, intimates Professor Phillips, is the libel's most convincing refutation. He continues:

It is true that from time to time England has been content "to revolve in her own orbit," sometimes with disturbing effect on the European system. But sooner or later an irresistible force has drawn her back into her predestined place as what Montesquieu called the *puissance exécutive* of Europe and the guardian of its liberties. Even Mr. Gladstone, though of all British statesmen the one most disposed to avoid "continental entanglements," realized the existence of this force. \* \* \*

### THE BRITISH TRADITION

The most striking thing in the history of British foreign policy, continues the writer, is the almost unbroken continuity of this great tradition. In 1694 Lord Halifax laid down the prime condition of British security in the following phrase: "Look to your moat. The first article of an Englishman's creed must be that he believeth in the sea." In 1800 Pitt explained the fundamental cause of the war with France as "security against a danger which threatened all the nations of the earth." The moral authority of Great Britain in the councils of Europe was founded on the general conviction that in certain vital respects her interests and those of the Continental peoples were identical. England might be safe behind her moat, but she would remain so only so long as no power should arise strong enough to dispute her mastery of the seas. She was thus forced into the position of protector of the "balance of power" which was universally recognized as the conservative basis of the European States system. This position, though motivated by "security," brought with it moral consequences of the greatest importance; it made Great Britain the champion of the rights of weaker States, and the champion of the sanctity of the treaties by which these rights were secured. The pursuit of this policy sometimes involved war, but it was not a warlike policy.



When, mainly through Great Britain, Napoleon's power was brought low, the island nation made it clear that she had no intention of using her enhanced prestige for selfish ends. "The wish of the Government," wrote Castlereagh on Feb. 6, 1814, "is to connect its interests in peace and war with those of the continent." While the state of Europe afforded little hope of a better order of things, Great Britain had no other course left than to create an independent position for herself; but now that she might look forward to a return to ancient principles, she was ready to make the necessary sacrifices to reconstruct a balance in Europe. In accordance with this intention, she presented a long list of the conquered colonies which she was prepared to restore to France and Holland. This action created a profound impression, and gave her a prestige which enabled her to mediate successfully between the violently conflicting interests at Vienna, to prevent a renewal of war, and to bring about the settlement of 1815, which remained the foundation of peace for nearly fifty years.

#### THE "GRAND ALLIANCE"

To preserve the balance of power thus re-established, and the treaties on which it was based, was the guiding principle of British Continental policy for many years. As an effective means to this end, it was deemed wise by British statesmen to preserve the "Grand Alliance" which, originally concluded between the four powers and directed against France, was given wider scope in 1815 and converted in 1818 into an alliance of all five Continental great powers by the admission of France. It soon became clear, however, that there was a fundamental difference of principle between Great Britain and the Continental allies in this League. From the first the British statesmen protested against the attempts of the autocratic powers, terrified by sporadic symptoms of revolutionary unrest, to exalt the alliance into a kind of super-tribunal, armed with vague powers for the maintenance of the status quo. And when this claim was actually formulated by the three autocratic powers at Troppau,

in 1820, Great Britain protested vigorously, and proclaimed the principle of non-intervention as a cardinal doctrine of British foreign policy; that is to say, the right of nations to manage their own affairs so long as they do not offend against their neighbors.

It was the assertion of this principle that led to the first breach (and eventually to complete separation) between Great Britain and the Continental Alliance. When, at the Congress of Verona in 1822, it was proposed to give royalist France a European mandate to suppress the Liberal system in Spain, Great Britain protested, and when her protests were unheeded withdrew her representative from the conferences. After Castlereagh's death Canning proclaimed anew all the well-known principles of Britain's policy. Under Palmerston occurred the events connected with the successful revolt, in 1830, of the Belgians against the union with Holland imposed on them in 1815. For two years Palmerston's diplomacy prevented the outbreak of a general European war over this dispute. When, finally, in 1832, a British squadron and a French army co-operated in forcing the Dutch to evacuate the citadel of Antwerp, and to retire behind the frontiers assigned to Holland by the powers, this action was interpreted by the autocratic nations as fresh proof of the "perfidiousness" of Great Britain, and in September, 1833, the meeting of Münchengratz proclaimed their resolve to draw together in support of the sacred principles of the Holy Alliance.

#### THE EUROPEAN BALANCE

The situation thus created was commented upon by Palmerston as follows:

The division of Europe into two camps is the result of events beyond our control, and is the result of the French Revolution of July. What they really complain of is not the existence of two camps but the equality of the two camps. The plain English of it is, that they want to have England on their side against France, that they may dictate to France as they did in 1814 and 1815; and they are provoked beyond measure at the steady protection France has derived from us. But it is that protection which has preserved the peace of Europe. Without it there would long ago have been a general war.

With the revolutionary years 1848 and 1849, which saw the rise of Louis Napoleon to power, the relations of Great Britain and the Continent entered on a new phase. These years heralded the break-up of the old order in Europe, and marked the beginning of that universal clash of national ideals which, in the next twenty years, was to lead to the creation of the German Empire and of United Italy. Palmerston, though favoring oppressed nationalities, still pursued the tradition of the balance of power. He favored Italian aspirations only because he believed the amputation of the Italian provinces would strengthen Austria for her proper life work as the guardian of the west against the overgrown power of Russia. He refused to intervene on behalf of Hungarian independence. The attempts of Great Britain to combine the championship of the weaker nations with her traditional policy gave fresh life to the old legend, contradicted by the whole attitude of England at the opening of the second half of the nineteenth century, when she came out in favor of free trade, that is to say, unfettered intercourse between nations.

#### ENGLAND'S WEAK POLICY

It was England's very desire for peace which, after Lord Palmerston's retirement in December, 1851, caused a weakness of policy that had regrettable consequences. There would have been no Crimean war, says Professor Phillips, if Great Britain had made it clear from the first that she would resist in arms any attack by Russia on the Ottoman Empire. Her very peaceableness, emphasized by the pacifist propaganda of Cobden and Bright, completely deceived Czar Nicholas as to the temper of the British people. The fault of the British attitude was not that it was perfidious, but that it was weak. In 1854 this weakness was partly due to the weakness of the army and navy. The Crimean war and the Indian mutiny still further exhausted Great Britain's strength. A greater firmness was displayed in 1860 when Lord John Russell proclaimed the sympathy of England with the cause of Italian independence; and again when

Great Britain refused to join her naval forces with those of France in order to prevent Garibaldi and his thousand from crossing the Strait of Messina; but Russell's protest in the name of the treaties, against the treatment meted out to Poland by the Emperor Nicholas after the insurrection of 1863, helped the Poles not at all, and earned for Great Britain a humiliating snub, followed by another of the same kind encountered by an equally futile protest in 1864 against the seizure of the Danish duchies by the German powers. Thus England's prestige, as Disraeli said in the House of Commons, was noticeably lowered. Bismarck shaped his policy accordingly, and, availing himself of Louis Napoleon's restless efforts to secure compensations in Luxemburg and the Netherlands for the aggrandizement of Prussia, drove England into an angry neutrality when the attack on France was launched in 1870 by publishing the celebrated draft treaty, drawn up by the French Ambassador Benedetti, under the terms of which Belgium was, under certain contingencies, to be annexed to France. Great Britain then intervened only to safeguard the neutrality of Belgium, and left France to meet her fate alone.

#### THE GERMAN MENACE

From the time of the crushing defeat of France and the consolidation of the German Empire in 1871, until the creation of the new entente with France in 1904, Great Britain, says Professor Phillips, can hardly be said to have had a Continental policy at all. The treaties had been torn to pieces; the balance of power had ceased to be. The power of the German Empire now surpassed that of any other State. Four years later it was still more strengthened by the alliance with Austria, which in 1882 became the Triple Alliance by the adhesion of Italy. Great Britain accepted the situation and turned her attention to the East.

With the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, the chapter of European history which opened in 1815 may be said to have closed. In the scramble for world power which began in the eighties, the storm centre was transferred to Egypt, Tunis,



Nigeria and Manchuria. To isolate France and distract her attention from Alsace-Lorraine, Bismarck encouraged her rivalry with England in Africa; to divert the threat of Russia against Germany he directed her ambitions to the Far East, where she came in dangerous touch with Great Britain on the borders of India. With England and Russia at odds in Asia and Africa, and France and England engaged in the bitter rivalry which culminated in 1898 in the Fashoda incident, there was no prospect of restoring the balance of power in Europe, and Germany's purposes were served.

### THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

It was not till the opening years of the present century that the growing self-assertion of Germany, backed by the increase of her armaments, awoke Great Britain to the fact that her position in the world was being definitely challenged, and that her empire might once more have to fight out its defense on the battlefields of Europe. It was the sense of a common peril which drew France and Russia again together, which united once more France and England. So was created the Triple Entente, to counteract and oppose the Triple Alliance. England had been driven back again to her traditional policy of the balance of power.

That peace, nevertheless, was not preserved, is attributed by Professor Phillips to the same weakness, or rather uncertainty of policy, which had left the Czar of Russia in the dark as to Britain's intentions on the eve of the Crimean war. "If, from the first," he says, "it

had been made quite clear that England would stand beside her allies in the event of their being attacked by Germany, the balance of power would have been complete and obvious, and Germany would never have risked a war. It was the uncertainty of Great Britain's attitude that made war possible. \* \* \*

For this uncertainty the conditions under which British foreign policy had to be pursued, keeping ever in view a wholly uninformed public opinion, were mainly responsible. The welding of the Entente into a definite defensive alliance would have been strenuously opposed by a large section of the nation. "It needed 'the German violation of Belgium to 'open the eyes of the British democracy,'" says Professor Phillips, "and 'then it was too late to save the world 'from the agony of the most terrible 'of all wars. But we may dismiss at 'once, as utterly without foundation, 'the legend of the 'encirclement' of 'Germany, pretext for a deliberate war 'of aggression. Great Britain's earnest 'desire for peace was proved by Sir 'Edward Grey's dispatches during the 'crisis of July, 1914, which show the 'transparent honesty of his language 'and his intentions. In this respect he 'was but following the true tradition 'of our Foreign Office, which may be 'summed up, in the words of Canning, 'as 'respect for the faith of treaties; 'respect for the independence of nations; respect for the established line 'of policy known as the balance of 'power; and, last but not least, respect 'for the honor and interests of this 'country.' The legend of 'perfidious 'Albion' is a legend and nothing more."



# Why the German Navy Failed

Captain Persius, Germany's Foremost Naval Critic, Discusses  
the ex-Kaiser and Admiral von Tirpitz

CAPTAIN PERSIUS, the sanest and most noted of German naval critics, has written a book on "The Sea War." As the naval expert of the Berliner Tageblatt he had chafed bitterly at the iron restrictions placed upon him by the German censorship. When that censorship was removed, he wrote his book to tell what he thought of the German naval policy before and during the war. His revelations constitute one of the most formidable indictments of the ex-Kaiser and his naval chief, von Tirpitz, which have ever appeared in print. Like Maximilian Harden, Captain Persius criticises wholly from the German viewpoint, a method which makes his attacks all the more deadly.

At the outset Captain Persius gives interesting details of the personalities of the ex-Kaiser, who was the Supreme Chief of the German Navy, and of Prince Henry of Prussia, who occupied the position of Senior Admiral. Of the building-up to the German Navy he says:

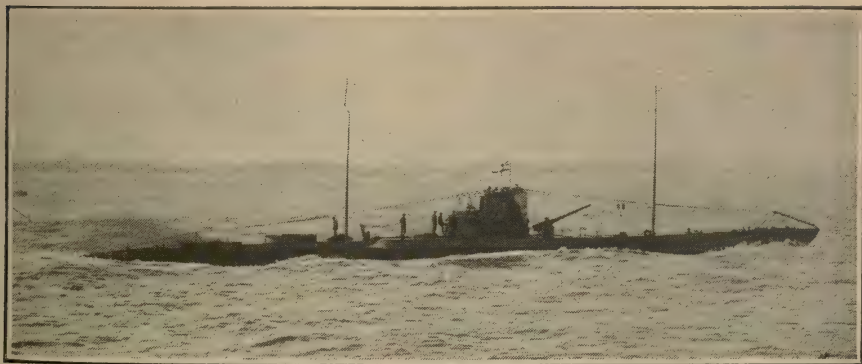
With a few cruisers and with the friendly assent of Great Britain Bismarck gained nearly all our colonies for us. No threat was seen in our naval armaments, which fully sufficed for Germany's interest. But at the end of the last cen-

tury the time began when Tirpitz set to work in order to carry out the Kaiser's words: "The trident belongs to our hand." What motives had William II. to increase naval construction? In the first place, megalomania and vanity. In order to satisfy these he needed a strong fleet, strong at least in numbers. Crass materialism was the driving force behind the Kaiser's every action.

## KAISER AND PRINCE HENRY

Naval construction, intimates this German critic, was carried on by the Kaiser for his own pleasure and entertainment. He needed the fleet as a background during the Kiel week, and as an escort during the Hohenzollern excursions. His evil influence was widespread among the officers, among whom servility to superiors, brutality to inferiors, unhealthy rivalry, love of enjoyment and bombast were encouraged. Under the Kaiser's régime luxury and good-living flourished. During the war he often appeared at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven and made grandiloquent speeches. During the naval manoeuvres he perpetrated practical jokes which were almost incredibly coarse and vulgar.

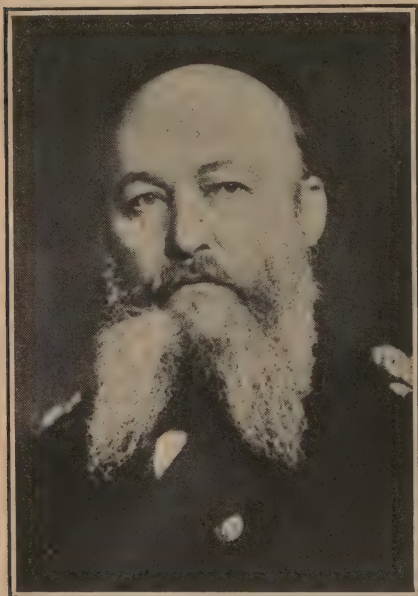
Prince Henry of Prussia, the ex-Kaiser's royal brother, stands equally low in the estimation of Captain Persius. He



GERMAN SUBMARINE CRUISER OF HEAVIEST TYPE, EQUIPPED WITH LARGE CALIBRE GUN AND MINE-LAYING APPARATUS



says Prince Henry was a pronounced Anglophile, most at home when strolling along Pall Mall or Piccadilly, or when, in evening dress, the guest of some English club. An interesting account is given of Prince Henry's pleasure cruise to the Far East in the German war cruiser, the



GRAND ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ  
*German Naval Secretary and chief advocate  
of submarine warfare*

Deutschland. Before his departure the Kaiser said to him:

If any one should venture to offend us in our good right, then bring your mailed fist (gepanzerte Faust) into action! And, if God wills it, weave laurels around your youthful brows.

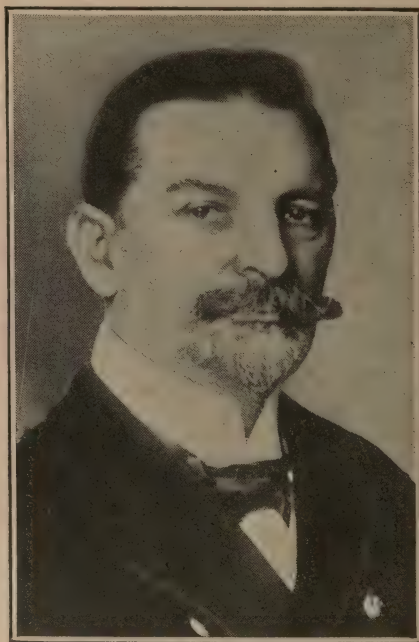
To this the Prince rejoined:

I go forth to bring to the nations the evangel of your Majesty's hallowed person!

On this Captain Persius comments that the "gepanzerte Faust," which became world-famous subsequently in English translation as the "mailed fist," referred to the Deutschland, an armored cruiser of an old, ramshackle description and the object of much ridicule among the English.

Captain Persius was a member of the Deutschland party on this cruise, and

came back with many uncomplimentary anecdotes of Prince Henry, which he sets down in his book. Once, while the ship was lying near Bangkok, a number of Siamese Princes and dignitaries arrived in a yacht. They were decked out with all kinds of orders, and their uniforms blazed with gold. Their leader, a chocolate colored Siamese, was the worse for liquor. When Captain Persius expressed his amusement at these absurd personages, Prince Henry waxed furious, and



ADMIRAL VON CAPELLE  
*German Secretary of the Navy, succeeding  
von Tirpitz*

exclaiming: "No more of this, please! Be careful what you're saying! Why, you don't seem to have the slightest dynastic feeling!" walked away in a fit of bad temper.

#### TIRPITZ AND U-BOAT WAR

Of Admiral von Tirpitz, the man responsible for the execution of the Kaiser's naval policy, Captain Persius writes:

It is no exaggeration to say that, except for the few gentlemen who owed him personal gratitude, our naval officers felt no sympathy for Tirpitz. His character

was generally known—his crass egoism, his domineering spirit, his megalomania, his lack of understanding for the needs of the fleet, his feebleness in the face of the bureaucracy. Known, too, were the orgies he carried on in the Marine Ministry and the way in which he failed whenever new problems in ship construction or naval artillery appeared. \* \* \* He failed in the precise direction in which he should not have failed—U-boats! He showed plenty of energy where less energy was needed—torpedo boats and airships. Tirpitz was often great in little things. In this respect he somewhat resembled a Prussian Sergeant Major. \* \* \* The Kaiser did not find Tirpitz sympathetic (although he imagined he needed him). It was my frequent experience that he treated him contemptuously. But Tirpitz's skin was as thick as his conscience was robust. \* \* \* Today no wideawake German thinks of Tirpitz except sorrowfully. \* \* \* Tirpitz who torpedoed German happiness, German contentment, German wealth.

Captain Persius blames Admiral von Tirpitz severely throughout for not realizing the value of the submarine; even in peace time, he says, the German Naval Command

neglected the most modern weapon, the submarine, which would have been of the highest value for us, who were the weaker at sea. The chief guilt lies with Tirpitz, who did not further the U-boat weapon before the war as interests of national defense demanded. He furthered the construction of big battleships with great ardor. And thus he created England's hostility to us, and thus he created the war.

As a consequence of von Tirpitz's misconceptions, Germany entered the war with only twenty-seven submarines. Captain Persius gives a series of figures showing the slow growth of the German submarine fleet. Not only von Tirpitz, but his successor, Admiral von Capelle, were at first opposed to U-boat construction, and when they realized the value of this weapon they advocated intensified U-boat warfare prematurely, so that when a really formidable number of submarines had been launched England had perfected her defensive measures. The unrestricted U-boat war which was opened in 1917 Captain Persius calls the greatest mistake made by the Germans after the invasion of Belgium, because it brought America into the war. In this connection he says:

Sensible Parliamentarians opposed it.

From Capelle's mouth came the words: "America—zero, zero and zero once again!" He rejected the arguments of those who pointed to possible war with America by saying that he was of one mind with his former chief Tirpitz. Even in January, 1918, he said to a representa-



TORPEDO EXPLODING AMIDSHIPS UNDER A BRITISH MERCHANTMAN

tive of the Neues Pester Journal: "America's military assistance is a phantom."

#### GERMAN NAVAL CENSORSHIP

To the very last the German naval censorship adopted a policy of secretiveness and falsification. Captain Persius compares this policy with that of the British Admiralty, which admitted frankly all losses: the only exception to this rule was the loss of the Audacious, and this was admitted immediately after the armistice. In Germany all was hushed up, obscured, invented. In all cases of official announcements of naval battles in which the British and German versions conflict, Captain Persius establishes the fact that the British version was truthful and accurate, the German version untruthful and inaccurate. "The German people were bluffed and deceived until they lost all faith in their own rulers."

A case in point involved the transpor-



tation of American soldiers to the battlefields of France. To the last the German naval authorities denied that American troops were being sent. On July 5, 1917, the Rotterdam correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt wired that German submarines had attacked American transports, the implication being that the attack had been unsuccessful. This wire was submitted by Captain Persius to the Staff of the German Admiralty. The reply received was as follows: "The telegram can be published only if a comment, making the news appear ridiculous, is added." The edited version, which made the message appear vague and problematic, was not accepted, and the news about the attack on American transports was suppressed altogether. Every engagement, large or small, was similarly misinterpreted or hushed up in the grossest and most childish manner. Some of the official reports quoted by Captain Persius are absurd and insulting to the intelligence of the German people. For this von Tirpitz and his successor were responsible.

### THE REVOLUTION

It is significant that the German revolution broke out first in the navy. The responsibility for this Captain Persius attributes in great part to the evil influence of the Kaiser already mentioned, his superficiality, grandiosity, love of display, and nepotism of a widespread character, as a consequence of which officers and men became mutually estranged. Though there was much inactivity during the war, the men's leave was cut down, and many irksome and unnecessary restrictions were imposed upon them. While the seamen lived on war rations, the officers reveled in luxury. Realization of the stupidity of the German naval policy also sapped the confidence of the men, and the personality of the Kaiser widened the breach. On June 5, 1916, just after the battle of Jutland, in which the British lost 6,104 men and 117,150 tons of shipping,

as against the German loss of 2,414 men and 60,720 tons, the Kaiser said to a delegation representing the crews of all the ships engaged, assembled on board his flagship at Wilhelmshaven:

The English fleet has been beaten. The first mighty hammer-blow has been delivered. The halo of English world-dominion has vanished. You have opened a new chapter in the world's history. The Lord of Hosts has steeled your arms, and has cleared your eyes. Children, what you have done, you have done for our Fatherland, so that in all the future and on all seas it may have a free path for its work and all its deeds.

A very loyal old naval officer, who had taken part in the battle and was present during the delivery of the Kaiser's grandiloquent speech, made this pithy comment:

We were laying to with our badly riddled ships. The many dead and wounded were brought to land. On the quays stood their kin clothed in black; women and children wept piteously. We were not intoxicated by victory. We knew that this was the first and last battle we could fight. We had had amazing luck, and it seemed incredible that things had gone so well for us. Then the Kaiser came on board, in high spirits, smothered in decorations, surrounded by his great entourage that distributed handshakes and congratulations right and left, smiling graciously. The Kaiser's bombastic speech and the whole ceremony were so repulsive to me that I shuddered. I shall get rid of my uniform as soon as possible.

It was episodes such as this that destroyed the confidence of the crews in their rulers. When the end of the great drama approached, and the entire German fleet was ordered to steam out and give battle—which meant annihilation—the sailors got wind of this "devilish proposal," and the news went from mouth to mouth like wildfire. "They were going to murder us, one and all, in the last moment of the war!" The men of the German Navy refused to be murdered, they mutinied, the revolution began, and the whole imperial edifice collapsed like a house of cards.

# War Guilt of Count Berchtold

## His Falsification of Records

FOLLOWING the publication by the Austrian Foreign Office of the first part of a Red Book giving the official documents found in the Austro-Hungarian archives which recorded the events leading up to the outbreak of the World War, certain Hungarian publicists seized upon the report of the joint ministerial council of July 7, 1914, in Vienna (printed in the December issue of CURRENT HISTORY), as evidence that the late Count Stephan Tisza, then Premier of Hungary, through his objections to the procedure of the council, had shown himself a lover of peace. But the second and third parts of the Austrian Red Book, published in December, 1919, showed that, although the Count had been cautious at the first council, at the second, held on July 19, he had been already converted to the doctrine of force and entered heartily into the plans for aggression.

The Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung, in its issue of Dec. 27, 1919, devoted a long article to the Red Book, and asserted that its contents also proved that Count Leopold von Berchtold, who, as Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, presided over the council of July 7 and constantly urged war upon Serbia, was guilty of wholesale falsifications in his work of 1915, called "The Diplomatic Documents of the Antecedents of the War." How quickly Count Tisza was converted to the plan to coerce Serbia, regardless of consequences, says this Austrian Socialist newspaper, is shown by the following "very secret" report sent to Berkin on July 14, 1914, by von Tschirschky, the German Ambassador in Vienna:

Count Tisza looked me up today after his conversation with Count Berchtold. The Count said that he had always been the one so far who had counseled caution, but that every day strengthened in him the sentiment that the monarchy [Austria] must come to an energetic decision in order to show its vitality and to put an end to the intolerable conditions in South Slavia. "It was with difficulty that I decided to advise war," said the Minister, "but I am now firmly convinced of its

necessity and I shall work with all my strength for the greatness of the monarchy. \* \* \* *The note to Serbia will be so worded that an acceptance is as good as excluded.* \* \* \* At the close Tisza warmly shook my hand and said: "Now, united, we shall calmly and firmly face the future."

On July 24, 1914, the Hungarian Premier telegraphed to Berchtold as follows:

I ask your Excellency to emphasize, in my name if necessary, that in case of no satisfactory answer from Serbia it would be imperatively necessary immediately to order mobilization. Any hesitation in this matter would be bound up with fateful consequences.

In taking up the case of Count Berchtold's Red Book of 1915, the Arbeiter-Zeitung remarks that while the Count only mentioned sixty-four official documents covering the period from May 29 to Aug. 24, 1914, the Foreign Office's publication gives 352 for the period from July 2 to Aug. 27, 1914. Furthermore, it avers that Count Berchtold not only omitted many important documents from his book, but he also "touched up" the dispatches which he printed so as to make the reader believe that the World War had been willed by the Entente and that the central empires were the innocent victims. Then the Vienna newspaper proceeds to cite some examples of the Count's work, as follows:

Through the entire course of the negotiations before the outbreak of the war there runs the assertion that Serbia had already ordered general mobilization on July 25, 1914, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. So Grey's efforts for peace were answered on July 26, [Berchtold to Count Mensdorf, the Austrian Ambassador in London], "that almost at the same time as he [Grey] had directed his note to Prince Lichnowsky [German Ambassador in London], that is, yesterday at 3 o'clock, Serbia had already ordered general mobilization, which shows that in Belgrade there was no inclination toward a friendly arbitration of the matter." On July 28 Berchtold again notified Count Mensdorf in London that: "Your Excellency will lay great emphasis in your conversation with Sir Edward Grey upon the circumstance that the general mobil-



ization of the Serbian Army was ordered for the 25th at 3 P. M.; we had not previously made any military preparations, but were forced by the Serbian mobilization to go into them on a big scale." [See Tisza's report that this had been decided upon long before!] But what was the real situation regarding the Serbian order? On July 24, 1914, Baron von Giesel sent a really extremely beligerent report from Belgrade to Berchtold, which nevertheless contained the following:

"Serbia's present military weakness, due to the uncertain and sacrifice-entailing situation in New Serbia, even if not overlooked by far-sighted politicians, is regarded even by them as a *quantité négligeable*, just because the Monarchy, for internal and external reasons, is considered feeble and incapable of any energetic action. That the serious words already spoken by our authoritative officials are regarded as a bluff is evident from the fact that no measures for preparing the army—or at least none worth speaking of—are being taken; the reservists are being dismissed without arms in small groups from New Serbia to Old Serbia, and no arrangement has yet been made for the mobilization of the second levy. All reports to the contrary are thus far lacking confirmation."

From this it is plainly seen that the assertion of the ordering of the mobilization before the delivering of the answer is a fable, thought out, as Tisza said to Tschirschky on July 14, for the purpose of "especially" affecting England. This whole section, which so clearly refutes the fable, is simply left out of the Berchtold Red Book. \* \* \*

On July 25, 1914, Berchtold gave instructions to Ambassador Count Szapary in Petrograd. \* \* \* Count Szapary was instructed by Berchtold to tell Sazonov [the Russian Foreign Minister] "that we are going to the limit in order to put through our demands and do not even shrink from the possibility of European complications." These last words, which plainly show that the scoundrels of the Ballhaus knew very well whither they were driving, Berchtold omitted. The world has been told that the Russian policy of those days was absolutely beligerent; the version, as is known, ran that Russia had "suddenly fallen upon" the innocent Central Powers. But on July 26, 1914, Szapary reported to Berchtold on the sentiment in Petrograd and about his interview with Sazonov, and in this report were the following sentences:

"Had impression of great nervousness and worry. Consider desire for peace sincere, military declarations in so far correct that complete mobilization has, indeed, not been ordered, but preparatory measures very far reaching. They are plainly trying to gain time for fresh

negotiations and for continuation of the work of arming. The internal situation also gives undeniable cause for serious worry. Main feature of the sentiment, hope in Germany and mediation by his Majesty. Although the immediate information of the German Military Attaché indicates nervousness on the part of Sazonov, and mobilization only against



COUNT BERCHTOLD  
*Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister in 1914*

Austria in case the Serbian border is crossed, rather seems to betray the intention of exercising diplomatic pressure, there must not be left out of the calculation, together with the falsity of promises here, the lack of unity between the diplomatic and the military procedures, as well as the importance of gaining time for the Russian mobilization."

All this left out, falsified away! Berchtold omitted the following parts from Szapary's report of his conversation with Sazonov to Berchtold of July 27. (The report is only a couple of lines in length in the Berchtold Red Book; the correct report occupies, in a true reproduction, more than three pages!):

"M. Sazonov received me, in contrast with his very impatient attitude on Friday, very amiably. He referred to the above-mentioned communications of Count Pourtalès [German Ambassador at Petro-

grad] and said if I had not announced myself he would have asked me to call upon him, so as to talk openly with me once. Friday he had been somewhat surprised and had not controlled himself as well as he could have wished, and then our conversation surely was only a purely official one."

Here follow the declarations of the Ambassador, after which he reports on Sazonov's answer:

"M. Sazonov animatedly agreed with me and showed himself uncommonly pleased over the tendencies of my statements. He made many promises that in Russia, not only he, but the whole Cabinet and, what is of the most weight, the sovereign, were animated with the same feelings toward Austria-Hungary. He could not deny that in Russia old grudges were entertained against the Monarchy; he, too, had them, but still this all belonged to the past and must not play any rôle in practical politics; and so far as the Slavs were concerned, indeed he ought not to tell this to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, but he had no feeling for the Balkan Slavs. They were even a heavy burden for Russia and we could hardly imagine what one had already had to endure for them. Our aim, as I had described it to him, was perfectly legitimate, but he opined that the way in which we were seeking to accomplish it was not the safest. \* \* \*

"At the close of his interview M. Sazonov again expressed, in the warmest terms, his joy over the explanations that I had given and that had materially calmed him. He will also report this to Emperor Nicholas, whom he will see day

after tomorrow on his reception day."

This is, as we have said, the report of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador and it certainly does not indicate any insuperable desire for war by Russia. Naturally Berchtold couldn't use this, so he falsified it away. And now another example of how everything was twisted around through lying. Berchtold's last crime, as is known, was the rejection of Grey's proposal of mediation, which was sent to him by the German Imperial Chancellor through Tschirschky—because it was made by Grey to the German Ambassador. In his circular telegram to the Ambassadors in Berlin, London and Petrograd Berchtold reproduced the report of Tschirschky, and in it there was also the following:

"To the Italian Ambassador, whom Sir E. Grey received shortly after Prince Lichnowsky, the English Secretary of State said he believed he could procure every possible satisfaction for Austria-Hungary. There would be no question of a meek drawing back by Austria-Hungary, as the Serbs under all circumstances would be chastised and, with the consent of Russia, be compelled to subordinate themselves to the Austro-Hungarian desires. Therefore, Austria-Hungary could obtain guarantees for the future also without unchaining a World War."

Thus the world, even the Austro-Hungarian world, would have recognized, even then, that the rejection of this proposal was a crime and a piece of insanity. Therefore, Berchtold suppressed this entire section, simply falsified it away.

## Armenian Girls Branded

**B**RANDED Armenian women, said William T. Ellis in The New York Herald, are now returning from captivity among the Turks, after five years of enforced degradation. Were it not for the patriotic resolution of their fellow-Armenians to regard these girls and women as martyrs of the race, their fate would be horrible to contemplate. All the world knows how the Turks, Kurds, Arabs, and other savage tribes took their pick of the Armenian women among the deported people, and made thousands of these members of Moslem households. Among the Kurds and Arabs, particularly, it is the custom to tattoo the faces of the women, in the belief that such tattooing leads to an

enhancement of natural beauty. Forehead, lips, chin and cheeks sometimes receive only a few simple designs, sometimes an elaborate "adornment." The Armenian girls thus disfigured returned to their homes with the story of their slavery written plainly upon their faces, which they could not even hide with veils, as the Armenians do not follow the Moslem custom of veiling their faces. Sensitive to this public disclosure of their shame, many of these Armenian girls and women so branded have resorted to burning to obliterate the tatoo, at the cost of permanent unsightly scars. Many others, unable to face the ordeal of returning, have preferred to remain in the Moslem households where they have been enslaved.



# THE MARCH OF SCIENCE

## In Industry, Engineering, Physics, Aeronautics and Electricity

### Exploring the Depths of the Earth

**A**FTER exploring the polar regions, the upper air, and the electrical mysteries of the atom, man has begun exploring the earth beneath and the waters under the earth. From the recent boring of deep oil wells and mining shafts science has obtained new data looking toward an understanding of the nature of the crust of the earth, the source of the intense heat in the earth's interior and the law governing the distribution of that heat from the surface to the centre of the earth.

Hitherto, for the solution of this three-fold mystery, scientists have had several hypotheses. For instance, we are told that this terrestrial sphere has a central, red-hot nucleus, ranging in temperature from 3,000 to 180,000 degrees Fahrenheit. Some scientists hold that the earth is a cooling globe radiating heat developed during condensation from the original nebula; others attribute the subterranean heat to chemical reactions; others, more recently, believe it is caused by the disintegration of radium in subterranean rocks.

But, whatever may prove to be the source of the subterranean heat, the fact that it is encountered in fast-increasing intensity the deeper down men work their way constitutes a seemingly insuperable obstacle to exploration at depths comparable to the atmospheric altitudes attained by aviators. On the Rand, in British South Africa, where a depth of 4,500 feet was reached lately, it is found that the thermometer goes up one degree for every 250 feet it is carried downward. A speaker at a February meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in London, Mr. Marriott, who has been associated with the deepest drilling on the Rand, called this the most moderate rate of increase he had ever found; yet even this, being 128 degrees

at three miles and 149 degrees at four miles, would make it practically impossible to go more than three or four miles into the earth on account of cooling difficulties. On the same principle a much shallower depth limit would have to be set in America, where temperatures have been found to be incomparably higher, and so variable that no gradient has been established.

#### THE WORLD'S DEEPEST MINE

Sir Charles Parsons, at the same meeting, spoke of the deepest mining shaft in the world—that of the Morro Velho mine of the St. John del Rey Company, in Brazil. At a depth of 6,426 feet work had been halted by a temperature of 116 degrees in the rock at the bottom and 98 degrees in the air. An ammonia refrigerating plant is being installed to cool the air. Sir Charles spoke of the possible use of liquid air for cooling purposes.

For years the well, 7,348 feet deep, at Czuchow, Germany, stood unrivaled. Then enterprising American prospectors for gas and petroleum bored the Goff well, eight miles from Clarksburg, W. Va.; after 400 days of actual drilling they reached a depth of 7,386 feet, in March, 1918. Then the work was halted by the breaking of the cable, leaving a ponderous string of tools at the bottom of the shaft. The object was to sink a shaft 8,000 feet deep to the Clinton sand, which at higher levels in Ohio has yielded richly in oil and natural gas.

But the deepest well in the world is the one bored on the J. H. Lake farm, near Fairmont, W. Va., to a depth of 7,579 feet. Here the objective was the same as in the Goff well. The Lake well was begun in June, 1916, and in September, 1917, the work was halted at a depth of 6,720 feet to await a new

cable. The war delayed the receipt of this, so that drilling could not go on until the end of October, 1918. In June, 1919, a cave-in far down the bore halted operations at a depth of 7,579 feet. Failure to line the sides for nine-tenths of a mile in the lower section of the shaft had left it unsupported against the surrounding pressure and the shock of the heavy percussion drill, and thus had caused the collapse. However, the man who made this depth of well possible is confident that, with a suitable reinforcement of casing, a depth of 10,000 feet is practicable.

The expense of such operations varies according to the geological difficulties encountered. The R. A. Geary well, not far from McDonald, Pa., cost \$100,000 to drill down 7,248 feet. At this point, a water pressure of nearly 3,000 pounds to the square inch crushed in the tube casing, burying the drilling tools and stopping the penetration within a few hundred feet of the Clinton sand. The cost of boring the Goff well was \$50,000; whereas that of the Lake well was only \$29,000.

Besides being of great use to science, such enterprises have revealed great potentialities in the way of economic and commercial values. After passing a depth of 6,800 feet, in the Geary well, the drills struck layer after layer of rock salt ranging from five to ten inches in thickness; and these salt strata extended in unbroken sheets throughout areas of many thousands of square miles. An eminent geologist has suggested the possibility that these areas are remains of fossil ocean water, imprisoned in mid-Paleozoic time, and that deposits of some of the potash salts may be found interbedded with the common salt. This would be a find of agricultural importance, looking toward independence of German potash for fertilizer.

#### WORKING AT GREAT DEPTHS

Except possibly the Morro Velho shaft in Brazil, the deepest mine in the world is shaft No. 3 of the Tamarack mine, in Michigan, with a depth of 5,200 feet. The sinking of a mining shaft is limited to about a mile. Below this depth the

heat of the rocks is beyond human endurance. Not even with the aid of artificial ventilation can workmen bear up under it. But in boring a well six inches in diameter the depth of penetration depends only upon the design of the drills, the strength of the cable, and the skill of the men in telling from the feel of the steel cable at the ground level how their tools are taking effect thousands of feet below. For the method known as cable drilling the drills vary from one to two tons in weight. Adequate wire rope cables are fashioned to bear the strain of lifting and dropping such weights when these ponderous drills drive their way downward.

For the study of temperatures in the Geary, Goff and Lake wells, C. E. Van Ostrand, physical geologist of the United States Geological Survey, devised ingenious instruments, especially maximum thermometers. In experimenting with thermometers employing the mercury column principle and those employing the principle of temperature registration by electric resistance he found liabilities to error in each that necessitated a combination of the two principles. In the electric resistance thermometer the deflection of the needle of a Wheatstone bridge indicates the flow of electric current, and, accordingly, the temperature of the resistance element lowered into the well. The difficulty with the mercury thermometer lay in having to expose it for an hour at the depth required for a reading, and afterward in preventing jars on its way to the surface that tended to shake the mercury down into the bulb again.

In the electric resistance thermometer the difficulty lay in preventing the insulating compounds surrounding the lowered circuit from being dissolved by petroleum. Its advantage lay in having to lower only the electric circuit while keeping the registering apparatus above ground. It worked well to a depth of 3,000 feet. But by using two sets of three maximum thermometers, one having the mercury bulbs inverted, it was found possible to take much more satisfactory readings at depths greater than 4,500 feet.



In the Geary, Goff and Lake wells a temperature of about 55 degrees Fahrenheit was found 100 feet down. In the Geary well this temperature increased to 142 degrees Fahrenheit at a depth of 6,100 feet; 159.3 degrees in the Goff well at 7,300 feet, and 168.6 degrees in the Lake well at a depth of 7,500 feet. It

was estimated that in any of these three wells the boiling point would be reached at 10,000 feet. From such studies it is inferred that the practicability of tapping the earth's vast reservoir of heat for industrial and other uses has been brought appreciably nearer by these boring enterprises.

## How U-Boats Were Located at Sea

Among the inventions perfected in secret during the World War, none has a more important bearing on the arts of peace than the wireless compass. This radio instrument, which has put at the disposal of mariners and aeronauts such aids to navigation as were never before dreamed of, was evolved from the theory underlying the apparatus invented by Pupin or that of Weagant for the elimination of static interference in wireless communication.

Having become thus able to send radio-grams in all weathers from Washington to men-of-war in the Gulf and distant parts of the ocean, and to get clear answers, the navy was still in pressing need of means of intercepting radio-grams of the enemy and of tracing the same to their sources. Marconi had conducted experiments before the war with a similar apparatus, but the exigencies of the German submarine campaign brought about the development of the radio compass, first in the British Navy, and then, in a higher degree, in the American Navy. Here it was developed under the direction of Captain S. C. Hooper, U. S. N., head of the Radio Division of the Bureau of Steam Engineering. The evolution of this instrument is the story of the destruction of the German U-boat power. America and the Allies had no hope of victory on the sea, except by thus striking at the enemy's wireless system, which was the integrating factor of the enemy's naval warfare.

The wireless compass is a masterpiece of simplicity. The appliance consists of an arrangement of coils in the receiving apparatus so that the full wave length will be registered on the receiver only when the sensitized coil is in direct alignment with the sending apparatus. The

instrument is mounted on a pivot, the base of which conforms to the positions on the compass. It was turned around until it reached the point on the compass where the signal waves registered the strongest whenever a submarine used its wireless device. In that direction was the submarine. The sea fight followed.

All sizable naval vessels have been equipped with this compass, and radio-compass stations are fast being installed at all ports, as a means of promoting the safety of sea or aerial navigation.

The original system was installed in July, 1917, to trace amateur wireless sets in New York. One station was on Building 5, Bush Terminal, and the other on top of the Administration Building of the College of the City of New York. Though still in the experimental stage then, it soon proved valuable in discovering illegal wireless apparatus. From this beginning was created the Naval Communication Service, with headquarters at 44 Whitehall Street, New York, and with its co-ordination into a system of aids to navigation of the five radio stations at Montauk Point, Fire Island, Rockaway, Sandy Hook, and Mantoloking, N. J.

After the war the Naval Communication Service adapted its wireless compass to the arts of peace without fundamental change. By consolidating these five stations off New York into one system, it has provided service of great value to navigators. It is often called into use, and a few times it has saved vessels from running ashore by giving them their bearings. The service is known to nearly all masters of ships having wireless equipment. Whenever they lose their bearings off New York, in a fog or otherwise, they call up the central

station on Whitehall Street, with a request for their bearings. The operator on duty in the bureau, sitting among the buzzing coils and clicking instruments, orders all five stations to receive signals from the ship that is calling. Then he advises the ship to repeat the call. Each station receives the full-strength signal waves from a different angle, the exact degree and fraction being indicated on the card of the wireless compass.

Then each station transmits the direction to the central station, where each of the station compass readings is plotted

immediately on a map showing the contour of the coast and the position of each station. Dummy ships, each attached by a movable straight line to the centre of a radio station compass (indicated on the chart), are moved into position; and the point where the straight lines intersect indicates the exact position of the ship that has called. Then the central operator notifies the ship, in the proper nautical readings, where it is—say, southwest of Montauk, south of Fire Island, southeast of Rockaway, east of Sandy Hook, and northeast of Mantoloking.

## “Seeing in the Dark” by Wireless

The higher development of the wireless (radio) compass, making it applicable to aerial navigation, was perfected under wartime secrecy by the genius of a youth of 20, Earl C. Hanson, an electrical expert who was connected throughout the war with the Radio Division of the Bureau of Steam Engineering of the Navy Department. He solved the problem of landing aircraft safely in darkness, dense fog, or other untoward atmospheric conditions. The dangers of the groping previously necessary presented the greatest obstacle to the widespread use of flying machines for commercial purposes. The Navy Department allowed Mr. Hanson to divulge the secret of his invention in May, 1919, when it was being put to important service on the navy airships that were making the famous transatlantic flights.

His plan for an aircraft landing station comprises the combination of three well-tried devices into a radio directive transmission system for the guidance of aircraft at high speed in a direct course between cities or other points. This is accomplished by means of that finer development or intensifier of wireless transmission which is termed audio frequency. This makes possible a more ready detection of radio signals in entire independence of other radio flashes that may be passing through the same aerial section or block, without interference with straight wireless flashes.

By the system followed, audio frequency energy is projected to a prede-

termined altitude, but it is restricted to areas over the landing field. Working with this is a buried illumination system which serves as a guide for the landing, once the aviator has received his instructions and has penetrated fog or other bothersome atmospheric conditions down toward the landing field. This lighting signal is kept below the ground level and revealed through a heavy glass surface even with the level of the field. Thus there is no searchlight flashing into the eyes of the aviator.

The audio frequency transmission system indicates the exact location of the landing field to the air pilot in such a way that in crossing the beam of projected audio energy he not only becomes aware that the field lies directly below, but also he can determine under any conditions his approximate altitude. With the combination of the audio frequency signal and the lighting system the landing station is so equipped that the aviator can steer a direct course between two ports by noting the route in which the maximum strength of radio signals is received.

During the war this apparatus played a great part in finding German vessels in the English Channel. Also, through the use of these “dictographs” of the air, naval intelligence officers could interrupt messages from the German radio plants, both on shipboard and on land, and thus obtained accurate information of the enemy’s plans.



## Talking With Norway by Wireless

Norway began talking directly with the United States by wireless on Nov. 20, 1919, when the new station at Stavanger, in Southwestern Norway, was opened informally. The American station at Chatham, near Boston, with which it is to communicate, was not yet ready, so the connection was made with the Annapolis and Philadelphia stations.

The Norwegian Director of Telegraphs, Thomas Heftye, closed the contract for the Stavanger station with the Marconi Wireless Company, Ltd., in August, 1913, and it was approved by his Government. In June of that year the Storting appropriated for the project the sum of \$567,000, though the station cost a little more before it was completed. The following year witnessed the completion of the station buildings and the homes of its personnel, but the outbreak of the war delayed the installation of machinery and other equipment until the Autumn of 1917.

In the large commercial relations that are expected to develop between the United States and Norway this new means of communication holds great potential benefits for the business interests of both countries. Day and night the Stavanger wireless will keep in touch with the American station, establishing constant communication between the Stock Exchange of Christiania and the Stock Exchanges of American cities. The direct exchange of news between all parts of the United States and every valley of Norway should have far-reaching social effects in the little kingdom. The Norwegian daily papers will have representatives in American cities, as they have long had in metropolitan centres of Europe. The ability of any Norwegian with a telephone in his house to send a

message to kith and kin in any part of America is expected to lead to a degree of acquaintanceship and understanding between the two nationalities never before dreamed of.

The superiority of this means of communication over the cable lies in the duplex system of the Stavanger wireless, making it possible to receive and transmit messages simultaneously without the speed limits necessitated by the nature of the cable. With the aid of phonographs and other mechanical and electrical means of receiving the messages it is probable that messages can be delivered at as high a rate as 100 words a minute. To facilitate the duplex action the receiving station built at Naerbö is separated from the transmission station by a distance of more than eighteen miles. The former has, besides its receiving air net, a so-called balance air net to counterbalance the work of the transmission station. The latter is situated at a place called Ullanhaug, over three miles from Stavanger. Each of the ten masts of nearly 500 feet high. The sides of the rectangle formed by the points measure 32,480.35 by 7,283.45 feet. From the support rope stretching from mast to mast hang twenty-four air threads provided with rod-shaped insulators of porcelain. The foundation of each mast is a strong block of concrete sunk in the ground.

The power is supplied from the Stavanger Electrical Works at Oltedalen, where the city has large holdings of water power. The cost of telegraphing by the Stavanger wireless to America is to be 90 öre (25 cents) a word. The station will facilitate internal communication throughout Norway, as well as with the outside world.



# INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

[American Cartoon]

## The Two "Willful Gentlemen" Who Are Holding Back the World

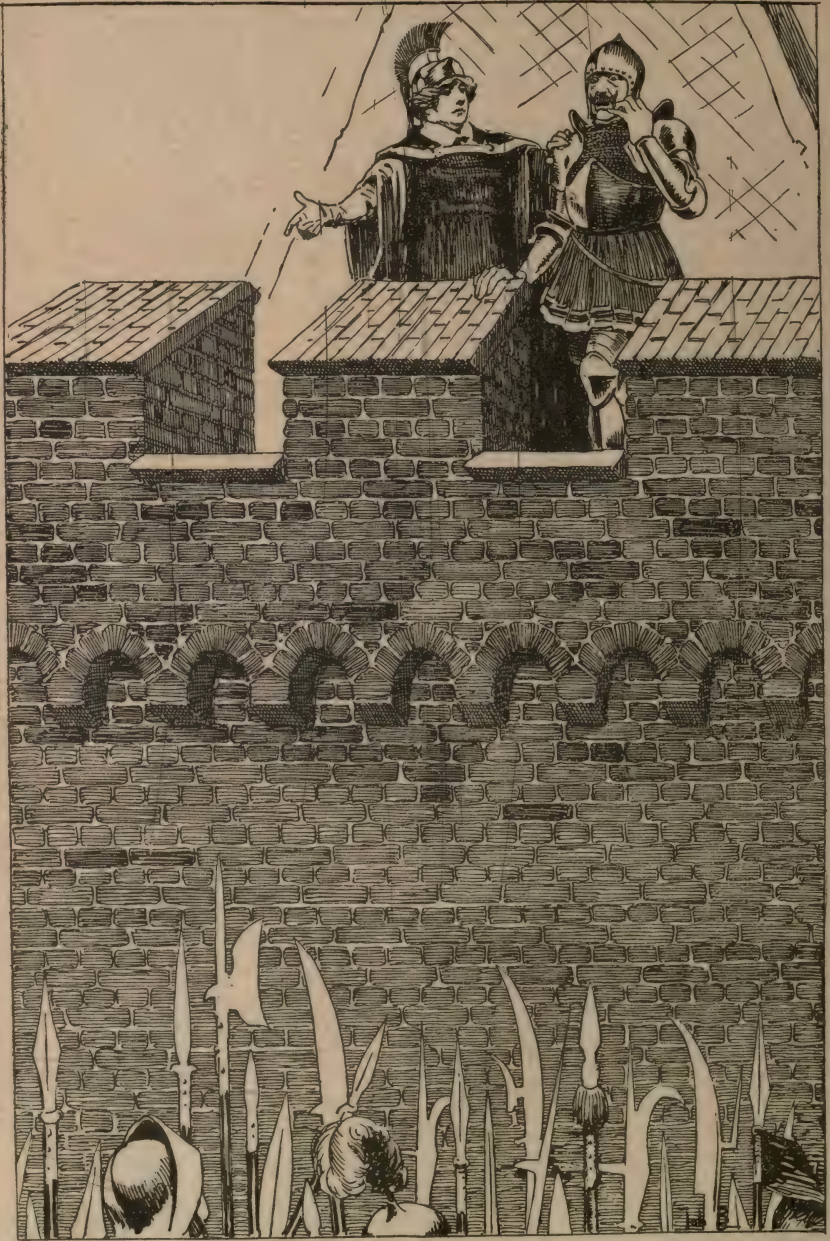


—From The New York Tribune



[Dutch Cartoon]

## The Demand for the Kaiser's Surrender

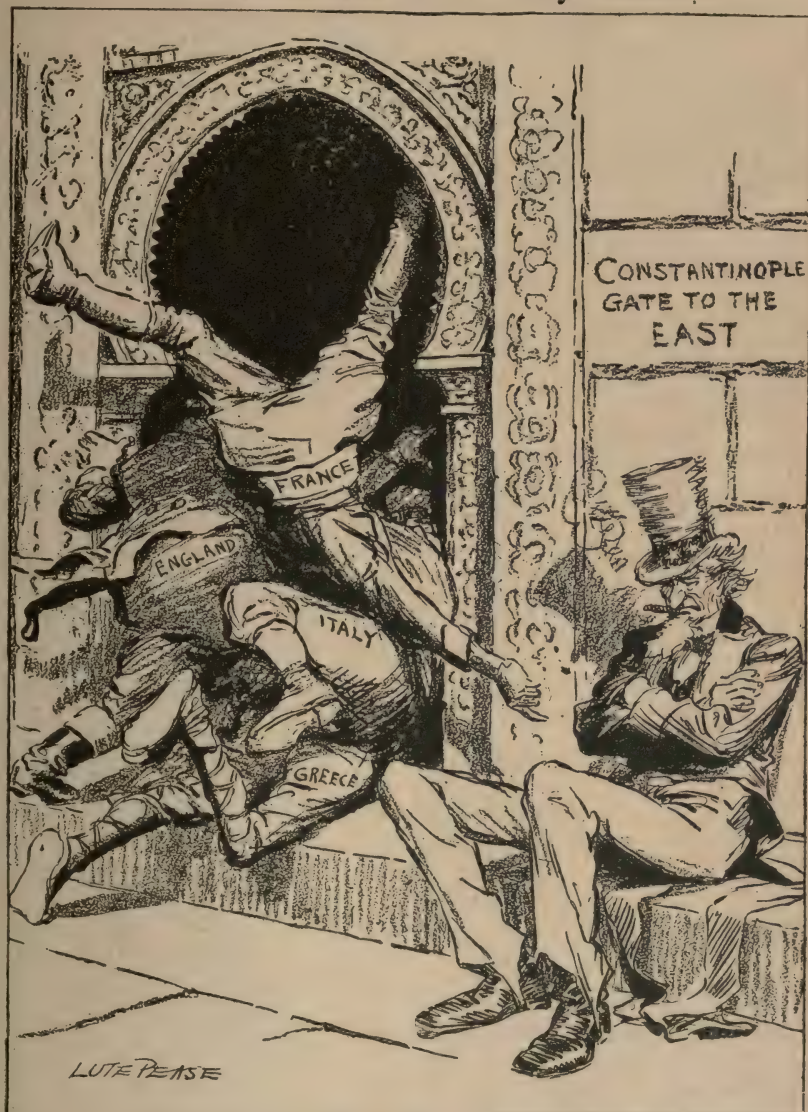


—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam

MAID OF THE NETHERLANDS (to Wilhelm): "Follow the example of Jan van Schaffelaar. Then you will free me from my difficulty"

[American Cartoon]

## Shall He Go In or Stay Out?



—From The Newark News

"The whole question of war and peace comes to a head here where all the powers are struggling to get through this narrow passage to the East. It seems impossible, therefore, to urge strongly enough the necessity for America's entering Turkey in some authoritative capacity. No other solution can bring more than temporary peace."—Constantinople cable dispatch



[German Cartoon]

## The New Gessler Hats

("William Tell" to Date)



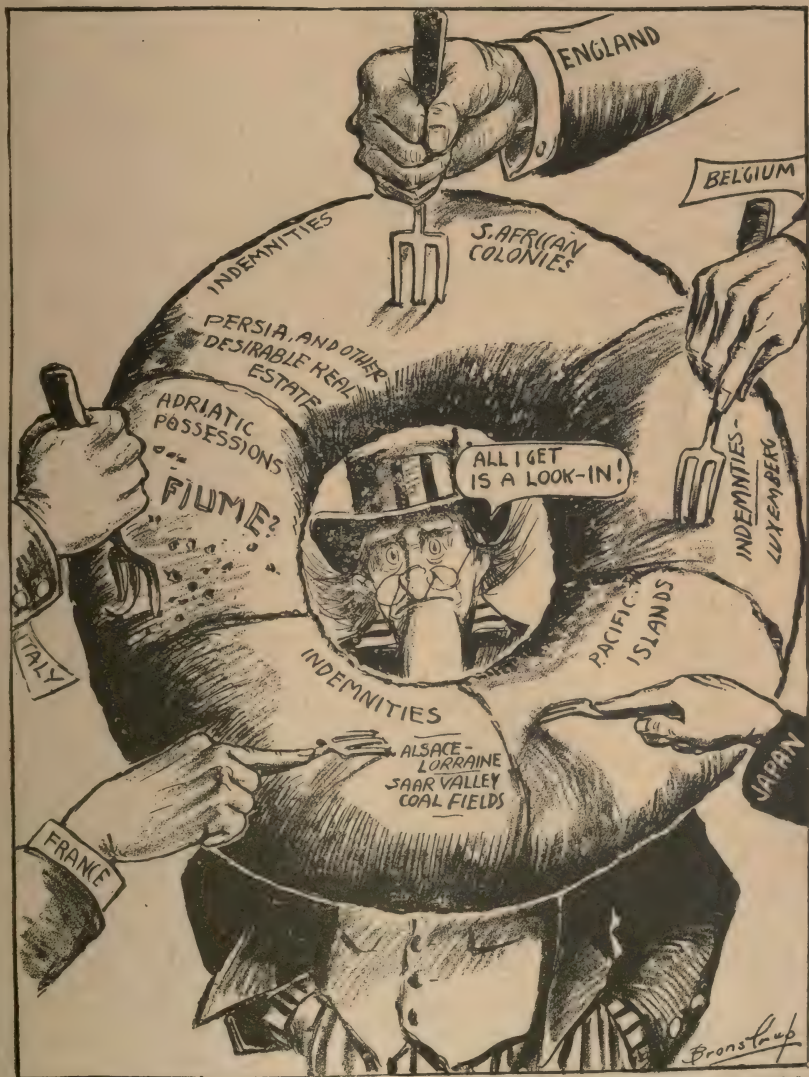
—From the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, Berlin

"In the name of the Entente, halt and salute!"

[Under the regulations of the Rhineland Commission every German in uniform, from the soldier or policeman to the humblest forest guard, was at first compelled to salute the flags and officers of the allied and associated powers]

[American Cartoon]

## The Hole in the Doughnut

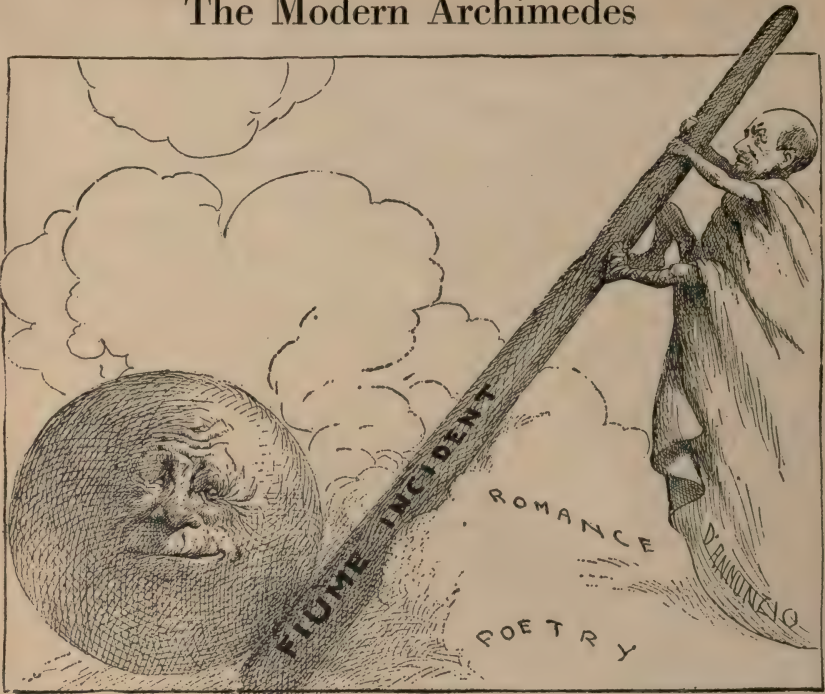


—From The San Francisco Chronicle



[American Cartoon]

## The Modern Archimedes

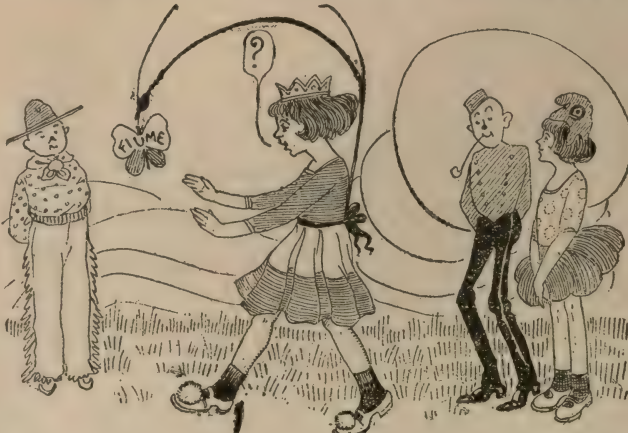


—From *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

He could move the world if only he had a fulcrum for his lever

[Italian Cartoon]

## Italy and the Elusive Butterfly

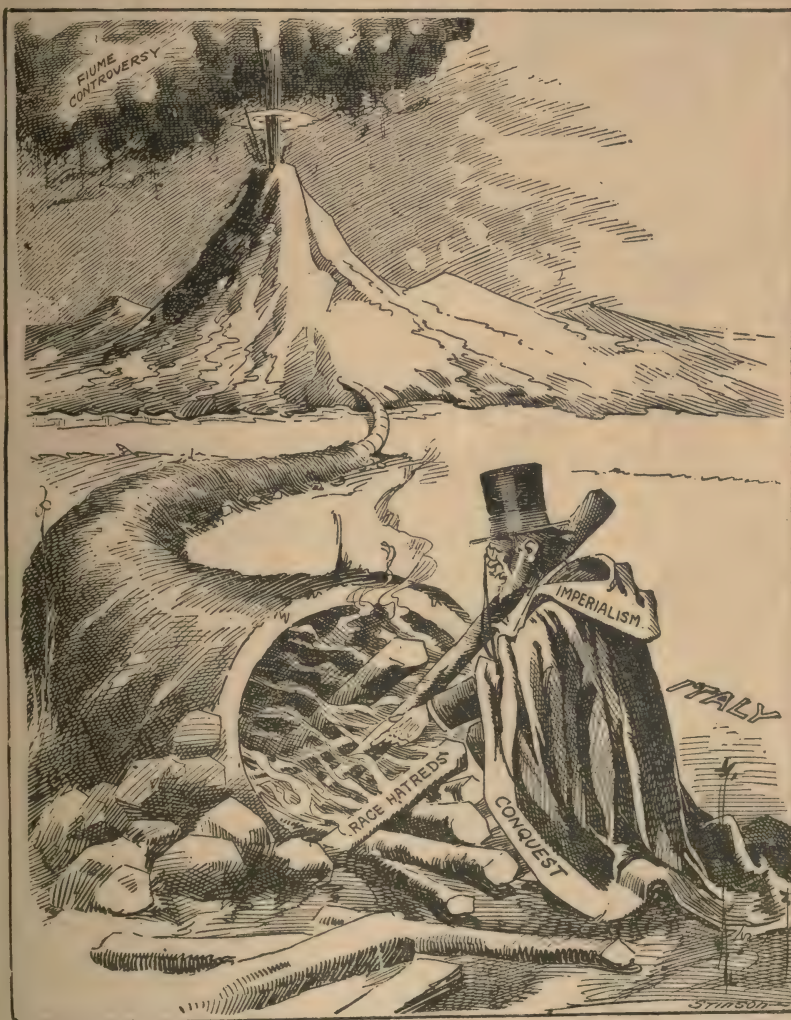


—From *Il 420*, Florence

How much longer is this miserable joke going to last?

[American Cartoon]

## A Hand-fed Eruption



—From The Dayton News



[German-Swiss Cartoon]

## Bolshevism



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich

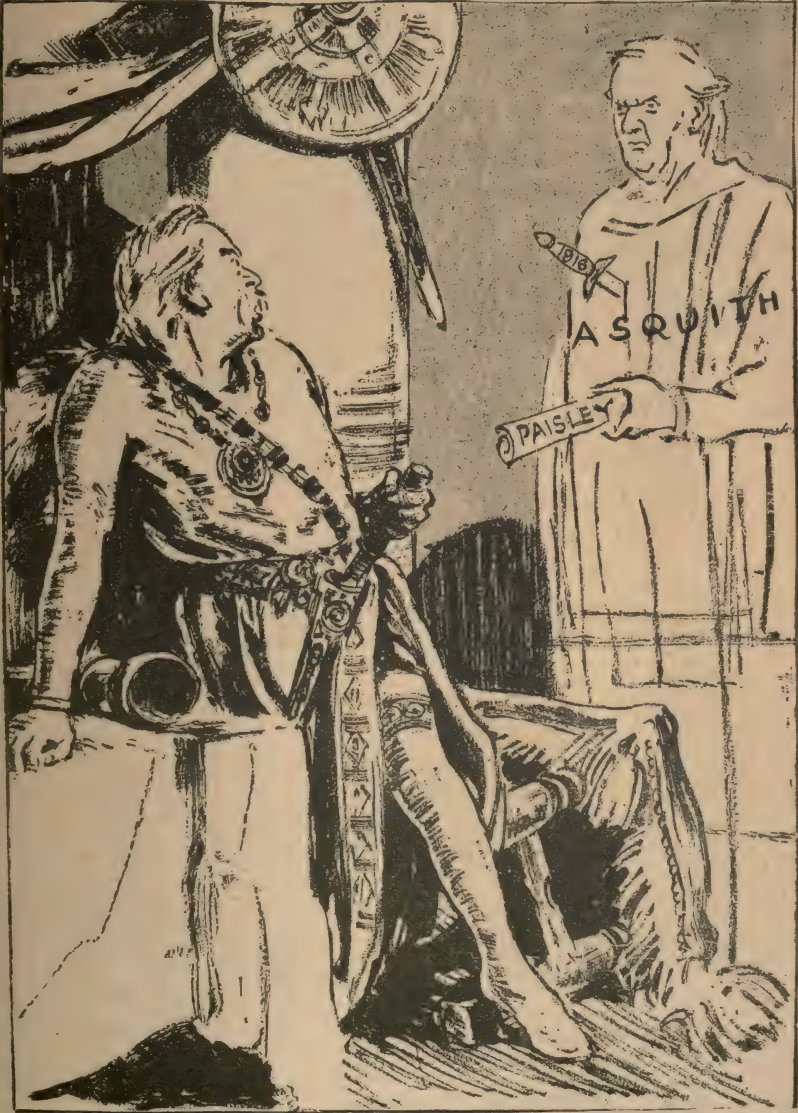
As it is pictured

As it pictures itself

[English Cartoon]

## Lloyd George, Like Macbeth, Sees a Phantom

[Mr. Asquith, whom Lloyd George superseded as Premier, has been re-elected to Parliament by a Paisley constituency]



—From London Opinion

LLOYD MACBETH GEORGE: "The time has been,  
That \* \* \* the man would die,  
And there an end; but now, they rise again \* \* \*  
And push us from our stools"



[American Cartoon]

## Her Savior



—Dallas News

[American Cartoon]

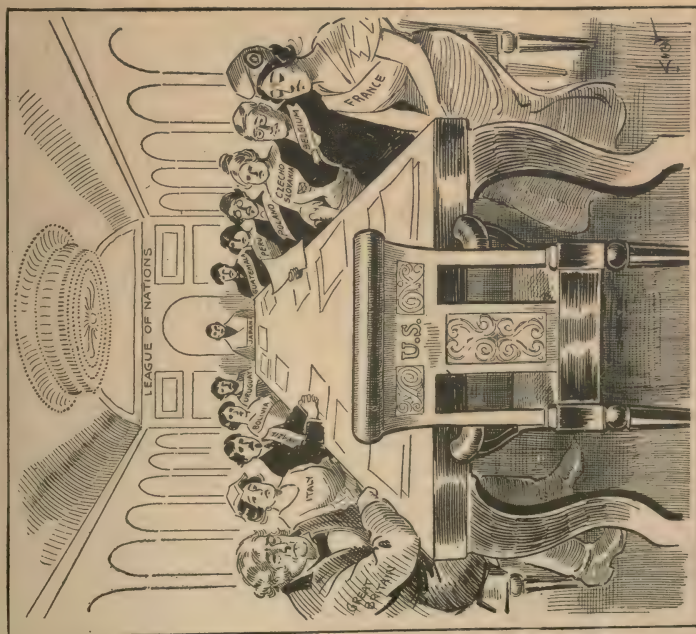
## Aw, Let Her Stay There Till After Election!



—Tacoma News-Tribune

[American Cartoon]

## Conspicuous By His Absence



—Dallas News

[American Cartoon]

## The Dauntless Three



—Dallas News



[American Cartoon]

## Hearin' Things



—Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland

[American Cartoon]

## A Mere Spectator



—Detroit News

[American Cartoon]

It's a Long, Long Way



—Albany Journal

[American Cartoon]

Yes, Our Food Controller Is on the Lid,  
But the Lid Isn't On

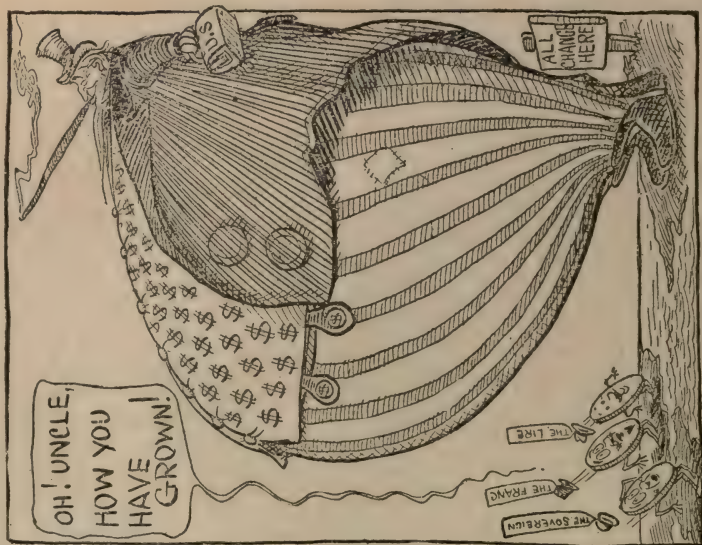


Helen Hawley  
—Brooklyn Eagle



[English Cartoon]

## The New Fat Boy



—Daily Express, London

[A British and an American view of the large value of the dollar abroad, or the shrinkage of European exchange rates]

[American Cartoon]

## The Situation Is Viewed With Alarm



—Central Press Association

[American Cartoon]

## Increasing Affection



“ \* \* \* NOSES round the door  
Make me love mother more!”

—Cleveland Plain Dealer

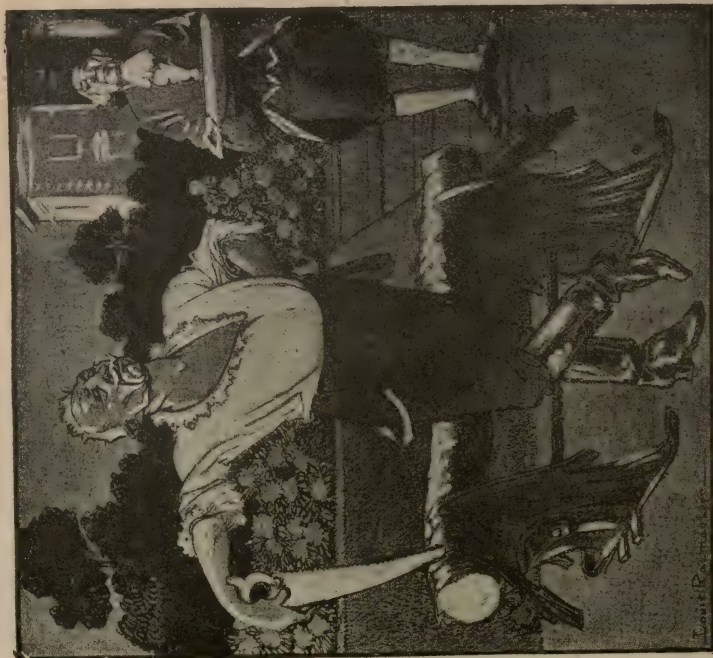
"Uncle Tom's Cabin" up to date





[English Cartoon]

"Vici, Veni, Vidi!"



—*Racmackers in The Bystander, London*  
 Caesar said: "I came, I saw, I conquered." The would-be  
 Caesar of yester year (spelt with a K) says: "I conquered, I  
 came, I saw!"

[English Cartoon]

The Crystal Gazers



—*The World, London*  
 "Considering all things, my dear Wilhelm, the outlook is  
 decidedly promising."

[Austrian Cartoon]

## Austria's Fever Dream



—From *Die Muskete*, Vienna

YOUNG AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC: "I dreamt that I was in a dark house, and a Shape of Terror held me by the hand. I felt no heart within me, and no God above me. I longed to wake and find it was only a dream, but I could not"



[American Cartoons]

At It Again



—New York World

A Spiritual Reunion



—San Francisco Bulletin

Beauty and the Beasts



—Newspaper Enterprise Association

'B-o-o-o-ard!



—Newspaper Enterprise Association

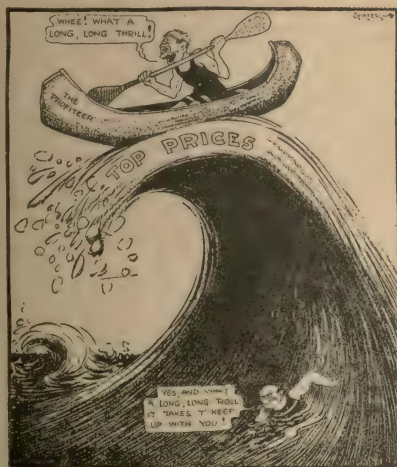
[American Cartoons]

## Bearing the Burden



—From The New York Times

## The High Roller



—Cincinnati Post

## Not a Time to Take on More Load



—Omaha World-Herald



## Still, There Are Signs of Spring



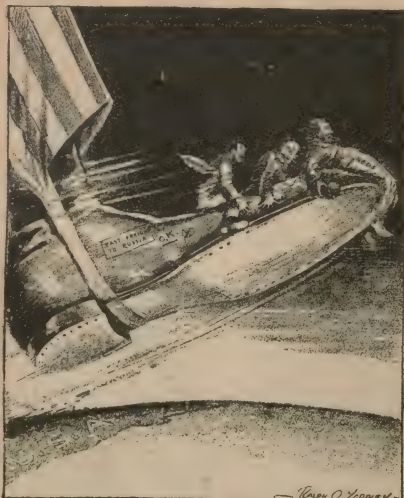
—Brooklyn Eagle

## That Old Reliable Life-Preserver



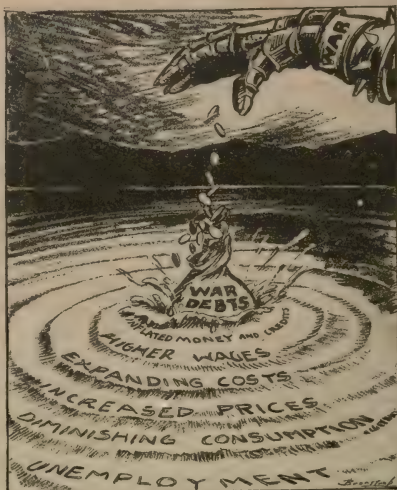
—Brooklyn Eagle

## The Reds' Air Route to Russia



—San Francisco Bulletin

## The Ever-Widening Circle



—San Francisco Chronicle

# CURRENT HISTORY

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
TURBULENT DAYS IN IRELAND . . . . .	187
The New Irish Secretary, Sir Hamar Greenwood . . . . .	191
ALL SIDES OF IRELAND'S CASE (Map):	
Premier's Defense of Home Rule Bill . . . . .	192
Sir Edward Carson on Home Rule . . . . .	195
Ex-Premier Asquith's Opposition . . . . .	197
Bonar Law's Reply to Asquith . . . . .	198
John Devlin's Nationalist View . . . . .	199
HOME RULE BILL: SUMMARY OF ITS PROVISIONS . . . . .	201
LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN OPERATION . . . . .	204
EMPLOYMENT OF DISABLED BRITISH SOLDIERS . . . . .	208
ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS—PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS:	
HERBERT CLARK HOOVER	EDWARD I. EDWARDS
LEONARD WOOD	WARREN G. HARDING
WILLIAM GIBBS MCADOO	A. MITCHELL PALMER
HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON	FRANK O. LOWDEN
CAN CONGRESS MAKE PEACE? Both Sides of a Debate . . . . .	209
AMERICAN DEVELOPMENTS . . . . .	217
Expulsion of Socialist Assemblymen . . . . .	222
THE LABOR REVOLT IN GERMANY (Map) . . . . .	224
FRENCH SEIZURE OF GERMAN CITIES (Map) . . . . .	231
CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF . . . . .	235

*Contents Continued on Next Page*

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## Table of Contents—Continued

### AMONG THE NATIONS: A WORLDWIDE SURVEY:

	PAGE		PAGE
ALBANIA .....	248	HUNGARY .....	250
ARGENTINA .....	262	INDIA .....	242
ARMENIA .....	257	ITALY .....	246
AUSTRALIA .....	240	JAPAN .....	258
AUSTRIA .....	251	MEXICO .....	260
AZERBAIJAN .....	259	MESOPOTAMIA .....	259
BOLIVIA .....	262	NEW ZEALAND .....	241
BRAZIL .....	263	PERSIA .....	258
BULGARIA .....	248	PERU .....	264
CANADA .....	240	POLAND .....	254
CHILE .....	264	PORTUGAL .....	247
CHINA .....	258	RUMANIA .....	249
DENMARK .....	243	RUSSIA .....	252
ECUADOR .....	264	SOUTH AFRICA .....	242
EGYPT .....	241	SPAIN .....	247
ENGLAND .....	239	SYRIA .....	257
FRANCE .....	245	TRIPOLI .....	242
GERMANY .....	224	TURKEY .....	255
GREECE .....	248	URUGUAY .....	264
GUAEEMALA .....	261		

### THE MARCH OF SCIENCE:

Wonders of Wireless Telegraphy . . . . .	265
An Engine That Saves Fuel Waste . . . . .	272

### INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS . . . . . 273

### LIFE IN PICTURESQUE PORTO RICO . . . . . By F. P. Delgado 289

### CAN WE KEEP OUR MERCHANT MARINE?

By Graser Schornstheimer 295

### SIBERIA UNDER KOLCHAK'S DICTATORSHIP

By Major Henry W. Newman 300

### BRITISH-AMERICAN WIRELESS . . . . . 309

### RECONSTRUCTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA . . . . . 310

### ITALY'S PART IN THE WORLD WAR . . . . . By Colonel di Bernezzo 316

### WITH D'ANNUNZIO AT FIUME . . . . . By Dr. Orestes Ferrara 318

### THE TANGLED TURKISH QUESTION (Maps) . . . . . 323

### GENERAL HARBORD'S REPORT ON ARMENIA . . . . . 330

### LIFE IN CONSTANTINOPLE TODAY . . . . . By Maurice Prax 334

### THE PROBLEM OF THRACE . . . . . By Dr. J. F. Scheltema 337

### BULGARIA'S NEW FRONTIERS (Map) . . . . . 339

### PALESTINE AND THE ZIONIST PROJECT . . . . . 341

### THE AGRARIAN AND JEWISH QUESTIONS IN RUMANIA

By Nicholas Petrescu 344

### DIARY OF THE GERMAN CAPTAIN WHO SANK THE LUSITANIA 348

### GERMAN EAST AFRICA DIVIDED UP (Map) . . . . . 350

### FIRST CAIRO-TO-CAPE FLIGHT (Maps) . . . . . 351

### THE STATUS OF PROHIBITION IN MEXICO . . . . . By Carleton Beals 355

### WHAT PEACE HAS DONE TO KRUPP'S . . . . . 357

### HUMOR AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE . . . . . 358

### THE MORAL CRISIS IN FRANCE . . . . . 360

### FRANCE AND THE HOLY SEE . . . . . 363

### CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS . . . . . 365

# TURBULENT DAYS IN IRELAND

## Reign of Terror in the Island—Hunger Strike of Prisoners—Home Rule Controversy

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 20, 1920]

**C**HAOTIC conditions have prevailed in Ireland ever since the election of Dec. 14, 1918, in which the Sinn Fein Party polled more votes than either the Nationalists or Unionists and elected seventy-three members to the British Parliament, all of whom declined to take their seats. The overwhelming preponderance of the Sinn Feiners in Ireland was again shown in the municipal elections on Jan. 15, this year, when approximately 85 per cent. of their candidates were chosen and the green, white and orange colors were raised over the chief cities of Ireland.

Even in Londonderry the Unionists were defeated, while in the whole of Ulster the vote stood 238,374 for self-determination against 238,318. This was regarded as a disapproval of the new Home Rule bill outlined in the House of Commons by Lloyd George, in a speech in which the Premier said: "Three-fourths of the people of Ireland are not merely governed without their consent, but they manifest bitter hostility to the Government." At the same time he stated that he did not believe Ireland would accept any measure of self-government that England was prepared to give.

Since then conditions have grown steadily worse until a reign of terror prevails not exceeded in the old days of Land League boycotts and ruthless evictions. Crime is rife in every county, and the British have poured troops into the country until Ireland today resembles an armed camp. To grant home rule to a State so hopelessly divided is a paradox that can only be explained by the desire of Great Britain to bow to the almost unanimous opinion of the world that Ireland should have a greater measure of freedom.

Another motive was the necessity that exists of providing a substitute for the

Home Rule act of 1914, which otherwise automatically comes into operation on the conclusion of peace—when the treaty with the last of the Central Powers has been ratified. Thus the San Remo meeting of the Supreme Council to settle the terms of the Turkish compact had a bearing upon the Irish question. That the situation was becoming increasingly difficult was shown on April 1 by the resignation of Ian Macpherson, Chief Secretary for Ireland, which was semi-officially reported on April 17 to have been followed by that of the Lord Lieutenant, Viscount French. Sir Hamar Greenwood, a Canadian by birth, was named on April 2 to succeed Macpherson, and his advent was generally regarded as an augury of better days.

### RECORD OF CRIMES

Before Lord French resigned he had furnished a remarkable statement to the House of Commons detailing the crimes and attempts at crime since Jan. 1, 1919. In that period eighteen members of the Royal Irish Constabulary and six of the Dublin metropolitan police had been murdered, while two soldiers and one other Government employe met the same fate. There were sixty-five attempted murders of members of the constabulary, seventeen of the police, four attacks on soldiers and three on other Government servants in the same time. In addition there were twenty-five attacks on police barracks.

These outrages were connected with the political demand for complete independence, opposition to the proposed Home Rule bill and anger at the military occupation of many districts of Ireland by English troops and the activities of the Royal Irish Constabulary and local police. Some, however, are difficult to explain on any theory. For instance, Thomas MacCurtain, who was Captain



of the local Sinn Fein volunteers and had been elected Mayor of Cork, was taken from his bed by a body of eight masked men on March 20 and shot dead in his own house. Two hours earlier a constable was killed in the street, his body being found riddled with bullets.

MacCurtain was popular among all parties, and two miles of mourners escorted his body to the Cork Town Hall, where it lay in state, and 15,000 persons accompanied it to the grave two days later. Sinn Feiners say MacCurtain was murdered by agents of the British Government, while correspondents of London newspapers declared it to have been an act of reprisal because MacCurtain had publicly denounced some of the more heinous Sinn Fein offenses. They add that he had been expelled from the Irish Republican Brotherhood at a secret meeting on March 17. As far as actual proof is concerned the real motive for the murder remains a mystery. No arrests were made. On April 10 it was stated that two hours before his murder the British authorities had issued orders for his arrest. Soldiers and constables were about to serve the papers when the news came of his assassination.

On March 22 soldiers of the Berkshire Regiment in Dublin attended a performance at the Theatre Royal and went to their headquarters afterward, singing. A crowd collected and threw stones at them near the Portobello military barracks. A large body of soldiers occupied the bridge leading from the city to the suburb of Kathmines and fired at the crowd, killing a man and a woman and wounding several others.

On March 24 a civilian was walking along a street in the centre of Dublin in the afternoon when three men following him pulled out revolvers and shot him dead. All escaped.

On March 26 Alan Bell, a resident Magistrate 70 years old, who had presided over an inquiry into dealings of the Sinn Fein with Irish banks, was dragged from a crowded street car in Dublin at 10 o'clock in the morning by a band of men, some wearing masks, and shot to death at the side of the road in full view of the other passengers. The assassins

had boarded the same car and rode with the Magistrate as far as Ball's Bridge. After the murder they walked quietly away. They were apparently Dublin citizens.

### WAR ON POLICE BARRACKS

Early in April the war on police barracks in Ireland was renewed and incendiarism became rife. Some of the police strongholds were wrecked by bombs, others carried by assault. The assailants, having wrecked the buildings, withdrew without harming the inmates. One instance is mentioned where the head of the raiders restrained his followers from injuring the police as they came out from the ruins of their barracks.

On the night of April 3 fires were started in the offices of Government Inspectors, Surveyors and Tax Collectors in many parts of Ireland, especially in Dublin, where the fire brigade was kept busy all night. Records and papers were burned. Among other offices wholly or partly destroyed were those at Cork, Clifden, Clonmel, Ballina and Ballinahinch. At the same time 220 police barracks were burned. If the object of the incendiaries was to destroy machinery for the collection of the income tax it was a failure, as, officials declared, new assessment lists will be made out and individuals who have already paid will have to show their receipts.

Another phase of these destructive activities was big cattle drives in Galway and County Mayo, in which at least 1,800 men took part on April 3, clearing the cattle from thousands of acres, the police and graziers being powerless to check the drives. Police and military had a task collecting the cattle and finding their owners.

Naturally the British Government, desiring to restore order, continued to reinforce the troops in Ireland, especially around Easter time, fearing a repetition of the attempted revolt of 1916. Military cordons were drawn around Dublin, Londonderry and other places and all persons passing either way were searched and required to tell their business. No revolt broke out, however, and there were less outrages during the days immedi-

ately following Easter than in those that preceded it.

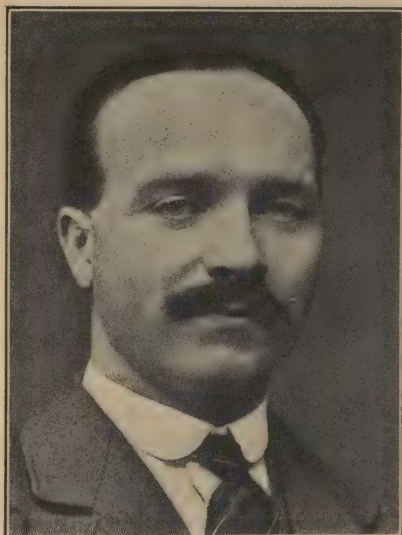
There were a few arrests made in connection with all the outrages in Ireland; not every one escaped. By April there had been collected in Mountjoy prison

political offenders the Assistant Under Secretary replied:

There is no power under the rules made in November to extend political treatment to convicted prisoners who are excluded from ameliorations. Untried prisoners are treated under the rules made for untried prisoners. His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant does not propose to modify the rules in the direction you suggest. All prisoners on hunger strike have been forewarned as to the consequences of per-



GENERAL SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON  
*Commander of military forces of British  
Empire and responsible for the mili-  
tary safeguarding of Ireland*



THOMAS MCCURTAIN  
*The Sinn Fein Lord Mayor of Cork, who  
was murdered in his house by raiders  
(© International)*

104 Sinn Feiners charged with various offenses. On April 4 they went on a hunger strike, persistently refusing food. The Government for its part refused to resort to forcible feeding and some of the prisoners became so weak they had to be sent to hospitals.

#### THE PRISONERS' HUNGER STRIKE

There is no evidence that political prisoners were ill-treated; nevertheless, the Irish Trades Union Congress issued a call to the workers of Ireland for a general strike throughout the country to take place on April 13. The strike was preceded on April 11 by a flat refusal by the Government to grant ameliorations to the prisoners at Mountjoy. In fact, in reply to a petition from the visiting Justices that the prisoners be accorded the special treatment given to

severance in their conduct, in accordance with the decision of his Majesty's Government.

The general strike went into effect on April 13 and met with a large response. It was not in effect in Belfast or the North of Ireland, but all over the South business was at a complete standstill. All the shops, public houses and restaurants of Dublin were closed, and the hotel staffs quit; the Post Office service was at a standstill, except the telegraph department. No trams or trains were run, and all industries were closed down. The same conditions existed in all other towns in the South:

On April 14 the Government capitulated. The eighty-nine hunger-striking



prisoners were released from Mountjoy unconditionally; as a result of the release the general strike was immediately called off.

Eighty-one of the hunger strikers had not been tried. Twenty were imprisoned under the Defense of the Realm act, without an indication even of the charge against them other than that their detention was merely preventive. Sixty were awaiting trial, mostly by court-martial, for sedition, though no charges had been made against them, and they were virtually in the same position as the Defense of the Realm act prisoners.

### HOME RULE CONTROVERSY

Just at the height of the disturbances in Ireland the Home Rule bill was introduced in Parliament. It evidently satisfies neither side. Three-quarters of the population of Ireland are declared to be against it, and assert that it would be impossible to put it in operation now, when the English Government is searching the homes of Irishmen, suppressing freedom of speech and assembly, and deporting civilians on suspicion and without trial.

Among the things charged against England of remoter origin are her failure to encourage Irish industries or to aid in the development of the country, her failure to provide better educational facilities for Ireland and her failure to make any attempt to reconcile Ulster Protestants and Southern Catholics. More recently the substitution of the new Home Rule bill for the act of 1914 has been construed to mean England's desire to placate the Ulster minority.

The act of 1914, it will be remembered, provided one legislative body for the whole of Ireland. The new measure would furnish two Parliaments and one Senate or Council. There has been a complete reversal in the attitude of Ireland toward the home rule question. The great majority of the people want complete separation, but Lloyd George warns them, as well as their friends in America, that secession will not be tolerated in Ireland any more than it was in our Southern States, and if attempted will be crushed just as rebellion in the United States was put down.

On the other hand, when the Home Rule bill of 1914 was being enacted Sir Edward Carson was openly drilling his Ulster volunteers and preparing to resist its enforcement. The Irish assert that one reason for the substitution of the new bill is the wish to placate Ulster—a suspicion which they say has been confirmed by Sir Edward's acceptance of the measure. To American eyes that acceptance appeared rather grudging and reluctantly given, but the South of Ireland regarded this as merely camouflage.

### ATTITUDE OF SEPARATISTS

The extraordinary anticipations of full freedom for Ireland as a small nationality demanding self-government were awaked by the cry of self-determination as one of the results of the great war—a cry which can only be met by even-handed justice to all parties concerned. Thirty years ago Southern Ireland would have rejoiced at such a measure of home rule as the present bill provides, but today it regards the act of 1914 as the more liberal of the two, inasmuch as it gives control of the Post Office to Ireland, which the present draft does not.

Neither measure is considered adequate, but some of the separatist leaders declare they would be willing to consider an agreement or treaty with Great Britain for mutual protection in case of attack by some foreign power. Nevertheless, the substitute bill passed through Parliament in its first stages more smoothly than any similar measure had ever done, in great measure owing to the refusal of the seventy-three Sinn Féin members to attend at Westminster and take part in the debate. It should also be remembered that the new bill differs from all its predecessors in the fact that none of the Irish parties has been consulted in its preparation.

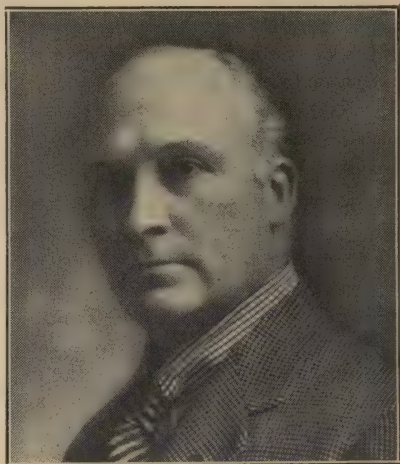
Concerning the division of Ireland between the two Parliaments some exception has been taken to the measure, because it does not separate Ulster from the rest of Ireland as a whole, but includes some of the Catholic parts of Ulster in the southern jurisdiction, leaving others under the Ulster Parliament. A strategic frontier is created like that

formed by the Peace Conference between Italy and Austria in the Tyrol. Official Ulster would prefer the partition as outlined, for, with Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan out, there would remain in Ulster 440,000 Catholics against 740,000 Protestants. Including those counties the Protestants would number only 890,000 against 690,000 Catholics, and consequently have less power.

The Ulster Legislature, or "Parliament of Northern Ireland," will include the Counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone and the Boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry. The partition was stoutly defended by Ian Macpherson when the second reading of the bill was moved in the House of Commons on March 29, but was strongly condemned the next day by Mr. Asquith, who attacked the measure as a cumbrous duplication and multiplication of offices, and came out for a single Irish Legislature and what he called "Dominion Home Rule." In reply Bonar Law reminded the House that the empire controlling the army and Ireland contributing to its support would not be dominion home rule, and that the connection of the dominions with the empire depended on themselves. If any chose to break away they could do so. To give such choice to Ireland, he declared, would mean an Irish republic.

A Coroner's inquest into the assassination of the Lord Mayor of Cork determined in a verdict made public April 17 that "the Lord Mayor had been murdered by the Irish Royal Constabulary

under circumstances of the most callous brutality officially directed by the British Government." The jury also returned a "verdict of willful murder against David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England; Lord French, Lord Lieutenant



SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD  
Successor to Ian Macpherson as Chief Secretary for Ireland  
(© Keystone View Co.)

of Ireland; Ian Macpherson, late Chief Secretary for Ireland; Acting Inspector General Smith of the Royal Irish Constabulary, Divisional Inspector Clayton of the Royal Irish Constabulary, District Inspector Swanzy and some unknown members of the Royal Irish Constabulary."

## The New Irish Secretary

THE appointment by the British Government of Sir Hamar Greenwood as Secretary of State for Ireland has been received with the greatest interest in Canada, where the future Secretary, known as "Tom" Greenwood in his boyhood days, was born and educated. After coming into the limelight by heading a sensational revolt of the students of the University of Toronto in protest against the expulsion of a student-editor, Greenwood, following his graduation, went to

England on a cattleship, intending to make a short visit to the mother country. He attracted public attention in England first as a lecturer on temperance. He soon found steady employment in the Liberal organization, studied law, and was admitted to the bar. Within ten years he had made himself so valuable to the party that a seat in Parliament was found for him, and he entered the House of Commons in the great Liberal triumph of 1906. Since then his rise has been gradual but continuous.



# All Sides of Ireland's Case

## Historic Utterances in Parliament by Four Clashing Leaders in the Home Rule Debate

*The House of Commons passed the Irish Home Rule bill on its second reading, March 31, 1920, by a vote of 348 to 94. Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster members abstained from voting on the bill, in accordance with their announced intention. The minority was composed as follows: Labor 43, Independent Liberals 20, Conservatives 24, Irish Nationalists 7. The National Democratic Party voted for the bill, and the labor vote against the bill included all the labor members present with one or two exceptions.*

## Premier's Defense of Home Rule

**P**REMIER LLOYD GEORGE in his address in support of the Irish Home Rule bill said that if the people of Ireland were asked what plan they would accept, by an emphatic majority they would reply, "We want independence, and also a republic." The elected representatives of Ireland now, by a definite majority, have declared for independence and secession. But is there a single party in the House of Commons, a single group or fraction of a party, that would accept that solution? Having dramatically asked this question and paused through a brief silence that was an answer, Mr. Lloyd George continued:

Therefore, it is no use talking about self-determination. Self-determination does not mean that every part of a country which has been acting with the other parts for hundreds of years shall have the right to say, "We want to set up a separate republic." That is exactly the very thing that was fought for in the civil war in America.

If any section in Wales were to get up and say, "We want to set up a Welsh Republic," I should certainly resist it to the utmost of my power; and Britain, in its own interests, including the interests of Wales, would be right to resist it; yet it has as definite and as clear a nationality as any other nationality in this kingdom. The same thing applies to Scotland. If Brittany demanded self-determination, that does not mean that France, which has been in favor of the principle of self-determination, ought to grant a separate republic to Brittany.

There must be a limitation to the application of any principle. Otherwise you might carry it to every fragment and every area and every locality in every country throughout the world. When you lay down

a principle of that kind you must lay it down within the limitations which common sense and tradition will permit. That is my answer about Ireland.

I now ask the leader of the Labor Party, is he speaking on behalf of his party in favor of applying the principle of self-determination to Ireland?

Mr. Clynes: If an answer is required, the answer is, "Not self-determination as you have defined it."

Mr. Lloyd George: That means that the Labor Party is not prepared to give self-determination to Ireland. That is, if Ireland demands a separate Irish Republic, the Labor Party is opposed to it. It only misleads Irish electors, in Ireland and this country, into the belief that the Labor Party means to concede self-determination.

Now I come to the suggestion made by Mr. Asquith. He has a plan. Can he name any Irish party or any section of a party in Ireland that would say, "We will accept it?"

What is it? The Act of 1914, with Dominion Home Rule added, so far as I can understand, subject to serious limitations. It gives the power to erect a tariff wall against Great Britain, to exclude British goods from Ireland, to give preference to America, or even to Germany. That is the proposal, but with the exclusion of Ulster counties. He says: "I would give an Irish Parliament to the whole of Ireland with county option." He can say what he will about it, that is partition. It may be the partition of four counties instead of six. Nevertheless, it is partition.

## DISAGREEMENT ON EVERYTHING

The speaker stated that the Asquith proposal would be rejected with scorn by Sinn Feiners, Nationalists and Ulsterites, and continued:

What is the use of saying, under those



MAP OF THE COUNTIES OF IRELAND, SHOWING THE POLITICAL PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED IN MAKING ULSTER A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT

circumstances, that no plan is acceptable unless Irish opinion will accept it? I have pointed out that there is no plan acceptable to any British party which is acceptable to any party in Ireland at the moment.

That is one of the fundamental facts. You have not a foundation to build on until you accept it. It is no use talking about this bill not being acceptable to Irish opinion. Mr. Asquith's plan is not acceptable. Mr. Clynes would have a convention in Ireland and a constituent assembly, I take it, with

legislative powers. There has been a convention in Ireland and not even Nationalist opinion was agreed there. There is a document signed by twenty-two Nationalists and another signed by twenty-six Nationalists, disagreeing.

In speaking of the powers given to the Parliament by the act, Mr. Lloyd George said:

These are the powers given by the act, and it is a great mistake, it is unfair, it is



misleading, it can do no good to represent to the people of this country, and especially to the people of Ireland, that these are not powers of a gigantic kind which are conferred on these Parliaments by these proposals.

The position is of a character which makes it absolutely essential that before anything can be done for the whole of Ireland there should be agreement between North and South. We have deliberately framed it in such a way that no powers beyond those which we have specified should be given over the whole of Ireland, except with the consent, not merely of the North, but of the South as well. The South can veto the North and the North can veto the South, unless there is unity between them.

Much will depend, when you try to achieve unity, on the attitude of the Sinn Fein population of the South. They can bring unity nearer by years if they like to make an effort to work this; but if they work for the purpose of inflicting harm on Ulster or on the population of this country they will postpone union indefinitely.

It is for that reason I think it is a misfortune that the population of Ireland has been misled as to what the bill really contains, because in that temper they cannot counter it. I know there are many men in Ireland who sincerely desire to see this bill through; men who are just as good Nationalists as those sitting on that bench.

This scheme holds the field because it recognizes the facts. It recognizes that you cannot satisfy Irish opinion in its present state of exaltation without destroying the essential unity of the United Kingdom. I regret it.

The second point is that the demand in Ireland for the moment is a demand for independence, for secession and not self-government.

## REMINDER TO AMERICA

I want to say this to our American friends. Mr. de Valera is putting forward the same claim, in exactly the same language, as Mr. Jefferson Davis; and the ancestors of some of the men who voted for that motion in the Senate the other day fought to the death against conceding to the Southern States of the United States of America that very demand they were supporting in Ireland.

The acceptance of that demand was never conceded. It is a demand which, if it is persisted in, will lead to exactly the same measures of repression as in the Southern States of America. We claim nothing more than the United States claimed over these; we will stand no less.

The second point I want to put is this: There are certain powers which might be conferred on Ireland when she settles down and accepts union and works union, which,

if given to her in her present mood, would only be used for the hurt of the United Kingdom and her own. It would be placing dangerous weapons in the hands of an infuriated people.

Take customs. If you handed them over they would be used inevitably for the purpose of making war on Great Britain. Those are powers we cannot see our way to confer until Ireland settles down, until Ireland establishes union, until Ireland accepts in good faith partnership with the United Kingdom just like any other nationality in this land.

The other fact is that referred to by Sir Edward Carson, with regard to Ulster. Ulster has been treated as if it were a minority to be protected. Ulster is not a minority to be safeguarded. Ulster is an entity to be dealt with. It is a different problem. It is a separate and different part of Ireland.

It is exactly the problem in Silesia which we were dealing with in the Peace Conference. We might have treated Silesia as a whole, which it always had been; but we felt that that would be unfair. If the majority had been in favor of the Germans you would put solid blocks of Poles inside Germany; if the majority had been in favor of the Poles you would have put solid blocks of Germans inside Poland.

## WRONG IDEA OF GOVERNMENT

There is a good deal in Irish government that one regrets, but the real fact is this—that for not 100 years but for 700 years the majority of the people have been dissociated from responsibility in their own Government—and the hand that extended good government to them was the same hand that extended bad government.

It is not that Irishmen sympathize with murder. That is not the point. They say that is the business of the Government, and the Government is not theirs. The Government belongs to somebody else.

My right honorable friend said the teachers were very badly paid in Ireland and he talked as if that was purely a matter with Great Britain. It is not. We rate ourselves heavily. We make our own efforts to pay contributions to our teachers. In Ireland they say that is the business of the Government. The whole system of government in Ireland is vitiated by the fact that you sever the people from law and government. That has got to be put right.

There is no union. There is union between Scotland, England and Wales. There is union that bears the test of death. There is no union with Ireland. Her grappling hook was not union. I am sanguine enough to believe that we shall get it through this bill.

I do not say you will get it in a year, or two, or three years. You cannot remove misconceptions, misunderstandings, bitterness of centuries in a year or two. Ireland is a country of long memories. In fact the

one trouble of Ireland is that it has struck its roots rather too deep into the past and has got into poor soil.

Ireland needs root-pruning; but I believe that with patience and with that sort of good humor which Britons under certain conditions display, and not taking too much

notice of mere histrionic displays of disaffection, and dealing firmly with all real cases of treason and lawlessness, you will gradually arrive at the union of North and South—a union of Protestant and Catholic, a real union of good partners in a great concern, of which all alike equally will be proud.

## Sir Edward Carson on Home Rule

### Ulster Leader Opposes It in Every Form

**A**T a meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council on March 11, at which were present the leaders of Ulster, the following resolutions were carried:

The Ulster Unionist Council reaffirms once more its belief that the highest interests of the Empire, of Ireland and of Ulster are better safeguarded by the maintenance of the Legislative Union between Britain and Ireland than any other system of government; nevertheless, in view of the fact that, despite the persistent opposition of Ulster and loyal subjects of the King in other provinces, there is now on the statute book an act of Parliament which comes into force upon the conclusion of peace unless legislation limiting its authority is enacted. This council has given careful consideration to the Government of Ireland bill now before the House of Commons, and resolves as follows:

(1) Inasmuch as the new bill is based on the principles of Home Rule and deprives us of our position in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, this council cannot recommend the Parliamentary representatives of Ulster to accept any responsibility for it.

(2) But inasmuch as the bill is in substitution for the Government of Ireland act, 1914, and it recognizes the right of six counties of Ulster to separate treatment (for which Ulster has so tenaciously striven) and offers a preferable alternative to the act of 1914, and inasmuch as there is no prospect of procuring the simple repeal of the act, this council is of opinion that the Ulster representatives should not assume the responsibility of attempting to defeat the bill, but should press for such amendments of the bill as are necessary and desirable in the interests of Ulster and of Unionists throughout the South and West of Ireland in the event of the second reading of the bill being carried.

Sir Edward Carson, political leader of Protestant Ulster, in his address in the House in opposition to the bill said that he had never believed in it; he did not believe in it now; and he believed it would be fraught with disaster to the Empire and to Ireland.

His own country would be cut off from

the greatest kingdom that had ever existed. No longer would they be able to rely on her strength; and of all the extraordinary proposals put forward, the



SIR EDWARD CARSON

*Leader of the Ulster Unionists in Parliament*  
(Photo Central News Service)

one to which he most profoundly objected as being absolutely impossible and uneconomic was that Irish members would be there in that House in reduced numbers, while the Imperial Parliament retained the power of taxation to the full. Ireland would be mad to give up her representation in the Imperial Parliament.



It also cut him to the quick to see that the Government was going to desert his loyal fellow-subjects and co-religionists in the south of Ireland. He believed that to be a gross act of treachery to faithful friends.

No one had been able, during the debate, to suggest an alternative to the Union. It was pathetic to see Mr. Asquith standing up in that House, killing his own child, the Act of 1914. There was no alternative to Union except separation.

He had been called a traitor because he was not now prepared to go all the way to fight every form of Home Rule. By the present bill he got the six counties excluded from a Dublin Parliament. If he succeeded in killing the bill, the Act of 1914 automatically came into force. Therefore, if he were to fight against this bill he would be a lunatic.

Mr. Devlin—But you are getting all you want, and more.

Sir E. Carson—No, I have not. If I had got all I asked for there would never have been a Home Rule bill. I cannot agree to Home Rule and I won't vote for it. At the same time, for reasons I have stated, I will do nothing to prevent this bill becoming law.

He dared Liberal Home Rulers to go to the country on the proposal to drive Ulster under a Sinn Fein Dublin Parliament, adding:

I ask you, from your hearts, do you want me to go over and say to the Ulster people: "Go and intrust your destinies and the destinies of your children to a Sinn Fein Parliament?" Is that what you want me to do? If I did it you would have lost your last friends in Ireland.

In a previous speech at Belfast he had said:

The most insane and ridiculous policy that I have ever read of in history is the policy of Sinn Fein. Now just imagine. Let us suppose the Sinn Fein policy became the law of the land and we were under it. I go over to England as an alien and become subject to alien law, and I would not be eligible in England or in any other part of the whole Empire for a position in the Civil Service or any other official position under the various Governments that rule our dominions. I would have no glory of protection from our splendid navy and I would not be admissible to England's army. I would have nothing to do and would have no claim upon the greatest partnership of nations that ever existed. And why? I would be a poor, miserable shorn lamb, trying to browse about on pastures which I would have to steal in

the dark in order that I might be able to sustain my alien body. Of all the ridiculous, farcical humbugs never was there one to equal Sinn Fein.

In referring to the plan to cut off from



SANDWICH MEN CARRYING BOARDS WITH ANTI-SINN FEIN APPEALS, PARADING IN FRONT OF HOUSE OF COMMONS

(© International)

the Northern Parliament the Counties of Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan (overwhelmingly Catholic) Sir Edward said:

Ought we to include the three outlying counties if the result of that was that our Parliament in Ulster would most certainly fail? What is the use of setting up a Parliament if it is to be torn to pieces almost before it has come into existence? What is the use of our pretending that we could govern Donegal, Monaghan, and Cavan if it is not true? \* \* \*

What would be the good of a weak and

tottering Ulster? A strong Ulster of the six counties on the borders of these other counties can do far more, believe me, to help them than a weak and tottering fabric of the whole nine counties in the province. I know there will be people disappointed, but after all there are 890,000 Protestants in

Ulster, and the six counties bring in 830,000. And what you would really be doing if you brought in three outlying counties, in my opinion, would be that you would be sacrificing the 830,000, while at the same time you really conferred no benefits at all upon the other 60,000.

## Ex-Premier Asquith's Opposition

### His Substitute Proposal

**H**ERBERT H. ASQUITH, the former Premier and present leader of the Opposition, speaking against the Home Rule bill in the House of Commons on March 31, contended that no new scheme of government should be imposed upon Ulster. He continued:

Ireland is a country so circumstanced that this bill proposes to create two Legislatures, two or perhaps three executives, two judicatures, two exchequers, two consolidated funds, and potentially, at any rate, two systems of taxation. On the face of it that is a costly and cumbrous duplication and multiplication of institutions and offices. From the mere point of view of administrative efficiency and economy, particularly in times like these, there is nothing whatever to be said for such a proposal. It can only be justified as a concession, taking it by considerations of high policy, to a clamorous national demand. Is there such a demand? One thing is certain about this bill, which cannot be disputed by anybody—no section of Irish opinion asks for it, and no Irish sentiment—at present so sore and mutinous—will be soothed or appeased by it. No one in Ireland wants two Parliaments. No one in Ireland wants to see the judicial bench cut in half. No one in Ireland desires the establishment in the administrative sphere of two Dublin Castles, however, reformed, expurgated and regenerated, in place of one. Every previous Home Rule bill has received the support if not of four-fifths at least of three-quarters of the elected representatives of Ireland in this House. It is doubtful when we come to a division on the second reading if one single Irish member of any section will support it. This is the first experiment in the domestic or inter-imperial sphere of the great principle of self-determination. [Cheers and laughter.] That is the bill on its merits—a large, cumbrous, costly, unworkable scheme, which is not demanded or supported by any section of opinion in the country to which it is to be applied.

To call this a Home Rule bill, said Mr. Asquith, was a misnomer. He continued:

Home Rule has always meant to us Home Rulers the establishment in Ireland of a single Legislature with an Executive responsible to and dependent upon it. We have agreed from the first that you cannot carry out that which is the dominant purpose, the governing principle, the aim and goal of our policy, without providing, on the one hand, adequate safeguards for the maintenance of imperial supremacy, and, on the other hand, reasonable protection for the rights and possible dangers of Irish minorities. But this present bill wholly discards the principle of all previous Home Rule bills. It proposes to create two co-ordinate and mutually independent Legislatures and Executives.

He asserted that the proposed Irish Council was "a fleshless and bloodless skeleton" without power, except when given power by identic acts of the two Parliaments. He asserted that there was no hope of the two Parliaments ever uniting. He quoted from an address of a leading Ulster member, Captain Craig of Antrim,

There has been a great deal said in this debate about the time when there is to be union between us. It has been said that this bill lends itself to the union of Ulster and the rest of Ireland. It would not be fair to the House if I lent the slightest hope of that union arising within the lifetime of any man in this House. I do not believe it for a moment.

Mr. Asquith added:

Then he goes on to explain this is going to be frustrated by the machinery provided by the bill itself: "If we had," he says, "the nine counties," that is to say, a Northern Parliament representing the whole province of Ulster, the nine counties Parliament, "with sixty-four members, the Unionist majority would be about three or four. The three excluded counties contain some 70,000 Unionists and 261,000 Sinn Feiners and Nationalists, and the addition of that large block of Sinn Feiners and Nationalists would reduce our majority to such a level that no sane man would undertake to carry on a Parliament with it."



So you have got to reduce Ulster for this purpose from nine counties to six. Here you are creating a Northern Parliament with co-ordinating powers with a Southern Parliament, and in the constitution of the Northern Parliament you except three of the nine Ulster counties, with the result which the honorable and gallant member gloats over—that they will always have a majority and be able to defeat, permanently, every move for the attainment of a single Parliament for Ireland.

He advocated giving the Irish Legislature the power of imposing customs,

excise and income tax. He criticised the bill because it gave no protection to the religious minorities in either Parliament, and favored county option for the Province of Ulster. He also advocated as a substitute a suggestion made by Sir Horace Plunkett—the summoning of a Constituent Assembly with instructions to set up an Irish Legislative Assembly and leave to the Constituent Assembly the responsibility for working out the scheme.

## Bonar Law's Reply to Asquith

### Object of the Bill Explained

ANDREW BONAR LAW, spokesman for the Government, in replying to Mr. Asquith, twitted him with his failure to accomplish anything when he was Premier. Accusing him of a short memory, since the Asquith Government in 1916 had tried to carry out proposals almost identical with those of the Lloyd George Government, Bonar Law went on to say that the following were the only possible alternatives in dealing with the situation:

First, repeal the Home Rule Act.

Second, Dominion Home Rule.

Third, to give self-determination to the representatives of the Irish people; that is, to create an Irish Republic.

Fourth, to give to Ireland the largest measure of home rule compatible with national security and pledges given. That is the object of the bill.

It is obvious [he continued] that repeal is not possible to the present Government. I believe in the value to the nation of the continuance of the Coalition Government. If the policy of repeal were the right policy I should say at once the Coalition should come to an end.

Another alternative is Dominion Home Rule. Mr. Asquith used that phrase, but did he mean it? The very words he used showed that he did not mean it. What is the essence of Dominion Home Rule? The essence is that the Dominions have control of their whole destinies, of their fighting forces, and of the amount that they contribute to the general support and security of the Empire. Does the right honorable gentleman propose to give these things to Ireland? Not at all; he was going to reserve the armed forces and state the contribution which should be made. There is not a man in the House, least of all the right honorable gentleman,

who would not admit that the connection of Dominions and the Empire depends upon the Dominions. If Australia, Canada, or New Zealand chose to say, "We will not remain part of the British Empire," we would not force them. Dominion Home Rule means the right to decide their own destinies.

The right honorable gentleman says that this is demanded by the legal representatives of the Irish people. They are still as much legal representatives when they are Sinn Feiners, and to say he is prepared to give Dominion Home Rule means nothing less than that he is prepared to give an Irish Republic. My right honorable friend shakes his head, but that is no answer.

### DANGER IN SEPARATION

The speaker challenged the labor members to declare they favored an Irish Republic. There was no answer to his challenge. He then continued as follows:

It is one of the most childish mistakes to assume that because Ireland is separated from us by a sheet of water she is in any degree less essential to the national security than if she were part of this island. All the experience of the growth of nationalities shows that water connections have as much to do with the grouping of peoples as land connections. That is the cause of the difficulty in settling the Adriatic question today. Though this water is between us it is no less dangerous to have Ireland out of the orbit of our national defense. The policy of separation has never been adopted under such circumstances by any nation in the history of the world except after defeat and under compulsion. It was against such a policy that a most bloody war was waged in the United States. Let us see clearly where we are going. Those who talk loosely of self-determination should see exactly where it leads, and ask themselves whether

they are prepared to follow that road to the end.

The speaker argued that the proposed bill was the nearest to self-government that national security would permit. He said that the Ulster Parliament was made up of the six counties instead of the nine, in order to make ultimate union possible. He then added:

We wish to keep on the best terms with America. We shall do what is right, and trust to that winning respect. But it is not merely America, it is our self-governing dominions. I have hardly met an Australian or Canadian who has not said, "Why don't you give them home rule?" To all of these we say that by this bill England ceases to interfere, and that Ireland has the power to govern in her own hands the moment Irishmen can agree among themselves.

Why have we taken the six counties? In the first place in the election manifesto of my right honorable friend and myself we stated that we intended to deal with the matter on the basis of the six counties. In 1916 there was a real attempt to get a settlement for the first time on the basis of recognizing facts as they were. The leaders of the Ulster Party and the leaders of the Nationalist Party met. They decided to try to carry the six counties. If at the time when there was a real desire for settlement both sections thought that a fair settlement, I say that this House has a right to regard it now as a fair settlement. My right honorable friend quoted Captain Craig as saying that in his belief there would be no union in the lifetime of any of us. How can any one forecast the future? If we had kept the whole of Ulster what would have been the position? We would have been told by every Nationalist on the opposite benches that the three Ulster counties were identical in sympathy with the rest of Ireland, and that it was monstrous to exclude them from Southern Ireland. \* \* \*

If the whole of Ulster had been in the Parliament the other side would have tried to keep as the whole issue this arrangement with the six counties. By this arrangement the six counties will fall into normal lines. If you free these six counties you will free them from this old quarrel and they will take new directions. I have seen something of

those six counties and I think they are the most democratic population in these islands.

My right honorable friend said the Central Council is purely humbug. It is exactly the amount of humbug that the honorable member and his friends choose to make it. It gives machinery for the closest co-operation between the two Parliaments if they agree. If they do not agree what is the sense of talking about giving to Ireland control of their own affairs? \* \* \*

### HOW BILL WOULD WORK

The moment this bill becomes law these two Parliaments are constituted. I think the House has a right to know what will happen if the contingency suggested by Mr. O'Connor really happens, and if the Sinn Feiners were in a majority and refused to work our Parliament. What would happen would be that instantly we should revert to the present position and it must be made perfectly plain that until the Parliament is properly constituted and has taken the oath the act cannot come into operation.

Mr. Devlin—Does that apply to Ulster?

Mr. Bonar Law—Yes.

Mr. Devlin—If the rest of Ireland refuses to recognize this Parliament, would the Parliament be put into operation in Ulster?

Mr. Bonar Law—Most certainly, and may I point out to the House that, in my view, that gives good ground for hoping that this will ultimately succeed? You set up these Parliaments; the Ulster Parliament, I presume, will at once work, the rest of Ireland will see that it is working satisfactorily. There will be before their eyes the evidence that they can have the same self-government the moment they like. Even suppose that for the first Parliament the Sinn Feiners refuse to have anything to do with it, or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, we drop back to where we are. If the whole south of Ireland is composed of people who will have nothing but a republic, then no settlement is possible. If, on the other hand, there is, as we are constantly told, a large element among the Nationalist population who are sane, and who look at things with a real desire to do the best for Ireland, I do not believe that when they see these powers working in the rest of Ireland before them they will refuse to accept the situation and take advantage of it.

## John Devlin's Nationalist View

### Bitter Attack on the Bill

JOHN DEVLIN, the Irish Nationalist member from Falls, replied to Bonar Law. He asserted that the Irish Nationalists had never agreed to Parliamentary partition. In the interest of the

nation they did agree to the postponement of bringing the act into operation for the period of the war, on the condition that immediately after the war an imperial conference of representatives of



the dominions should be held to consider the future government of the empire, including the future government of Ireland. On the strength of that agreement they went to their constituents and got them to agree, although it was no easy task.

He confessed that he could not understand the bill. In his judgment it was conceived in Bedlam. Everybody and everything but Ireland counted in the bill. Irish opinion and sentiment, Irish grievances and the permanent solution of Irish difficulties—none of those matters was considered at all. He intimated that the Premier's first idea in introducing the bill was to satisfy American sentiment, to satisfy labor opinion and to secure the moral sanction of the world for a reasonable effort to solve the Irish problem. (Mr. Lloyd George shook his head.) Did anybody think the bill would touch the imagination or command the good-will of the American people?

Mr. Devlin said many taunts had been hurled against Irishmen for contributing nothing to a solution of this problem. One would imagine that the Irish Convention was an organized and riotous assembly of discordant Irishmen. It was nothing of the sort. More than two-thirds of the convention, consisting of Southern Unionists, Ulster Labor men, and the Nationalists, agreed in favor of one Legislature for all Ireland. The only point on which there was any difference was the question of the customs. At the convention national unity was regarded as sacrosanct, and the Nationalists were anxious to make any sacrifice to get Ulster in. The Ulster representatives, on the other hand, would not say what they wanted. They never moved a single inch. They stood today precisely where they stood for the last thirty years, with this in their favor, that they threatened a rebellion and succeeded. A minority rebelled, and it got what it wanted; a majority rebelled, and was put in prison.

They were told they would have union through the operation of the Central Council proposed by the bill, and it was argued that the whole responsibility for the conduct of the Central Council would

rest with the Orangemen in the North and with the Nationalists in the South. Unity was to be secured by giving twenty-six counties precisely the same representation on the National Council as six counties, and the spirit of the six counties was shown by Captain Craig's statement that there would not be unity in the lifetime of the youngest member in the House. He could conceive of no plan which would contribute more largely to the poisoning still further of the well-springs of harmony and concord in Ireland itself and in the relationship between this country and Ireland.

The Catholics in the six counties represented 34 per cent. of the population. They were to be placed under an Ulster Parliament. He would be under the jurisdiction of that Parliament, and if ever it were set up he would go over and break every law in Ulster. In that Parliament the Unionists would have such perfect electoral and gerrymandering machinery as to secure a majority. It would merely be an enlarged edition of the Belfast Town Council.

Passing to the areas of the two Parliaments, Mr. Devlin said that Providence had arranged the geography of Ireland, and the Government had altered it. They had sacrificed geography for Parliamentary euphony. They had placed Donegal in the south of Ireland. They might send their Sir Nevil Macready to Ireland; they might send over the whole army and navy, but might was right only for a time. Let them not think that they were going to preserve militarism in Ireland among a peaceful and law-abiding, among a Christian and virtuous people, among even, if they would, a Conservative people. Great problems were solved and nations' heart desires were only satisfied by a recognition of the spirit of justice and by the concession of freedom.

The attitude of the Sinn Fein leaders toward the Government bill was one of unyielding opposition; they declared that no Home Rule bill would prove acceptable, and that they would be satisfied with nothing short of independence and the recognition of an Irish Republic.

# The Home Rule Bill—Summary of Its Provisions

**T**HE Irish Home Rule bill, which passed its second reading in the House of Commons by a vote of 348 to 94 on March 31, contains the following provisions:

**I. Two Parliaments**—On and after the appointed day there should be established a Parliament of Southern Ireland and a Parliament of Northern Ireland, each consisting of the King and a House of Commons. No Second Chambers.

Northern Ireland consists of the Parliamentary counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone, and the Parliamentary boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry. The rest is Southern Ireland.

**II. The Council**—1. The Council of Ireland, to be constituted as soon as may be after the appointed day, to bring about harmonious action between the Parliaments, to promote mutual intercourse and uniformity in matters affecting all Ireland, and to administer services mutually agreed upon or assigned to it by this act.

2. The Council, in the first instance, to be the King, as President, and twenty members of each House of Commons, chosen as each house may determine; this to be the first business of each House of Commons.

3. The Constitution of the Council may be varied by identical acts of the two Parliaments, which may provide for all or any of its members to be elected by Parliamentary electorate.

**III. Parliament for All Ireland**—1. The two Parliaments by identical acts may establish in lieu of the Council of Ireland a Parliament for the whole of Ireland, consisting of the King and one or two houses. The whole Constitution of this Parliament as to members, mode of election or appointment, and, if there are two Houses, their relations to one another, are to be determined by the Provincial Parliaments. The date at which the Parliament of Ireland is to be established is afterward referred to as the date of Irish union.

2. On the date of Irish union the Parliament of Ireland receives the powers of the Council, all matters which at that date cease to be reserved under this act and any powers conferred by the Provincial Parliaments.

3. All the powers of the Provincial Parliaments pass to the Parliament of Ireland, except so far as the constituent acts otherwise provide, and, if no powers are reserved, the constituent acts must settle financial relations between the Exchequers.

4. If any powers are reserved at first they may be transferred by identical acts later, when the Provincial Parliaments would cease to exist.

## LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

**IV. Reserved Powers**—1. The Provincial Parliaments have full powers within their respective areas, except in respect of:

- (1) Crown succession, &c.
- (2) Peace or war or matters arising from a state of war, or the regulation of the conduct of subjects toward hostilities between foreign States.
- (3) Navy, army, pensions, &c.
- (4) Treaties of foreign relations or relations with the Dominions, extradition, or the return of fugitive offenders.
- (5) Dignities or titles of honor.
- (6) Treason, naturalization, aliens, &c.
- (7) Trade external to the area (except as affected by the powers of taxation given or agencies for the improvement or protection of trade), export bounties, quarantine or navigation, except inland waters.
- (8), (9), (10) and (11) Cables, wireless, aerial navigation, lighthouses, &c.
- (12) and (13) Coinage measures, trade marks, copyrights, patents, &c., and
- (14) Any matter reserved by this act.

**V. Religious Freedom**—1. This clause forbids either Parliament to make a law "so as either directly or indirectly to establish or endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give a preference, privilege, or advantage or impose any disability or disadvantage on account of religious belief.

**VI. Conflict of Laws**—1. The Irish Parliaments have no power to repeal or alter any act passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom after the appointed day, though it deal with a matter with respect to which they have power to make laws.

2. Where an act of either Irish Parliament conflicts with an Imperial act, it is void so far as it conflicts.

**VII. Provision for Private Bills**—This clause assigns to the Council of Ireland power of private bills legislation affecting both areas.

**VIII. Executive Authority**—The executive power and prerogative of the Crown are vested in the Lord Lieutenant, and are to be exercised through such departments as may be established by each Provincial Parliament. "The Lord Lieutenant may appoint officers to administer those departments, and those officers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant." The heads of departments and such others as the Lord Lieutenant may appoint are the Provincial Ministers.

A Provincial Minister must be a member of the Privy Council of Ireland, must not hold office more than six months unless he is or becomes a member of the Provincial House of Commons, and if he is not the head



of a department, holds office during the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant, in the same manner as the head of a department.

The Provincial Ministers form an Executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland, called the Executive Committee of Northern or Southern Ireland, to advise the Lord Lieutenant in the exercise of his executive powers in the province.

In the exercise of executive power there should be no religious privilege or disability, except where the nature of the case involves it.

The seat of government in each province is to be determined by the province.

"Irish services" in each province include all civil government, except as restricted or reserved by this act.

**IX. Police, Appointment of Justices—1.** The Royal Irish Constabulary and the Metropolitan Police, and the administration of acts relating thereto, including the appointment and the removal of magistrates, are reserved until transferred by Order in Council to the Provincial Parliaments, but not longer than three years after the appointed day. If transferred after the date of Irish union, however, they go to the Government of All Ireland, unless otherwise provided by the constituent acts.

2. While reserved, these forces are controlled by a representative appointed by each Provincial Government and a third appointed by the Crown, "and that body shall have such powers in relation to the maintenance of law and order in Ireland as his Majesty in Council may by order determine."

3. The postal service, post office, and trustee savings banks, postal or revenue stamps and the Public Record Office of Ireland are reserved until the date of Irish union, when, so far as they are within the powers of the Irish Parliament, they are to be transferred to the Government of Ireland. They are, however, to be transferred before the date of Irish union to the Council of Ireland if the two Provincial Parliaments so provide by identical acts.

4. The general subject matter of the Land Purchase act is reserved until transferred by an imperial act of Parliament, but the reservation does not include the powers of the Congested Districts Board, with a financial exception, nor does it include the powers of the Irish Land Commission as to the collection and recovery of purchase annuities.

**X. Powers of the Irish Council—1.** The Provincial Parliaments, by identical acts, may delegate any of the provincial powers to the Council.

2. The powers of the Imperial Parliament over railways, including legislation, are transferred to the Irish Council.

3. The Council has various deliberative and advisory functions as to the welfare of both provinces, including the recommendation of identical acts to delegate desirable powers from the Provincial Parliaments to the Council.

4. Orders of the Council of a legislative character are to be presented to the Lord Lieutenant for the Royal assent as if they were bills.

## THE TWO PARLIAMENTS

**XI. and XII. A Session Every Year—**There must be a session every year with less than twelve months between summons, prorogation and dissolution by the Lord Lieutenant. Royal assent to bills is to be given by the Lord Lieutenant subject to instructions from the Crown and reservations, if directed by the Crown, for the direct Royal assent.

**XIII. Number of M. P.'s: P. R. Elections—**The House of Commons of Southern Ireland to have 128 members and that of Northern Ireland to have 52.

General elections by proportional representation, single transferable vote.

The term of each Parliament is to be five years, unless sooner dissolved. After three years from the first meeting each Parliament may alter the whole election law except as to the number of members of Parliament.

**XIV. Election Laws—**All existing election laws apply except as altered by this act or by the Provincial Parliaments under this act.

**XV. Money Bills—**The Provincial Parliaments may not pass money bills, &c., except in pursuance of a recommendation from the Lord Lieutenant in the session in which they are proposed.

**XVI. Privileges—**The privileges of each Parliament and its members are never to exceed those of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and are to be the same as those until defined by acts of the Provincial Parliaments. Peers may be members of the House of Commons.

**XVII. Irish M. P.'s at Westminster—**Until the Parliament of the United Kingdom otherwise determines there are to be forty-two Irish members in the Imperial Parliament. The present members of the House of Commons are to vacate their seats on the appointed day and writs are to be issued for the election of new ones.

## FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

**XVIII. Finance—**There is to be a Consolidated Fund for each of the two areas. The Parliaments have power to make laws imposing, charging, levying and collecting taxes other than customs duties, excise duties on articles manufactured and produced, and excess profits duty and the United Kingdom income tax. But,

The imposing, charging, levying and collection of customs duties and of excise duties on articles manufactured and produced, and the granting of customs and excise drawbacks and allowances, and, except to the extent hereinafter mentioned, the imposing, charging, levying and collection of income tax (including super-tax) and excess profits duty, shall be

reserved matters and the proceeds of those duties and taxes shall be paid into the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

The Joint Exchequer Board is to determine what part of the proceeds of these duties are properly attributable to Ireland. Each year Ireland is to make a contribution toward Imperial liabilities. For the first two years this is to be £18,000,000. Of this contribution for the first two years Southern Ireland will provide 56 per cent. and Northern Ireland 44 per cent., after which the proportions will be determined by the Joint Exchequer Board. Every year a sum equal to the Irish share of reserved taxes is to be paid out of the United Kingdom Consolidated Fund to the Irish Exchequers, after deducting the amount of the Irish contribution toward Imperial liabilities, and while any services remain reserved the net cost of these will be deducted.

**XIX. Income Tax**—The Irish Parliaments are to have power to impose an additional income tax or super tax, to be called a sur-tax. The land purchase annuities are to be collected by the Irish Governments and paid into the appropriate account. Provisions are made against double death duties and so forth.

A clause enacts that after the date of Irish Union the question of allowing Ireland, control over customs and excise may be considered.

**XX. Supreme Court**—The Supreme Court of Ireland will cease to exist and there will be two Supreme Courts, one for Southern Ireland and one for Northern Ireland. All matters relating to these Supreme Courts are "reserved matters" until the date of Irish Union, but here again identical acts passed by both Parliaments might secure their amalgamation. Existing Judges and civil servants are secured in their office.

All existing laws, institutions and authorities are to be continued with the necessary modifications until altered so far as they can be altered within the powers of the Parliaments.

The existing exemptions and immunities of Dublin University, Trinity Col-

lege and Queen's University at Belfast are to continue; £18,000 is to be appropriated by the Northern Parliament for Queens University and £5,000 by the Southern Parliament for Trinity. Both Parliaments are forbidden to enact laws prejudicial to Free Masons. The final provisions of the bill are as follows:

**The Appointed Day**—1. This act shall, except as expressly provided, come into operation on the appointed day, and the appointed day for the purposes of this act shall be the first Tuesday in the eighth month after the month in which this act is passed, or such other day not more than seven months earlier or later, as may be fixed by Order of his Majesty in Council either generally or with reference to any particular provision of this act, and different days may be appointed for different purposes and different provisions of this act, but the Parliaments of Southern and Northern Ireland shall be summoned to meet not later than four months after the said Tuesday, and the appointed day for holding elections for the House of Commons of Southern and Northern Ireland shall be fixed accordingly:

Provided that the appointed day as respects the transfer of any service may, at the joint request of the Governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland be fixed at a date later than seven months after the said Tuesday.

2. Nothing in this act shall affect the administration of any service before the day appointed for the transfer of that service from the Government of the United Kingdom.

**Supremacy of Westminster**—Notwithstanding the establishment of the Parliaments of Southern and Northern Ireland, or the Parliament of Ireland, or anything contained in this act, the supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things in Ireland and every part thereof.

**Repeal of 1914 Act**—1. This act may be cited as the Government of Ireland act, 1920.

2. The Government of Ireland act, 1914, is hereby repealed.





# League of Nations in Operation

## International Court, the Mission to Russia, and the Mandate for Armenia Occupy World Council

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1920]

WITH its machinery practically completed, and strengthened by the accession of new members, the League of Nations continued in March and April its discussions of international affairs.

A joint scheme for the establishment of a permanent international Court of Justice was drawn up by a conference of representatives of the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and the Netherlands, which concluded its labors on Feb. 27. The chief points of the program agreed upon were as follows:

Complete equality of the States for the appointment of judges and deputy judges who will be elected by the League of Nations.

Elimination of all political influences from the court and its sphere of action.

Complete independence of the judge in the exercise of his functions as regards the State to which he belongs.

The recommendation with regard to candidate to be made by the States which belong to the league.

The highest judiciary and administrative authorities and the Faculties of law of the universities of the States belonging to the league to assist in the composition of the lists of candidates.

The judges to be elected for nine years or for life and reside at the headquarters of the court.

Even those States which are not members of the league to have the right to plead before the court.

The court only to recognize private interests in so far as the States to which the individuals concerned belong take upon themselves the task of defending these interests.

The court only to deal with disputes of an international character.

The methods of procedure to be analogous to those adopted in the conventions of the second Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907.

Each party to pay its own costs.

### THE COMMISSION TO RUSSIA

The Executive Council of the League held its third sitting in the Clock Room of the French Foreign Office on March 13. The members were the same as at

previous meetings, except that Mr. Balfour represented Great Britain, Mr. Tittoni Italy, and M. Athos Romanos Greece, replacing M. Venizelos. Mr. Balfour took a prominent part in the discussion, which was devoted to the question of sending a Commission of Investigation to Soviet Russia under the League, as asked by a note from the allied Premiers early in March.

Mr. Balfour expounded his views amid keen attention. He proposed that the League should constitute the commission under the protection of the Supreme Council, but with its mandate from the League, to insure the impartiality and authoritativeness which the allied Council desired; that it should consist of ten members, each assisted by two counselors, and that two members—an employer and a workman—should be proposed by the International Labor Bureau. M. Chardigny, formerly French Consul in Russia, had been already chosen as Secretary General. Mr. Balfour explained that he foresaw no difficulty from the fact that the International Labor Bureau was sending a similar commission, provided that its activities were limited to labor problems. The employer and workman members of the League Commission would supply the necessary link.

Mr. Balfour's proposals met with unanimous approval by the League Executive Council, and it was decided to send the following telegram to the Soviet authorities:

The Council of the League of Nations, having been invited to consider the possibility of dispatching a commission to Russia, has decided to constitute a commission with the view to collecting impartial and trustworthy information of the actual state of that country. The permanent Secretariat of the League is charged to inquire of the Soviet authorities if they are prepared to recognize the right of the commission to cross without hindrance the frontiers, going and coming; to take

measures to assure its complete liberty to move about, communicate and investigate; and to guarantee the absolute immunity and dignity of its members and the inviolability of their correspondence, archives and belongings. The commission will enter on its functions immediately these facilities and rights are formally assured it by the Soviet authorities. Directly an affirmative reply has been received the composition of the commission will be notified with as little delay as possible.

Up to the time when these pages went to press no reply to this telegram had been received by the League. A statement made by Foreign Minister Tchitcherine, reported on April 14, indicated that the Soviet authorities were averse to the sending of such a mission. M. Tchitcherine was reported as saying:

I cannot permit these gentlemen to come into Russia to act for such a purpose. The Government of the Soviets cannot wait upon their judgment like a school-boy. For the defense of our interests we must control the movements of the foreign army officers who will be part of the commission. The inquiry ought to be made in a manner compatible with the dignity of the Soviet State.

On Mr. Balfour's suggestion at the Paris meeting of the Executive Council, a resolution was passed calling for the immediate creation of a permanent consulting committee on hygiene, to meet in London toward the end of April, in order to take urgent measures to fight the typhus epidemic in Poland. This resolution approved the appeal sent by Mr. Balfour on Feb. 24 to the International League of Red Cross Societies to help the populations to combat typhus and cholera.

#### THE MANDATE FOR ARMENIA

A mandate for Armenia was offered the League toward the end of March by the Allied Council of Ministers. Under the arrangement proposed, all Armenian territories would be included, with the exception of Cilicia, which would be left under French protection, and an outlet to the Black Sea would be provided.

The proposal was publicly discussed by the Executive Council at its fourth session, held in the Luxembourg Palace on April 11. Private discussions had occurred on April 9 and 10. The public session was attended by about fifty at-

tachés of the various Diplomatic Corps. Herbert A. L. Fisher, Minister of Education of Great Britain, presented the Armenian situation. He expressed the sympathy of the League with the idea of a mandate, but asked: "What nation is likely to accept the responsibility?" The necessity of taking military measures, as well as financial problems, were asserted to be the chief obstacles to acceptance of a mandate, the League possessing neither military nor financial resources to carry out such an undertaking. The decision to reject a mandate was therefore reached.

[For text of decision see Turkish article, Pages 328 to 330.]

The council decided that the assumption of guardianship of the racial minorities in Turkey was within its province, but deferred discussion of ways and means until the Turkish Treaty should be finally drafted. Baron de Gaiffier d'Hestroy, the Belgian Ambassador, expressed the League's sympathy for the plight of the 2,000,000 non-Moslems whose lives were at stake, and stated that the League would co-operate closely in the allied policy to prevent further massacres pending the Turkish settlement at San Remo.

Count Donin-Longare, the Italian Ambassador, reported on the question of prisoners of war in Siberia. He stated that there were between 120,000 and 200,000 prisoners of many nations in Siberia, and that they were in desperate straits. It was decided to name a commission to study means for their repatriation. The decision of the Allied Council of Ministers to repatriate German prisoners from Siberia is referred to elsewhere in these pages.

Consideration of the status of Danzig resulted in the sending of a telegram to Sir Reginald Tower, High Commissioner for Danzig, approving his plan for the coming elections in the district of the free city.

#### NEW MEMBERS OF LEAGUE

The League Council on Jan. 25 announced that Persia, in response to an invitation to join the League, had sent in its adhesion. Holland's accession was passed on Feb. 20, Copenhagen and





MR. BALFOUR ADDRESSING FIRST LEAGUE OF NATIONS MEETING: CHIEF FIGURES, LEFT TO RIGHT, ARE BARON MATSUI, JAPAN; MR. BALFOUR, BRITAIN; MR. BOURGEOIS, FRANCE; SIR ERIC DRUMMOND, SECRETARY; SIGNOR FERRARIS, ITALY

Sweden voted in favor of membership on March 4, Norway on March 5. The decision of the Scandinavian countries to join the League had been much delayed by fear that membership would presuppose a military obligation. Lord Robert Cecil, the British representative of the League, in reply to an inquiry by the President of the Norwegian Storting, replied as follows: "Undoubtedly it was never meant to put on any member of the League the burden and duty to keep up military forces."

Switzerland, whose special position as a neutral had been recognized in the League pact, voted in favor of membership on March 5. The so-called "American clause" by which Switzerland's entry into the League would depend on similar action by the United States was eliminated from the resolution, which deferred a definite decision until after the taking of a plebiscite to be held on May 16, in which the Swiss people would voice their desires.

All the neutral countries of South and Central America had joined the League by April 6, including Argentina, Paraguay, Chile, Salvador and Venezuela.

#### LEAGUE UNION'S APPEAL

An appeal was issued in England by the League of Nations Union on April 6 for a national fund of \$5,000,000 to support the League. This appeal was signed by Lord Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, Earl Beatty, former Premier Asquith, Lord Robert Cecil and J. R. Clynes. It read in part as follows:

In the long and bitter years of the war which we fought for truth and honorable dealing, millions sacrificed themselves in order that the world might be cleaner and freer and that there might be no more war. Do not let us in these early days of peace already forget our ideals and their sacrifices. If the world should be allowed to relapse into the antagonisms and ambitions which led up to and culminated in the war it would be the greatest triumph of evil in all ages. \* \* \*

Our primary object is to keep fresh in the minds of the people of this country the spirit and ideals which underly the covenant of the League. To do this the union must undertake a very extensive educational campaign. \* \* \* To do the work effectively we need something in the neighborhood of a million pounds, and that necessitates a national campaign for funds. The sum named sounds like a large one, but it is indeed the bare cost of four hours of the late war.

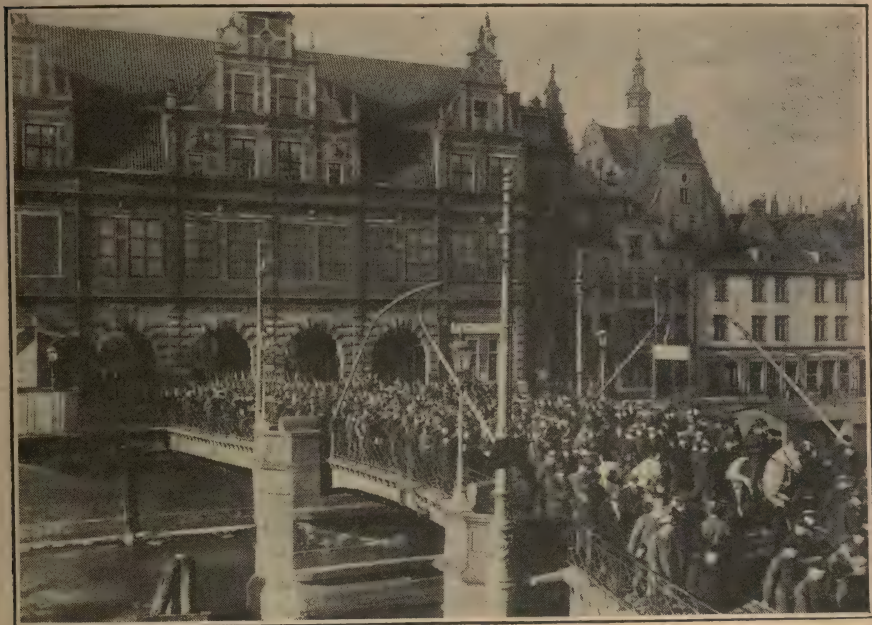
Viewed in this way it is not a great

deal to provide as insurance against another war, for if Great Britain does not support the League with all her might and resources (and this depends solely upon the will of the people) the League itself will assuredly wither and die, and if the League should die God help our children, for no human agency can save them from calamities to which the late war will appear as the merest trifle.

In a statement issued in Paris on April 16, M. Léon Bourgeois, President of the

Nations, and to provide it with the necessary means of action is all that now remains to be accomplished. This is really a question of good-will and common understanding.

The next meeting of the Council of the League was announced for April 25 in Rome. A full program of discussion was adopted on April 2. After the Rome conference the council will assemble in Brussels to deal with inter-



THE FREE CITY OF DANZIG: BRITISH TROOPS ENTERING THROUGH THE HISTORIC "GREEN GATE" TO HELP ESTABLISH THE NEW REGIME

League Council, declared that the League had proved its usefulness, and could no longer be characterized by its opponents as a "splendid Utopia." M. Bourgeois said:

The work of its Executive Council is already sufficient proof that the League is a practical body. The Governments and peoples who want a difference settled or wish to make a complaint have already been coming to the council, with the certainty that they are appealing to a powerful and moral authority which will be capable of having its decisions respected. \* \* \* All the delegates are inspired with deep feelings of humanity and strict justice. Enormous progress has been made in the direction of world peace. People believe in the League of

national finances. The United States had declined to participate in this, as well as in other League activities, in view of the failure of the Senate to ratify the Peace Treaty with Germany.

#### RULING THE SARRE REGION

Steps toward reconciling the German inhabitants of the Sarre Mining district, which for fifteen years is to help pay France for the damage done to her industrial regions, were taken by the Governing Commission, which assumed control at the close of February under a mandate from the League of Nations.

At the official reception following the



formal entry of the Governing Commission, President V. Rault assured those present that in future there would be no more officials subject to the Prussian, Bavarian or German Governments, but only officials of "a free country under the supervision of the League of Nations." These officials would be chosen from among the Sarre population as far as possible. Especially was the administration of justice to be left to natives, and the courts would be unhampered. President Rault emphasized the maintenance of religious freedom and also the intention of the Governing Commission to look after the material well-being of the inhabitants. Mayor A. Klein of Saarbrücken pointed out the menace to the welfare of the Sarre district caused by the tariff wall on the eastern border and the fall of exchange in the west, and President Rault assured him that the commission would do everything in its power to relieve the situation.

In the afternoon of March 11, immediately upon his return from Paris, President Rault received a delegation representing the Social Democratic, Independent Socialist, Democratic and Clerical parties of the Sarre, and spent four hours discussing the wishes of the in-

habitants, this discussion revealing what the correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* called "a happy unity of purpose among the parties." Herr von Boch, the Sarreländ member of the Governing Commission, took a leading part in the discussion, in the course of which President Rault declared his intention of acceding to the wishes of the people, and laid down a program including the following points:

Immediate ending of military rule, the troops only to stay a while longer as police until the civil administration could be set up and a body of Sarreländ police created. Quick action toward insuring the food supply, including a possible fourteen-day lifting of the duties on necessities and permanent free trade in Sarre products adapted for exchange for German foodstuffs. The passport system to be dropped within the Sarre district and general travel across the border to be made easier. No more Sarreländers to be deported, and those already deported to be readmitted upon examination of each case. Censorship on letters to be stopped and freedom of the press to be restored shortly. Freedom of assemblage and organization to be granted as soon as the commission was convinced there would be no abuse of such liberty. Local election within three months.

This program embraced practically all the demands voiced by the people at five large mass meetings.

## Employment for Disabled British Soldiers

UNDER the national scheme initiated in September, 1919, some 12,000 British employers of labor have given undertakings to employ men disabled in the war. To encourage this patriotic movement a King's National Roll was compiled, containing the names, addresses and trade descriptions of these employers, and a first edition issued in March. The book, some 300 pages long, includes all employers to whom certificates of membership on the National Roll had been issued up to the end of 1919. The number enrolled was 9,524, employing 1,486,225 workpeople, among whom had been included 89,619 disabled ex-service men. Up to the middle of February, 1920, the number of names on the list

had increased to 10,867, representing 1,755,431 workpeople and 102,011 disabled men. The number of employers registered was constantly growing, and the total in March was more than 12,000. The National Roll was being distributed to all employment exchanges, free libraries, and other public buildings. It was hoped through this scheme to find openings for the 31,000 disabled men still unemployed, as well as for those not yet discharged from the hospitals. The project has received much encouragement from the announcement made by many of the employers registered that they had not found these disabled men at all difficult to utilize.

PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS. NO. 1.  
HERBERT CLARK HOOVER



Food Controller of United States from Aug. 10, 1917, until Jan. 3,  
1919, when he was made Director General of  
International Relief Organization



PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS. NO. II.  
LEONARD WOOD



Major General of United States Army and present Commander of  
Department of Great Lakes

(C. Mohr)

PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS. NO. III.  
WILLIAM GIBBS M'ADOO



Former Secretary of United States Treasury and Director General  
of Railroads during the war

(© G. V. BUCK)



PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS. NO. IV.  
HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON



Twice Governor of California and United States Senator from California Since 1916

PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS. NO. V.  
EDWARD I. EDWARDS



Elected Democratic Governor of New Jersey, 1919, on an anti-prohibition platform



PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS. NO. VI.  
WARREN G. HARDING



Lieutenant Governor of Ohio, 1904-5; United States Senator from  
Ohio since Nov. 3, 1914  
(© Clinchurst Studio)

PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS. NO. VII.  
A. MITCHELL PALMER



Alien Property Custodian during the war and now Attorney General  
of the United States

(© Harris & Eving)



PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS. NO. VIII.  
FRANK O. LOWDEN



Republican Governor of Illinois; term of office expires in February.  
1921

*W. H. & S. A. Foster*

# CAN CONGRESS MAKE PEACE?

## Text of Joint Resolution Declaring War Status Ended—Both Sides of a Historic Debate

THE refusal of the United States Senate to ratify the Versailles Treaty of Peace with Germany and the failure of President Wilson to resubmit the treaty with modifications to the ratifying body developed a new phase of American diplomatic and legislative history on April 9, 1920, when the House of Representatives, by a vote of 242 to 150, passed a resolution declaring the state of war between the United States and Germany to be at an end. This action of the House, a body with no treaty-making powers, was the first step toward joint action of both branches of Congress, and was due to the fact that the deadlock between the President and the Senate majority apparently could not be broken. It was the result of conferences between the Republican leaders of the two houses.

With the introduction of this resolution the scenes that had attended the prolonged struggle over the treaty in the Senate were transferred to the House, and the alignment of the members was revealed. In the final vote only two Republicans—Fuller of Massachusetts and Kelley of Michigan—opposed the resolution, while twenty-two Democrats voted with the Republicans; otherwise the vote—242 to 150—followed party lines, and the passage of the resolution was a Republican act.

The resolution then went to the Senate and was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Senator Lodge is Chairman. It had not been reported out when these pages went to press (April 20). It was confidently asserted, however, that it would pass the Senate, but that President Wilson would veto it; thus the real test would come with the effort to get the necessary two-thirds vote of each house for the passage of the measure over the President's veto.

### TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION

The resolution as passed by the House was formulated by Congressman Porter

(Rep.) of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee. The text was as follows:

Whereas the President of the United States, in the performance of his constitutional duty to give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, has advised the Congress that the war with the Imperial German Government has ended:

Resolved, &c., (Sec. 1.) That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States by the joint resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

Sec. 2. That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the present war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress, joint resolutions, or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, the date when this resolution becomes effective shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

Sec. 3. That with a view to secure reciprocal trade with the German Government and its nationals, and for this purpose, it is hereby provided that unless within forty-five days from the date when this resolution becomes effective the German Government shall duly notify the President of the United States that it has declared a termination of the war with the United States, and that it waives and renounces on behalf of itself and its nationals any claim, demand, right, or benefit against the United States or its nationals that it or they would not have had the right to assert had the United States ratified the Treaty of Versailles, the President of the United States shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, to proclaim the fact that the German Government has not given the notification hereinbefore mentioned, and thereupon and until the President shall have proclaimed the receipt of such notification commercial intercourse between the United States and Germany and the making of loans or credits and the furnishing of financial assistance or supplies to the German Government or the inhabitants of Germany, directly or indirectly, by the Government or the inhabitants of the United States shall, except with the license of the President, be prohibited.

Sec. 4. That whoever shall willfully violate



the foregoing prohibition whenever the same shall be in force shall upon conviction be fined not more than \$10,000, or, if a natural person, imprisoned for not more than two years, or both; and the officer, director, or agent of any corporation who knowingly participates in such violation shall be punished by a like fine, imprisonment, or both, and any property, funds, securities, papers, or other articles or documents, or any vessel, together with her tackle, apparel, furniture and equipment, concerned in such violation shall be forfeited to the United States.

Sec. 5. That nothing herein contained shall be construed as a waiver by the United States of any rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages to which the United States has become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed Nov. 11, 1918, or which were acquired by or are in the possession of the United States by reason of its participation in the war, or otherwise; and all fines, forfeitures, penalties and seizures imposed or made by the United States are hereby ratified, confirmed and maintained.

The passing of this resolution by the House was an act without precedent in American legislative history, hence the debate proved of deep interest and established two widely conflicting views of Congressional authority.

### OPENING THE DEBATE

The debate was opened on April 6 by Congressman Venable of Mississippi, who spoke against the resolution. His initial argument was based on constitutional objections. He held that the resolution was in effect a treaty of peace, and that it contravened the Constitution in seeking to confer power on the House to participate in treaty making. In support of this position he quoted from the writings of Hamilton, Jay, Washington, and cited numerous constitutional authorities. In answer to the argument that the resolution is not a treaty he said:

This resolution requires that Germany agree to certain things; it provides that she relinquish and waive all rights which she now has as a country at war; she is to agree that certain rights of certain of her citizens now existing shall be extinguished; she is to grant, confirm, and acknowledge certain rights in the United States to certain of her property. In short, she is to write into the resolution all the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles which could in any wise affect her or her citizens or the United States and their citizens in regard one to the other. She is to relinquish rights to property and bind herself to do and not to do many things.

Surely no sane man can or will deny that this resolution is the tender and offer of an agreement, binding in honor if accepted, on the parties and containing that character of stipulations which have been entered into heretofore exclusively by treaty.

But I have heard it said that this is simply a legislative recognition of a fact that the war is over, and that this is valid even though Germany does not accept. The answers are apparent. Admitting for the sake of argument that the mere declaration of a state of peace does not have to be done by treaty and is the exercise of a legislative and not a treaty power, it is impossible to separate this part of the resolution from the other. We surely could not presume that the Congress would pass the one without the other. The fact that we are declared to be at peace, even though Germany rejects the offer, does not help the situation, for the question is whether the House has the power to make the tender at all, and not what consequences would flow if it were accepted.

If the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, should negotiate an agreement with Germany containing these identical terms, would any one contend that it was not a treaty? If, then, it would be a treaty under these circumstances, it must be likewise when parading through the House under the guise of a resolution, for else we would have the treaty-making power resident in separate agencies, which we have seen cannot be.

### THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS

But it is being urged that Congress has the power to declare peace, since it has it to declare war, and while this is not strictly in issue, since we have seen that the resolution does more than this, yet it might be of some interest to consider this for a brief while. Wheaton's International Law, fourth edition, says:

By the forms of the Constitution the President has the exclusive power of making treaties of peace, which, when ratified, with advice and consent of the Senate, become the supreme law of the land and have effect of repealing the declaration of war—

And so forth. I have already endeavored to point out that no such specific power was granted, and none was necessary and proper to be exercised by the Congress in its legislative capacity. \* \* \* The framers of the Constitution did not intend to confer upon and did not understand that the House had any such authority. \* \* \*

Does it follow, where there is in existence an enemy sovereignty capable of continuing war, legally at least—one capable of choosing whether it will continue the status of war as far as itself and citizens are concerned—that a peace status can be restored simply by a declaration of one of the countries that it is so? It cannot if an agreement be necessary, for agreements between this and other coun-

tries are committed for their making solely to the treaty-making power, the President, by and with the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senators present. \* \* \*

The making of peace implies that old differences have been settled and are no longer a ground of war under international law. It cannot be a state of peace when either of the countries, having never relinquished its attitude of war, may lawfully renew the actual fighting whenever it chooses. In a state of peace it is held to be unlawful under international law to seize the goods and imprison the citizens of a friendly country, but this is permitted when a country is at war; then the citizens of the other country are enemies. It is not a state of peace when, though one country has declared that it is at peace, the other is at liberty to seize the goods and persons of the first. When countries are at war the citizens of each are the enemies of the citizens of the other and intercourse and trade are prohibited. It will be noted that these limitations flow from the fact that one country chooses to retain the war status as far as it is concerned. In short, there is a status of war even though one of the parties assumed to say that it is at peace.

These considerations and illustrations might be multiplied, show beyond dispute, I submit, that when the status of war has been assumed by warring Governments which continue to exist as sovereignties, with the powers of government and the exercise of governmental will unimpaired, with power to continue the war status, as far as itself and its nationals and concerned, the only way in which a peace status can be obtained is by mutual agreement and consent.

This being true, under our Government it can be attained only by the exercise of the peace power, since this only has jurisdiction of agreements with other nations with respect to national matters.

#### CONGRESSMAN LITTLE REPLIES

The opposite view was presented by Congressman Little (Rep.) of Kansas, who said:

If the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Venable] is correct, it requires these representatives of 100,000,000 people to involve this country in war; but once it is involved in war God Almighty Himself could not get us out of it if Woodrow Wilson did not want us to get out. The gentleman suggests that the idea that this House and the Senate can stop the fight which it and the Senate started would be humorous if it were not tragic, and it might be both. The idea that there is no way to get this country out of war unless the President lets us stop is tragic and is humorous, too. The gentleman bases his entire argument upon a very curious fallacy, which is that it takes a treaty to stop a fight. Under the ordinary laws of nature and of common sense anybody who can

start a fight can stop that fight if the other fellow is willing.

In this case Germany has sued for peace, and all that is necessary now is for somebody to tell her that she can quit, and under the Constitution all powers given, not otherwise specifically assigned, can be exercised by Congress, and the time necessary has arrived when the treaty makers failed to function.

The gentleman speaks of this as if we were making a treaty. We are not. Germany sues for peace and we deliver an ultimatum and we say, "Yes; you may quit under certain conditions." If Germany accepts them, then the treaty-making power can go to work and make a treaty. We are not negotiating a treaty. We are announcing an ultimatum. The gentleman's argument flows gracefully on in eloquent and rounded periods just as soon as he leaves his first premise. If his premise were correct, it would be a logical and persuasive speech, but it is all bottomed on the singular and curious fallacy that wars can only be terminated by written treaties; that nations can live in peace only when their agreements to do so have been signed, sealed, registered, and recorded. That fallacy exploded, his brilliant argument hangs wavering in the air without foundation and ceases to be of force or effect.

If Germany accepts our ultimatum, then the treaty makers can begin again. Every man with horse sense knows that this war is over, and it is high time that the clock struck officially the hour of its end. We cannot afford to have a river of horrors and expenses of war engulfing our Republic till somebody is willing to take advice he does not like. The people have vested in the representatives all reserve powers necessary to preserve the Republic and its citizens. This is a Government of checks and balances, and if other departments fail Congress must do its duty. That is what Congress is for and that is why it wields the thunderbolt of the will of a hundred million Americans.

#### CONGRESSMAN PORTER'S REPORT

Stephen G. Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House, in his report on the resolution, recited various powers given to President Wilson "so drastic in character and appreciation that the liberties of the individual were largely abridged." He argued that seventeen months after the armistice the treaty had been rejected and that the deadlock between the Senate and the President might continue indefinitely; meanwhile the country remains legally at war and subject to all the penalties of wartime legislation. He argued that, following precedents of President Madison at the close of the War of 1812, of President Polk at the close of the Mexi-



a waiver by the United States of any of its rights. Section 2 provides that the war laws shall no longer be in effect. Sections 4 and 5 cover the third subject of the resolution and provide for the resumption of trade with Germany upon conditions named. It is only to these conditions that Germany is required to assent. As to no other matter connected with the resolution is German agreement required. It is upon these sections that those who argue that the resolution is an effort to make an agreement with Germany rely. These sections may be stricken from the resolution and yet leave it a perfect whole. If they are unconstitutional, that fact cannot affect the validity of the other sections of the resolution. But they are not unconstitutional.

In almost the same language has Congress passed previous laws. Section 3 of the McKinley Tariff act of Oct. 1, 1890, was almost identical in substance. That law was held constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Field against Clark, one hundred and forty-third United States, Page 649. The court held that the placing of conditions upon trade with a foreign country which involved affirmative action by that country was not an interference with the treaty-making powers of the President and did not constitute negotiation. \* \* \*

### NO PLEDGE TO ALLIES

I cannot agree with those who may argue that we are bound in honor to join in a treaty with the nations associated with us in the war. They entered the war without our leave. We entered it upon our own initiative. We co-operated with them to defeat the common enemy. We went into the war unpledged to our associated nations. We have come out of the war without owing them anything; to the contrary, they are our debtors. The honor of America is not pledged to unite in a common treaty with our associated nations. It is pledged neither expressly nor by implication. The people have not pledged American honor, neither has it been pledged by Congress nor by any one authorized by the people to speak for them. We entered the war for reasons of our own; we spent our blood and treasure without stint; we have asked neither land nor money, favors nor indemnity; we fought in defense of the civilization of the world. Continued co-operation with the nations associated with us in the war is neither obligated nor compelled. We will hereafter, as I hope, act freely, as heretofore, for the welfare and dignity of America and for the peace and hope of mankind.

The nations associated with us in the war have made peace with Germany. America alone of all the nations retains her war status. We do not abandon our associated nations by terminating the state of war. We do not join them in their status of peace. We do not abandon them to a common enemy. They are at peace and no longer

require our support or protection. It is absurd to say that American honor is pledged to stand alone among the nations in a state of war with Germany. If in any sense American honor is under pledge, it is to promote peace, harmony, and good-will at home and among the nations of the world.

### SAYS RESOLUTION IS A TREATY

Congressman Connolly of Texas, in opposing the resolution, argued that it clearly was an exercise of treaty-making power by Congress, and hence unconstitutional. He said in part:

To those who say that no treaty is to be made let me inquire: The Treaty of Versailles, if ratified by the United States, would be a binding and legal treaty, would it not? But hereafter, so far as Germany's obligations to the United States are concerned it is to be as binding as though ratified. Then, will it not be a treaty between the United States and Germany? To whom will the obligations which Germany may assume be due—to the United States? Where are those obligations defined? In the Treaty of Versailles. Suppose Germany violates the rights of some American citizen, where will you look to find the character of obligation which Germany violated? Will you simply look to this act, or must you not look to the Treaty of Versailles?

The very fact that this act proposes to induce or compel Germany to avow her willingness to observe the treaty, imports the expectation of benefit to be derived therefrom by the United States. If the Treaty of Versailles were now a treaty between the United States and Germany, the fact that the United States will be released from obligation under it will not change the fact that it will remain a treaty upon Germany assenting to the amendment. The contract may consist in part of this act and in part of the treaty, just as it might consist of two diplomatic notes exchanged between us. We send Germany by cable this resolution; she sends back acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles. Is there not a meeting of the minds; is not an agreement created whose terms are defined by the two instruments?

It is not a question of the degree of obligation or the extent of benefit; all of the one may be in one party and all of the other in the remaining party. As has heretofore been observed, an agreement may place all of the obligations on one party. An ordinary promissory note is a familiar example; it is only signed by the maker, but is construed to be a written contract enforceable between the parties. In the present instance our armies are now on German soil. By this resolution we agree to end the war with Germany, and there of course arises implied obligation on our part to withdraw our troops. The test is whether there is an agreement between two nations; the fact that the

obligations imposed are owing by one to the other, and that to determine the character of rights conferred or duties enjoined recourse must be had to such agreement.

Measured by this standard there certainly will be a treaty. If it be not a treaty—no agreement—then Germany, not being bound, could withdraw at any time. Will any one claim that she could do so without violating a treaty? If an American right should be violated, the United States would demand redress of Germany. Suppose Germany should deny liability. Our reply would be, "You agreed to abide by the treaty." If she should then assert that this resolution and her agreement is not a treaty, we should, of course, answer, "Whether you call it a treaty or a resolution or legislation, you 'agreed and contracted' to observe the treaty, and you are bound. If you break your promise you will justify a renewal of the war by the United States." Will any one longer deny what is so plain? If not a treaty, it is nothing—a vain thing, a fraud, a pretense, a hypocritical deception, and a deliberate delusion.

## ENDING WARS WITHOUT TREATIES

Congressman Rogers of Massachusetts cited many instances of ending wars without treaties. In this connection he said:

Perhaps the most interesting precedent for our purpose is the situation which arose in the sixties as a result of the war between Peru and Chile on the one hand and Spain on the other. In 1868 actual hostilities had been terminated about two years. Peru had purchased of the United States two monitors, which were awaiting delivery in New Orleans. If a state of war was still operative it was improper for the United States, as a neutral, to make delivery. If war had ended—which was claimed, although no treaty of peace had been executed—delivery was perfectly proper. The Minister from Spain to the United States protested against the delivery by us which was then anticipated on the ground that war was still continuing. Secretary of State Seward replied, on July 9, 1868, in part, as follows:

The situation of peace may be restored by the long suspension of hostilities without a treaty of peace being made. History is full of such occurrences.

Here we have a formal recognition by an American Secretary of State of the fact that a war need not be ended by treaty.

As a matter of fact, as Secretary Seward said, history is full of such instances. Sometimes peace comes as a result of a long-continued drift from a state of war into a state of peace, the consequence either of the exhaustion of the belligerents, of distaste for the war, or of some other change of circumstances which makes the prosecution of the war impossible or undesirable. Sometimes

peace comes as a result of the conquests and subjugation—often followed by annexation—of one of the powers by the other.

## HISTORICAL EXAMPLES

Further in his remarks Congressman Rogers said:

The suggestion is occasionally heard that in some unexplained way this [resolution] involves the making of a treaty; some critics calling it a treaty of peace, others calling it a treaty of trade. Of course, it is neither in fact. It is not a treaty of peace because it involves a mere recognition on the part of Germany that the undoubted status of peace is admitted and accepted by her as a fact.

Nor is it a treaty of trade or commerce. In substance it provides that if Germany does not send the requisite notification within the stipulated period the President shall proclaim that fact and thereupon commercial intercourse shall cease, except, in effect, under such a system of licenses as are now in effect under the Trading with the Enemy act.

The fallacy fallen into by the critics of this section results from their failure to recall that by no means all international arrangements, whether simple or complex, important or trivial, constitute treaties and hence involve the necessity of Executive and Senatorial concurrent action. The Executive alone may effect many international arrangements. He may negotiate a protocol; President McKinley, for example, negotiated the original peace protocol with Spain in 1898. Similar protocols were negotiated with Costa Rica and Nicaragua in connection with the Inter-oceanic Canal and at the conclusion of the Boxer troubles in China in 1901. In like manner the President alone may negotiate a *modus vivendi* or by a simple exchange of notes may conclude a diplomatic agreement with another country. The international postal conventions of 1891 and 1897 were concluded by the Executive without submission to the Senate.

Many acts of Congress, some of them dating almost from the beginning of the Government, others as recent as the Underwood Tariff act, provide that if other nations do or do not do certain things the President shall have the power to do certain other things. These acts have been questioned, first, because they are in reality treaties, and hence beyond the powers of Congress as such, and second, because they involve the delegation of legislative power by Congress to the President. The great case of *Field against Clark*, decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1891, put an end to these objections for all time. The President's power under this section does not involve the exercise of legislative authority. It simply requires him to find a fact, upon the ascertainment of which certain things follow. It is not a delegation of power, it is not the making of a treaty; it is simply a trade arrangement. As such it is in line with many established precedents



and is squarely under the authority of Field against Clark.

### RESOLUTION NOT A TREATY

Mr. Rogers cited numerous statutes dating from 1794 to 1911 which involved trade arrangements with other countries passed by Congress, which gave powers to the President either to modify trade relationships with other countries or to do certain other things if the statutes were not accepted. Among these were the following: The McKinley Tariff act of 1890, which provided that the President should suspend certain provisions of the act by proclamation in the event he was satisfied that certain reciprocal trade arrangements were being fulfilled; this was sustained by the Supreme Court in the case of *Field vs. Clark*. He cited also sections of the Dingley Tariff act of 1897 and the Canadian Reciprocity act of 1911. He drew the following deductions:

Under the foregoing precedents and decisions there can be no valid question raised as to the constitutionality of Section 3. Section 3 is not an offer of a treaty or a delegation of legislative power. It is simply a foreign trade arrangement of a sort repeatedly enacted by Congress. Even if there were no statutory or judicial affirmation of the legality of the section it would be sustained under the clause of the Constitution which permits Congress to "regulate commerce with foreign nations," and as the section involves the regulation of exports and imports it may also be sustained by the clause which after granting powers of taxation to Congress provides that Congress may pass laws necessary for the general welfare. It has none of the elements of a treaty of peace, because it might equally well have been enacted by Congress if the war with Germany had already ended in the usual manner by a duly ratified treaty of peace.

### QUESTION OF CONSTITUTIONALITY

Congressman Flood of Virginia opposed the resolution. He argued against its constitutionality and held that its passage would jeopardize important commercial rights. He said:

The title of the United States to the German ships which we seized during the war is very doubtful. These ships have never been through a prize court, and when they were first seized it was the general understanding that unless they did go through a prize court they would be subject to be libeled by their owners in any neutral ports in which they might be found. They were

not put through the courts, our Government depending upon the treaty to take care of our interests in them. These ships are of very great value and constitute one of the few items by way of reparation that the American Government will get for its tremendous expenditure of money and blood in the World War. I do not think Congress should hastily and without proper consideration enact a measure that might cause the loss of these ships and yet this is just what the Republican majority here proposes to do.

The Alien Property Custodian funds, amounting to something over \$500,000,000, cannot be dealt with otherwise than by restoration to the owners, unless German consent to their application to other purposes is obtained. This resolution, if it becomes law, would make it impossible to obtain Germany's consent.

The resolution declares that a state of peace exists, and provides for the repeal of wartime laws, and then attempts to impose the harsh terms of the treaty upon Germany under the threat of cutting off commercial relations with her. No one who has studied the history of the Versailles Treaty and considered the reluctance with which Germany consented to it and signed it, would think for a moment that Germany would consent to a resolution that imposes upon her again the obligations of that treaty. So far as we are concerned, she is free from the terms of that treaty, and we will never get her to assent to its terms again. International law does not permit the confiscation of private property unless the enemy Government consents to the use of such property for the satisfaction of claims against it. Without Germany's consent, we cannot take that property. Under the Versailles Treaty Germany consented that the claims of the United States and its nationals against the German Government might be satisfied out of it. Out of this fund we expected to take care of the widows and orphans who were made so by the Lusitania outrage and other outrages practiced against civilization by the German Government during the war. The rights of these people will be put in peril, if not sacrificed, by this legislation.

### CLOSING THE DISCUSSION

Congressman Mondell, Republican leader, in closing the debate, said:

The only reason why conditions of peace have not been restored through the more usual method of a treaty is that the Chief Executive refused to sanction in the legislative body, which co-ordinates with him under the Constitution in the making of treaties, the same freedom of judgment and action that he insisted upon for himself. For it is known of all men who care to be informed that the prevailing opinion in the matter is confirmed by the public announcement of a Democratic Senator that but for the pressure by the Chief Executive to the

contrary the treaty would have been ratified with reservations safeguarding the Republic and preserving its sovereignty and peace thus secured and proclaimed.

In such a situation is there any one with so poor an opinion of our form of Government as to believe that, having waited patiently seventeen months for a treaty of peace, for the relief from burdensome and extraordinary control, for the re-establishment of normal conditions of trade and intercourse, we are helpless to cure the

situation and must indefinitely wait upon the will of one man, and he the one on whom we have conferred powers and prerogatives and jurisdiction which the people have carefully reserved in themselves only to be guardedly conferred upon the President during the imperative exigencies of war?

As we glory in our country and in our Constitution, we decline to accept a construction so narrow, so destructive, so subversive of the theory and principles of the Republic.

## American Developments

### Army and Navy Questions and Attempts at Solution of Pressing Domestic Problems

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1920]

THE long-drawn-out debate in the Senate on universal compulsory military training ended on April 9 in a defeat for the advocates of the system. The Senate substituted for it a voluntary training system. By a vote of 46 to 9 that body adopted amendments to the Army Reorganization bill proposed by Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey changing the compulsory features of the training provisions so that, instead of requiring every young man to receive military training for at least four months, only those who apply for it will receive it.

Seven of the nine were Republicans and two—Myers of Montana and Pittman of Nevada—Democrats. The seven Republicans were Brandegee of Connecticut, Keyes of New Hampshire, McCumber of North Dakota, Moses of New Hampshire, New of Indiana, Poindexter of Washington, and Wadsworth of New York. The Democrats, with two exceptions, accepted the voluntary plan, though they would have voted almost as solidly against compulsory training.

#### AMERICAN TROOPS ON RHINE

President Wilson, on April 1, responded to the request made by the House on March 25 for information as to the status of United States troops on the Rhine. These, he said, were under his direction and not under that of Field

Marshal Foch, and most of them are in the Coblenz area.

There were on March 28 last 726 officers and 16,756 enlisted men in Germany, the President said in his letter, operating not only under the terms of the original armistice, but under the later conventions which prolonged the armistice.

#### WAR RISK INSURANCE

Legislation designed to bring the Government war risk insurance in closer touch with former service men was approved March 25 by the House Interstate Commerce sub-committee. The collection of insurance premiums at Post Offices, the establishment of State war risk insurance offices and funds for advertising the benefits of Government insurance are provided for.

For establishing regional offices and other sub-offices the bill carries \$1,000,000, while \$250,000 is appropriated for advertising. Besides collecting insurance premiums, Post Offices would handle applications for reinsurance and reinstatement of policies. No premiums on renewable term insurance would be collected temporarily from men while receiving hospital care or vocational training or while suffering total temporary disability.

For one year after the passage of the bill the Government would provide with-



out charge all medical, dental and surgical care for men suffering from diseases resulting from the service.

### RETURN OF WAR DEAD

It was announced on March 23 that an agreement had been reached between the French and American Government representatives under which all American dead in France may be removed to this country as soon as arrangements can be completed. "This practically ends the controversy between the United States and France over the return of our soldier dead," said Chairman Porter of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Secretary Baker recently wrote Congress that about 50,000 of the American dead would be brought home at the request of the next of kin, and that the remainder, about 20,000, would be concentrated in major cemeteries in France, which would be maintained by the War Department.

### ARMY CAMPS

Two opposing reports on the Congressional investigation of the construction of thirty-two army camps and cantonments were submitted to the House, April 12, by the War Expenditures Committee. The majority report, presented by Republican committeemen, criticised Government agencies and officials in charge of the war building program, while the minority report of the Democrats defended the Administration.

The Government lost \$78,531,521 on the sixteen National Army cantonments, it was estimated by the majority report, which asserted that this was due to "waste, inefficiency and graft" resulting from cost-plus contracts which were said to be "wide open." No estimate of loss on the National Guard camps was made by the majority.

Dissenting from the majority findings, the minority declared that the construction work was equivalent to building thirty-two cities, each with 37,000 to 46,000 population, and added: "This tremendous task was practically completed in three months and stands out as one of the great achievements of the war."

By a vote of 15 to 6, the Ways and Means Committee of the House adopted,

April 2, a resolution offered by Representative Longworth to report bonus legislation before another month. The resolution also declared against raising the money through a bond issue and favored obtaining it by means of a sales or luxury tax. It is expected that the bonus bill will provide for vocational education and monetary bonuses and involves an expenditure in excess of \$1,500,000,000. This legislation will be worked out in detail by sub-committees.

### NAVY DESERTIONS

Rear Admiral Thomas Washington, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, told the Senate Investigating Committee on April 9 that thousands of desertions in the last year had brought about conditions unparalleled in American naval history. The whole naval service, he warned, is threatened with disaster unless Congress immediately enacts legislation raising the pay of officers and men to a point that will allow the navy to compete with civil occupations.

There were 4,666 desertions in the last six months of 1919, Rear Admiral Washington declared, and thus far this year, he said, they have averaged around 700 a month, many of the deserters being petty officers of several years' experience. At present rates of pay, he said, recruits cannot be obtained.

Failure of Congress to act, he declared, has also resulted in the resignation of hundreds of officers. The result is that the navy is in a "bad way," and if conditions continue it not only will be undermanned by 1921, but 90 per cent. of those on the roster will be inexperienced boys.

### FLETCHER REMOVAL INQUIRY

Investigation of reasons for the removal of Rear Admiral William B. Fletcher from command of the American naval base at Brest was begun at Washington before a Naval Court of Inquiry, March 25. Little testimony was introduced at the first session, most of it being documentary. In a letter to Secretary Daniels Admiral Sims denied that he removed Admiral Fletcher because of the loss of the transport *Antilles*, asserting that he had reached the decision some

time before when he had learned that on two occasions transports were permitted to start back without adequate convoy. The sinking of the Antilles, Admiral Sims wrote, led him to decide, however, that Admiral Fletcher should have no European command.

Testifying in his own behalf, Admiral Fletcher, who requested that the court be convened, charged that at no time did Admiral Sims in his orders lay down specific rules as to convoy formations and the minimum protection that should be accorded vessels off the French coast. The first direction he received as to this, he said, was given verbally and in a "very general way" by Lieut. Commander Daniels, Admiral Sims's aid, when he visited Brest in August, 1917. Despite the difficulty of adequately protecting troop and supply transports with the small force of destroyers and yachts at his disposal, the Admiral said this force had been used to the best possible advantage.

Admiral Fletcher presented a copy of an order from Admiral Sims in August, 1917, which placed Captain R. H. Jackson, American naval representative at the French Ministry of Marine, in command of "all American naval and aviation bases" in France.

Admiral Sims told the court that "either the copy or the original" contained a typographical error; that he had intended to order Captain Jackson to command only the "naval aviation bases." The inclusion of the "and," which made the order apply to all bases, he said, was a "rank absurdity." The Judge Advocate said the situation was "complicated" because the original order could not be located in the Navy Department files.

The order created an "anomalous" situation, Admiral Fletcher said, and resulted in great delay in operation, as it was necessary to route all communications between his office and Admiral Sims through Captain Jackson.

Counsel for Admiral Sims produced several communications from Sims to Fletcher. The first, dated Sept. 7, emphasized the need for greater precision and regularity in convoy operations, and

contained a report from the Chief of Naval Operations to Admiral Sims that two transport convoys had been intrusted to entirely too inadequate escort on leaving the French coast. Three weeks later Admiral Sims again wrote the Brest commander emphasizing the need for greater protection to returning transports.

Admiral Fletcher testified under examination that he realized the situation demanded remedying, but that the only remedy lay in augmenting his "small and poorly adapted convoy forces." Repeated representations to this effect had been made to Admiral Sims, he said, but with small result up to the time of his detachment.

Admiral Henry B. Wilson, who had succeeded Fletcher at Brest, criticised Vice Admiral Sims in his testimony on April 5. Basing of all destroyers used in convoying American troops and supply transports into French ports on Queenstown, instead of Brest, up to the Spring of 1918, Admiral Wilson declared, meant that the destroyers "worked only one way" and "wasted mileage" in the long trip back to Queenstown for refueling.

If originally based on Brest, he declared, these destroyers could have worked "both ways," convoying transports out as well as into the French ports, and thus made to render their maximum service, as was demonstrated some eight months later, he added, when this plan was permitted.

Disagreeing with the testimony of Captain Byron C. Long, Sims's aid for operations at London, who said Admiral Fletcher's request that destroyers be based on Brest was denied because of a lack of oiling facilities there, Admiral Wilson declared that at the time he succeeded Fletcher facilities at Brest were adequate for "quite a large force."

#### SIMS-DANIELS CONTROVERSY

Testimony given before the Senate Naval Investigating Committee developed sharp differences of opinion among Rear Admirals and other officials as to the Navy Department's preparedness for war in 1917.

Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, retired, severely criticised Secretary



Daniels. The Secretary's characteristics and "previous training," Admiral Fiske said, prevented him from taking "a broad and profound view" of the navy's needs. Up to 1917, the Admiral declared, Mr. Daniels seemed convinced that there would never be another war.

Mr. Daniels, Admiral Fiske said, paid too much attention to details and did not sufficiently interest himself in broad questions of plans and policies. Naval officers generally felt that he attached undue importance to the comfort of the men and carried his efforts to "democratize the navy" to an extent inconsistent with discipline.

Admiral Mayo, who was Rear Admiral Sims's immediate superior, technically at least during the war, took issue with some of the statements made by that officer in his indictment of the department's conduct of the war. To the charge that no adequate plan for co-operation with allied navies had been made in advance, Admiral Mayo answered that the office of Chief of Operations had been created only in 1915 and was not comprehensive enough to secure the best possible results, but that without it conditions would have been chaotic.

The navy was as well prepared for war in 1917 as were the British, French and Italian navies in 1914, Admiral Mayo asserted, adding that it would have been better prepared had the Operations Bureau been created sooner.

Admiral Rodman denied categorically that the navy entered the war without plans or policies; that it was unprepared to fight, or that it was a mistake to attempt to direct naval operations from Washington. Admiral Rodman declared that never in his more than forty years of service had the fleet been in a better state of preparedness than in the Spring of 1917. Some types of vessels were lacking, he conceded, notably battle cruisers and scout cruisers, but generally speaking the navy "was ready to fight."

Admiral H. B. Wilson, Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Fleet, declared that the active fleet never was better prepared for war than in April, 1917. The navy's accomplishments in the war, the Admiral said, "deserve the commenda-

tion of the nation," for they were so stupendous as to make "relatively unimportant" any mistakes.

Five days after the United States declared war Secretary Daniels told representatives of the allied Admiralties that the United States Navy would do whatever they suggested as best for the common cause, the witness said, and plans then agreed on were immediately placed in effect.

### COAL CONTROL ENDS

President Wilson on March 23 ordered the termination on April 1 of the Government's control over bituminous prices. At the same time he asked the operators and miners to negotiate a new working agreement, based on the majority report of his strike settlement commission. This will permit partial absorption in coal prices of the 27 per cent. increase in wages allowed by the commission.

The Coal Commission's majority and minority reports were inclosed in the President's letter to the operators and miners, but the President assumed, he said, that both groups, as previously agreed, would consider the majority report binding.

The wage increase of 27 per cent. recommended by the majority report, which the President calls the award, absorbs the 14 per cent. increase allowed in the strike settlement and means a still further annual increase, it is said, of \$96,000,000 and a total of \$200,000,000 since October, 1919. To have shortened the working day one hour, as recommended by the labor representative on the commission, would cost an additional \$100,000,000, according to the majority report. Secretary Wilson before the strike urged an increase of 31.6 per cent., and Dr. Garfield, former Fuel Administrator, an increase of 14 per cent.

On March 29 the joint conference of miners and operators agreed that the monetary provisions in the award of the Bituminous Coal Commission, as affirmed by President Wilson, should become effective on April 1, when the old contract expired. It was agreed also that the mines should continue in operation pending the working out of the details of the new agreement, which was left to a

sub-committee of eight miners and eight operators.

### RAILWAY WAGE DEMANDS

The bi-partisan board which had been considering the \$1,000,000,000 wage increase demanded by the railway employees reached a deadlock April 1 and abruptly ended its sessions. The railway executives upon the board insisted that the matter must be passed on to the Labor Board, created under the new Railway bill, on the theory that the public must have representation when so huge a demand is being considered.

E. T. Whiter, Chairman of the Railroad Executives' Conference Committee, issued a statement saying that the executives had asked the unions to form a committee to prepare data to be presented to the Labor Board, but the unions had refused. The unions, said this statement, declared they would appeal to the Labor Board.

### MINE LEADERS JAILED

The strike of Kansas and Illinois coal miners because they were dissatisfied with the awards of wage tribunals led to drastic action on the part of the judicial authorities. On April 9 Alexander Howat, leader of the Kansas miners' organization, President of District 14, United Mine Workers of America, was sent to the Crawford County Jail by Judge Andrew J. Curran for contempt of court for his refusal to appear before the new Court of Industrial Relations after he had been summoned as a witness. Howat was to stay in jail until he consented to appear as a witness before the court and answer questions, or until he was released on bond if an appeal were taken to the Kansas Supreme Court. Before going to prison he made this statement:

Our position is unchanged. We stand where we stood. We refuse to testify before this court because we do not recognize the court. It is an institution founded to enslave the workingman.

Sentenced with Howat were his associate officers of the district organization, Thomas Harvey, Secretary Treasurer; August Dorchy, Vice President, and Robert B. Foster, Auditor. Each

received the same sentence as that given to Howat, and must pay the costs of the case. Howat had refused to appear before the Court of Industrial Relations because of his enmity to the new law.

### THE "OUTLAW" STRIKE

One of the most serious railroad strikes that have ever menaced the economic prosperity and food supply of the nation was initiated April 2, when 700 switchmen and yardmen in Chicago and Milwaukee quit work. The movement was in direct defiance of the leaders of the four railway brotherhoods. It spread with great rapidity until almost all the railroad systems in the country were seriously crippled. Freight was moved with difficulty and passenger service was greatly curtailed or in some cases discontinued. On the Erie road a mail train was abandoned en route by its crew. Violence in many cases was used against engineers and firemen who refused to join the strikers. In the suburbs of the great cities "Indignation Specials" manned by volunteers were the only means by which some commuters were able to get to and from their places of business. Fifty thousand men were thrown out of work in Chicago, 200,000 in the Pittsburgh district, and other centres suffered proportionately.

The direct charge that the outlaw railroad strike was engineered by the I. W. W. as a part of the worldwide Communist movement was made on April 14 by Attorney General Palmer. The Attorney General disclosed this to the Cabinet at the first meeting which President Wilson had attended since last September.

The Government's policy, it developed, would be to reveal this information to hundreds of patriotic American workers among the strikers in the hope that they would realize that they had been duped and would return to work. If this step did not prove effective, strong repressive measures would be taken, Mr. Palmer promised.

The attitude of the chiefs of the railway brotherhoods was indicated by the following statement, issued April 9:

The present strike of men engaged in



switching service was originated in Chicago by a new organization that has for its purpose the destruction of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Switchmen's Union and in its inception had nothing to do with the wage question, but was a demand for the reinstatement of the leader of this opposition organization.

After this strike was instituted for this purpose the leaders of the new organization then injected the wage question for the sole purpose of deceiving the yardmen throughout the United States and to promote the "One Big Union" idea.

There can be no settlement of pending wage questions while this illegal action continues. We insist that all members of these Brotherhoods do everything within their power to preserve their existing contracts, which if abrogated may take years to rebuild. The laws of all of these organizations provide penalties for members engaging in illegal strikes and these penalties will be enforced.

L. E. SHEPPARD, President Order of Railroad Conductors.

W. G. LEE, President Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

W. S. STONE, Grand Chief Engineer Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

W. S. CARTER, President Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers.

### STRIKE LEADERS ARRESTED

On April 15 the Government took action, and John Grunau, the chief leader and organizer of the strike, and twenty-two other leaders were arrested in Chicago. Sixteen of those held were released by United States Commissioner Mason on their own recognizance. In the meantime the men agreed to take no part

whatever in the strike. The remaining members obtained their release on the presentation of the \$10,000 security demanded by the Government.

The arrests came as a complete surprise to those taken. Many of them were at their homes, and others were picked up at strike meetings or as they arrived at strike headquarters. None resisted.

Special Assistant Attorney General Harry Mitchell, who was in Chicago from Washington to conduct the case against the strikers, told them at the hearing that the Government would press the prosecution to the limit. Speaking before Commissioner Mason he said:

These men are charged with a serious offense against the Government. They have interfered with the health of the entire nation by causing its food shipments to be delayed and stopped. They have caused industry to stop because of lack of fuel, and we are convinced that there was a conspiracy to aim a blow at the Government.

According to the warrants, the men arrested were charged with violations of that part of the Sherman law having to do with interference with interstate shipments, and that part of the Lever law having to do with interference with food and fuel. There was no attempt on the part of the Government to include charges of radicalism or conspiracy with the I. W. W. or other organizations.

By the middle of April the strike showed every indication of gradual collapse.

## Expulsion of Socialist Assemblymen

### Action of New York Legislature

THE suspension by the Legislature of New York State on Jan. 7 of five duly elected members of that body—all Socialists from New York City—created a sensation. The men suspended, charged with affiliations with an anti-Governmental party, and with treasonable utterances, were the following: Louis Waldman and August Claessens of Manhattan, Samuel A. De Witt and Samuel Orr of the Bronx, and Charles

Solomon of Kings County. The suspended members announced their intention of resisting expulsion. Strong protests were also made by Judge Charles E. Hughes and the Bar Association of New York, on the ground that the method of procedure adopted was unconstitutional, and that the men should be reinstated pending proof of the charges. A committee sent by the Bar Association, headed by Justice Hughes, to argue these

points was excluded by the Assembly after a secret vote at the first session of the trial.

The trial of the accused Assemblymen began on Jan. 20 and closed on Feb. 27. The proceedings were opened before the largest throng that the State Assembly Chamber had ever held. The Assemblymen in a body, many Senators and State officials, departmental employees and some 2,000 visitors, including representatives of eighty civic and labor organizations, followed the trial with the closest attention.

The Chairman of the Judiciary Committee declared that the five Assemblymen were accused of being pro-German during the war, and allied with a party which sought to overthrow the Government of the United States by force. The accused men were defended by the Socialist lawyer, Morris Hillquit, who declared that they were the victims of persecution. The period between Jan. 20 and Feb. 5 was devoted to the hearing of testimony to prove the Assembly's charges. Personal charges against Waldman, Claessens and Solomon, especially, tended to show that these three men had made treasonable and seditious utterances in public speeches or otherwise. Charges made by Miss Chivers, a witness, that Solomon had spat upon the American flag during a public address on socialism, were contradicted by police testimony. Much of the evidence taken dealt with the official pronouncements of the Socialist Party, to which all the five accused Assemblymen belonged. The period between Feb. 17 and Feb. 27 was devoted to the hearing of the defense, which consisted of general denials of the Assembly's charges.

The final decision was not taken until April 1, after an all-night debate, which showed a majority of the Assembly strongly in favor of expulsion. Opposition speeches were made by Colonel Roosevelt, who had argued against expulsion throughout, and by the majority leader, Simon L. Adler. Despite these

and other arguments for the defense, at 10 o'clock in the morning the Assembly expelled the five Socialists and declared their seats vacant. The vote for expulsion, taken on each individual case, was overwhelming. In the case of Claessens, Waldman and Solomon, against whom individual charges had been preferred and considered proved, the vote was 116 to 28; in the cases of Orr and De Witt the vote was 104 to 40.

The majority report of the Judiciary Committee, after declaring that the charges had been fully proved, declared that the accused were

not obedient to the Constitution and laws of New York, nor desirous of the welfare of the country, nor in hearty accord and sympathy with its Government and institutions, and for said reasons, and also because of the other facts and reasons set forth, they are disqualified to occupy seats in the Assembly of the State of New York as members thereof.

One clause of the report excluded from the official ballot of the State any party that accepted aliens in its membership. A large part of the report was devoted to a severe indictment of the Socialist Party and its anti-militarist program during the war, including the issuing of a party manifesto, framed by Morris Hillquit. This manifesto had called upon workers to refrain from aiding in the production of munitions of war. The report also condemned the Socialist Party's control of its legislative members by a party oath, as seen in the case of the expelled members, who had voted during their membership against every bill presented for State defense; its disloyal propaganda campaign against the war and its expressed identification with the aims of the Bolshevik Government to overthrow the Governments of the world, including that of America, and to substitute a Soviet régime.

The five men unseated and disqualified attacked the decision, saying that the voters had been betrayed, and declared that they would take their appeal to the nation's highest tribunal if they did not gain revision in the State court.



# The Labor Revolt in Germany

## Dramatic Events in Ruhr Region After the Junker Fiasco— Fall of the Bauer Cabinet

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1920]

PRESIDENT EBERT and the Bauer Cabinet returned to Berlin on March 21, after the dispersal of the fly-by-night Junker Government headed by Dr. Kapp. The general strike, which had helped to defeat the reactionaries, had been called off, but the political atmosphere remained heavily charged with potential trouble. The Strike Committee, which represented the labor and radical parties in the capital, immediately confronted the Government with demands for a thorough housecleaning of all elements favorable to reactionary designs. These demands emphasized the determination of German labor to shake off the domination of Junkerdom and militarism and to seize a larger share of power. Incidentally the committee's program of reforms demanded the resignation of Gustav Noske and Dr. Karl Heine.

During protracted negotiations the Government endeavored to appease the labor demand by ordering the arrest of Dr. Kapp, General von Lüttwitz and other leaders of the reactionary revolt, and by promising drumhead court-martial for such offenders, and a large representation of Radicals in the Cabinet. The conflict, however, centred first on Minister of Defense Noske. He had become especially obnoxious to the Left Parties owing to his vigorous suppression of the Radical and Spartan revolts, and his lack of the same activity displayed in the recent temporary success of the reactionaries brought down upon him the charge of militarist complicity. His position, therefore, became untenable and his resignation was tendered to President Ebert on March 22.

From the 23d to the 26th Premier Bauer strove to remodel the Cabinet to suit the importunities of those arrayed against him by including in its members Herr Gessler, Mayor of Nuremberg, as

Minister of Defense; Captain Cuno, a Director of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, as Minister of Finance; Herr Boltz as Minister of the Treasury, and Herr Silberschmidt of the Builders' Trades Union as Minister of Reconstruction. But the Left refused to accept Captain Cuno on the ground of his hostility to labor, and, because of this and other objectionable features, the remodeled Cabinet, as a whole, was denounced by the Labor Federation as unsatisfactory. In view of this crisis Premier Bauer resigned. At the same time the Prussian Cabinet tendered their resignations.

### FORMING THE NEW CABINET

Prolonged conferences between the Majority Socialists and Independent Socialists, on the one side, and Democrats and Centrists, on the other, came to nothing, because the Independents held out for an all-labor Cabinet. The Centrists and Democrats refused to entertain any such proposal. A proposal that the Independents be granted a few seats in the Cabinet was rejected by the body thus intended to benefit. Finally, in deference to the unanimous wish of the Democrats, President Ebert invited Herman Müller to form a new Ministry. Herr Müller announced the completion of his Cabinet on March 27, himself taking the posts of Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The remainder of the Cabinet was as follows:

Minister of Transport—DR. BELL (Socialist).

Minister Without Portfolio—DR. EDUARD DAVID (Socialist).

Vice Premier and Minister of the Interior—HERR KOCH (Democrat).

Minister of Defense — HERR GESSLER (Democrat).

Minister of Justice — HERR PFLUNCK (Democrat).

Minister of Finance — GUSTAV BAUER (Socialist).

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs — JOHANN GIESBERTS (Centrist).

Minister of Food — ANDREAS HERMES (Centrist).

Minister of the Treasury — DR. WIRTH (Centrist).

The entry of the Müller Cabinet upon its duties was said to have been with the approval of the Labor Federation.

### THE LABOR REVOLT

The proclamation of the general strike by President Ebert as the most effective weapon to scatter the brief régime of Dr. Kapp proved easier than its recall when the task was done. Labor and Spartan forces had worked and waited for precisely such an opportunity to overthrow the Ebert Government, itself charged with harboring reactionary and militarist partisans, and were not to be brought to heel when the hour seemed most auspicious to accomplish that real revolution of the German proletariat.

In accounting for the labor revolt that followed the Junker fiasco it was generally held that there was no real Bolshevik sentiment among the German workmen, even in the Ruhr district, where so-called Soviet councils were set up. Its outward manifestation was clearly a nation-wide spasm of wrath directed against militarist plotting, of which General Ludendorff, the former Quartermaster General of the German Army, was charged with being the principal instigator behind the scenes. In this connection the Reichswehr, or loyal Government troops, many of whose officers were accused of imperial militarism, were denounced and fought as fiercely as those of avowed allegiance to the Kapp conspiracy.

Thus in Berlin, where the fever of strife ran its course for six days with 94 killed and 721 wounded, there was also reported a savage massacre of military officers at the Johannistal flying grounds. This and similar instances of the revengeful anti-militarist temper of the populace moved the Government on March 23 to order the withdrawal of the Reichswehr and the formation of Berlin workmen's guards.

In Saxony the flame of the revolt blazed up spontaneously, but amid much confusion, owing to lack of news from

Berlin regarding the speedy fall of the Kapp Government. Both Halle and Leipzig became the scenes of desperate conflict, in which hundreds were killed and thousands wounded. For four days Leipzig was subjected to a reign of terror. Bloody hand-to-hand street fighting went on continuously between Government troops and the rebels, in which artillery was used to such devastating effect that scarcely a building remained undamaged or a window escaped the shattering of machine gun fire. But the arrival of a large body of Reichswehr troops under General Merker—at the moment when the rebels were running short of ammunition—brought the Saxon labor revolt to an end on March 27.

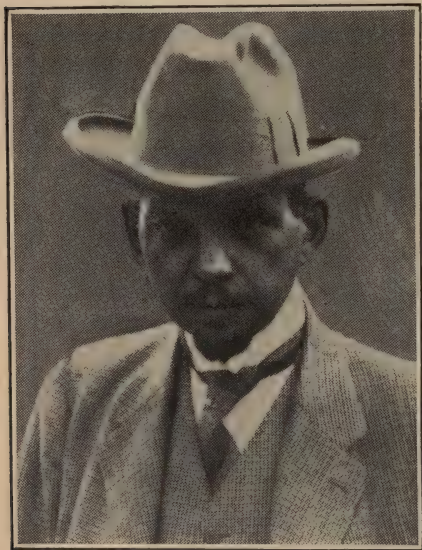
### BATTLES IN RUHR DISTRICT

While Bavaria and other parts of Germany reported labor uprisings of more or less concern, by far the most serious of all, both locally and for its international consequences, was that throughout the industrial region of Westphalia, especially in the Ruhr district. From March 19 to 23 reports reached the outside world that the workers had taken control of practically the whole of this district; that they possessed a well armed and organized force of 50,000 or more, and that they were supported actively by Russian military and other agents.

The centre of the war zone was at Essen, the site of the great Krupp works. A correspondent who arrived there on the 23d found that workers' councils had been set up in all the cities of the district, but nowhere had a Soviet republic been proclaimed, and the workers were not so much intent on establishing communism as on overthrowing the power of the Reichswehr, whom they had always hated and suspected because of their officers. Hitherto the warfare had been wholly of a guerrilla nature, but the workers were then organizing on the basis of unity of command. The correspondent found about 6,000 Reichswehr troops, who were receiving reinforcements from the peasantry opposed to the revolt, in conflict with 15,000 workers, who had captured 5 cannon, 6 trench mortars, 3,000 rifles and 2,000 rounds of ammunition.



By March 27 the workers' forces had been beaten back more than a mile from before Wesel, and negotiations were proceeding between Government emissaries and the workers at Bielefeld, an armistice was being arranged, though intermittent fighting still went on. Meanwhile, it became evident that the new



DR. HERMANN MUELLER  
New German Premier  
(© Underwood & Underwood)

Democratic Coalition Government was gaining confidence among the parties of law and order, and that Dr. Gessler, Minister of Defense, was following "Old Doctor" Noske's prescription for the Spartan and extreme radical ailment: "Be good or you will get spanked."

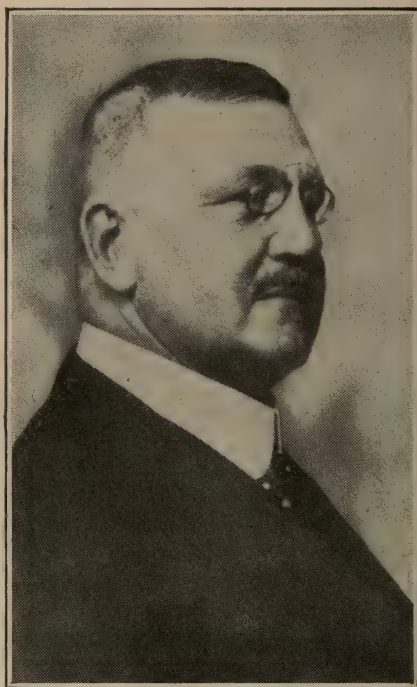
#### ROUT OF WORKMEN'S ARMY

The whole armed uprising in Westphalia had collapsed by the 28th, though the "Red Army" was still holding a line from Wesel to Haltern, along the Lippe, with the river separating it from the Government troops. The Reds' position was threatened by an encircling movement. Leonard Spray described the rout of the workmen's forces at Wesel in tragically picturesque detail as follows:

When I left the front a few hours later

the left wing had broken, and what I saw was the most pitiful of all spectacles—an army's retreat with its mingled elements panic-stricken in the realization of defeat. \* \* \* The setting of the first scene was in Barracks Square of Mülheim, the great headquarters of the Red Army south of Essen. There were drawn up three great motor lorries packed with armed men and youths in their workaday clothes, some with the grime of the factories and forges still on their faces. The call had come for reinforcements for the Wesel front. \* \* \* Before this ragged regiment went a man appeared at a window overlooking the square and demanded silence with a gesture of his arm, around which was a red band lettered in black, "Battle Leader." "You won't hesitate," he shouted; "you know that what happens during the fighting is a bagatelle to what will come if you lay down arms before victory. Go forward to fight for freedom and the workers' rights."

Of the actual retreat witnessed from Dinslaken, a town north of Essen close up to the fighting line, its pavements littered with the jetsam of civil war, Mr. Spray wrote:



DR. WOLFGANG KAPP  
Leader of the unsuccessful Junker revolt  
(Wide World Photo)

Many of the steadier men interrupted their retreat and tried to rally their comrades to go back and face the enemy. \* \* \* There was suddenly heard the devil's rattle of machine guns, and the boys, to whom clearly this was the first experience of warfare, broke into a panic and ran, though as a matter of fact the sound they heard was the firing of their own comrades, who were trying to cover their retreat.

A few moments later our car was closed around by a group, bearing in their midst a man and a girl, both wounded, the latter's chest pierced by a stray bullet. We put them into the car to seek the hospital, but had moved only a short distance when there was a touch of compelling drama. Our wounded warrior had been hit by six machine-gun bullets, but without warning he sat upright and shouted in a voice hoarse but thrilling to the outside passing column: "My comrades, I am finished. I cannot fight again. But you men, go back, go back and face them." Then he fell back unconscious into his place, and the poor girl beside him, with blood still oozing through the bandages, broke into sobs. With our stricken nurse was a second girl, herself unharmed, but going home with the rest. "Stop!" she shrieked. "Let us get out. I'm going to stay with my comrades."

That was the last scene we witnessed

in this tragedy of fanaticism, which had gone to fight without guidance of armed troops, without discipline, with leaders divided among themselves.

### END OF THE RUHR REVOLT

A subsequent rally of the "Red Army" after its defeat at Wesel was but a forlorn hope. Though grown to 100,000 in



DR. GESSLER

*Successor of Noske as Minister of Defense*



MAJOR GEN. HENRY T. ALLEN

*Commander of American troops of occupation on the Rhine*

(© Harris & Ewing)

number and possessing some artillery, it had no chance of a victory over the 75,000 disciplined Government troops, including one cavalry division and reinforcements of Bavarian and Württemberg regiments, which had been poured into the region. On April 1 the Central Committee and 200 delegates assembled at Essen unanimously voted to accept the terms offered by the Government at Bielefeld. This ended the organized revolt, though bands of Communists continued to operate in the territory about Essen, Dortmund, Duisburg and Mülheim. Ostensibly to clear the region of these marauders, Government troops fought their way into Duisburg on April 3 and proceeded to restore order in the industrial district toward Wanheim and the woods near Mülheim. On the 6th Reichswehr forces advanced on Essen, the last Communist stand. They found the Communists had taken up a defensive po-





GERMAN REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS IN THE RUHR DISTRICT

sition on the canal, but when charged by the Reichswehr on both flanks the Communists broke and fled. Some of them surrendered their arms at the City Hall, while others threw them away.

Hundreds of the "Red Army," fearing the "white terror," took refuge in the British occupied zone, where they were disarmed. The losses of the Reichswehr up to April 4 were given as 170 killed, 346 wounded and 123 missing.

By the 8th the Ruhr district was again resuming normal industrial peace conditions. According to the terms of the Bielefeld agreement, by which the Government granted the rebels until noon of the 10th as a period of grace to return to public order, dissolution of the "Red Army" was proceeding, work in the coal mines had been started, mostly with full crews, and the railroads were operating out of Essen. More than 20,000 rifles were surrendered. On April 10 the rule of the workmen ceased throughout the Ruhr district when the Executive Committees at Düsseldorf, Eberfeld, Barmen and Hagen relinquished authority to the municipal officials at noon in compliance with the Bielefeld terms. The Ruhr labor revolt in this phase, therefore, had terminated.

#### FRENCH OCCUPATION

Meanwhile Premier Müller had applied to the Entente Governments for permission, under the terms of the Peace Treaty, to send troops temporarily into

the neutral zone of the Ruhr region with the sole object of restoring public order. While the United States and Great Britain were not adverse to the petition, the French Government took the stand that such occupation was unnecessary in view of the possibility of order being restored by negotiation.

When, however, 7,000 troops belonging to German marine brigades made occupation of the neutral zone north of Lippe an accomplished fact, the French Government decided to move troops into the neutral zone in accordance with the terms of the Peace Treaty. Early in the morning of April 6, therefore, the 3d Moroccan Rifles marched into Frankfurt and Darmstadt without opposition.

On April 7 an affray took place between the French Moroccan troops and a German mob on Schillerplatz, Frankfurt, in which seven persons were reported killed. Crowds outside the Imperial Hotel, the headquarters of the French force, pressed excitedly forward against the cordon of Moroccan troops. When the attitude of the crowd became menacing and the order to stand back was not obeyed the Moroccan soldiers opened fire. Burgomaster Voigt stated that the incident was the outcome of the refusal of the French to permit him to issue a proclamation enjoining the people to remain calm. On the French side, General De Metz, in command of the French troops, declared that the Imperial Hotel affray was caused by anti-French propa-



GERMAN REGULARS INTRENCHED NEAR WESEL, ENGAGED IN PUTTING DOWN THE REVOLT OF LABOR RADICALS

(Photo F. E. Peguillan)

gandists inciting the crowd to jeer and insult French officers.

#### DEMANDS OF SOCIALISTS

Labor organizations which had participated in the general strike and representatives of the Right Socialist and Independent Socialist Parties held a meeting on April 6, at which it was decided to present certain demands to the Government. These demands read:

1. The withdrawal of regular troops from the neutral zone and the maintenance of public order by local defense bodies.

2. No advance to be made by regular troops south of the Ruhr region.

3. The formation of a defense body in the area outside the neutral zone occupied by regulars, whereupon the regulars are to be withdrawn.

4. Punishment of untrustworthy officers and the stoppage of supplies of ammunition to counter-revolutionary formations like General Erhardt's Baltic brigade.

5. The present Government to reorganize the Security Guard by means of organized workers.

After conferences between the Cabinet and officials of the trade unions, together with leaders of both Socialist Parties, an agreement was reached on

the 8th. By its terms the Government promised to withdraw the troops from the Ruhr Valley at the earliest possible moment, and to halt advance into the region south of the Ruhr. These concessions, combined with the additional promise of Minister of Defense Gessler that he would withdraw all troops which had committed excesses, and that the Ruhr line would not be passed, were regarded as having averted a crisis. A number of well known Socialist leaders had been sent into the newly occupied district to persuade the people to remain in their shops and not to give any further trouble to the French troops.

From Mayence it was reported that General Allen, commanding the American troops on the Rhine, had not received any instructions in view of the French advance, and consequently maintained an attitude of watchfulness only.

#### PROBLEMS AND DISTURBANCES

At three sessions of the Cabinet on April 10 various phases of the situation were discussed. The Government was doing its best to arrest Kapp, Lüttwitz, Jagow and other principals in the recent reactionary revolt, but they had fled to





MAP OF GERMANY SHOWING SITUATION AT TIME OF KAPP REVOLT

parts unknown. Baron von Falkenhausen and twenty officers, however, had been arrested and were to be tried. The Government on the 10th notified all the States of Germany that, in conformity with the Peace Treaty, the Reichswehr must be reduced to 200,000 men and begged the States to act accordingly.

The announcement was made on the 11th of the withdrawal of all German troops no longer needed in the Ruhr district. On the 12th Premier Müller, in the course of a statement before the National Assembly, said: "All troops not indispensable will be withdrawn. Negotiations are going on with the Allies for a three months' extension of the convention of August, 1919. The occupation of the main cities will end shortly."

Continued unrest was manifested in South Germany. At Munich the citizen guards refused to surrender their arms, and declared that if the French wished to disarm them they must come and do it. Dr. von Kahr, President of the Bavarian Ministry, declared on April 10 that Bavaria purposed to assert her rights, even at the cost of a break with the

Central Government. In Brunswick a Guelph party was formed under the leadership of Minister Hempel, with the object of establishing the Grand Duchy as an autonomous monarchy.

What was termed a strike took place on the Berlin Stock Exchange on April 12, when thirty members engaged in stormy scenes and compelled the Board of Directors to close the institution. Some of the Directors were badly handled. The cause of the disturbance was the Government's announcement in the morning papers, without previous notice, that all foreign securities must be given up for delivery to the Entente powers under Article 298 of the Peace Treaty. As the designated rates were in most cases lower than the day's prices, the Exchange members worked themselves into a frenzy, in which Cabinet members as well as Stock Exchange Directors were accused of having profited by selling stock at much higher prices. When it became known that the bourses of Frankfurt and Hamburg had closed for the same reason, a panic ensued such as had never before developed.

In an address to the National Assembly on April 14, Premier Müller said that danger from the reactionary parties was still threatening, especially in Pomerania and Silesia, where the Baltic troops were quartered; a new fire might break out any day, but it would be combated as energetically as before. This statement was backed up by the arrest on

April 15 of General von Lüttwitz and Major Bischoff, officers of the Baltic forces that had figured in the Kapp revolt. A few days later Dr. Kapp fled from Germany by airplane to Sweden, where he was interned. The German Government was taking energetic measures to thwart another reactionary uprising.

## French Seizure of German Cities

### Temporary Rift in the Entente

THE most acute crisis that had arisen between Germany and the Allies since Germany was summoned, on a threat of immediate invasion, to accept the terms of the treaty, developed late in March and reached its highest point in the beginning of April. The immediate cause was the demand by Germany, on March 17, that she be allowed to dispatch her Reichswehr forces to the Ruhr district on the lower Rhine to suppress armed disorders which had followed on the heels of the Kapp coup d'état in Berlin. Informed on March 23 that the Berlin Government intended to send a much larger force than it admitted officially, the French Government, acting on its own initiative, refused its consent.

In the French Chamber on March 26 Premier Millerand emphasized the danger which France was facing from German militarism, and from the German Government's alleged refusal to fulfill the terms of the treaty. On March 10, he said, no war material had been surrendered to the Committee of Control, and it was obvious that Germany was failing to disarm. France, furthermore, was still awaiting the reparations due her, and the question of the German deliveries of coal, which were becoming less month by month, was one of life and death. Tomorrow, as yesterday, the Premier declared, France would be the first to suffer from any fresh assault. "She cannot wait indefinitely the satisfaction due her," he added, amid applause from all parts of the Chamber.

The animated debate that followed resulted in an overwhelming vote of confidence, and in the unanimous passing of a resolution to insist on the strict execution of the Treaty of Versailles.

This action was admitted to be France's reply to the British revisionist movement, and to the German disturbances in the Rhine area. The bitter attack upon Mr. Lloyd George and on the British policy of favoring Germany, made by M. Barthou on the day before, was disapproved by Premier Millerand as unwise, but the lack of harmony between France and her British ally was plainly visible at this time. M. Millerand's speech was hailed by the French press generally as "the end of France's negative policy," and as a clear indication that after fifteen months of patient waiting, France was about to resume a policy of independent action in Europe.

Meanwhile Germany's efforts to obtain consent to a temporary occupation of the Ruhr district continued, the Berlin Government addressing its notes directly to the French Government, instead of to the Allied Council. In answer to a proposal that the German forces enter the Ruhr Valley for twenty days, and that the French would be entitled to occupy the towns of Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Homburg and Hanau, all lying due east of the French line, if the German forces did not evacuate within the specified period, Premier Millerand, on March 31, handed to Herr Mayer, the German Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, a note which declared that an authorization of the en-





GERMAN TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY ALLIES AND SCENE OF WORKMEN'S REVOLT IN RUHR DISTRICT. ARROWS NEAR FRENCH BRIDGEHEAD INDICATE CITIES OCCUPIED BY DEGOUTTE'S FORCES TO COMPEL GERMAN ARMY'S WITHDRAWAL FROM RUHR REGION

try of German troops into the prohibited Rhine area would constitute an infringement of Articles 43 and 44 of the Peace Treaty, which could not be justified "except by imperious and evident necessity." The refusal to give consent was based on expert military opinion that German military intervention in this district "would be useless and dangerous."

### GERMANS ENTER RUHR

Despite the explicit "No" of France, the Berlin Government, on April 4, sent troops into the Ruhr district, and began an active offensive against the insurgent workers, basing its action on the ground of national necessity. The French Government lost no time in recriminations; it decided on swift action. In a note issued on the evening of April 4, it declared that the German Government had yielded to pressure by the militarist party, "not fearing to infringe upon the imperative and most solemn stipulations of the Versailles Treaty." Pointing out that if the German Government had fulfilled the disarmament clauses of the treaty, neither the Kapp revolution nor the creation of a Red army in the Ruhr could have occurred, the note said in conclusion:

The situation created by the abrupt offensive of the German troops in the Ruhr obliges the French Government to-day to consider military measures the execution of which cannot be deferred. The sole object of these measures is to bring Germany to a due respect of the treaty; they are exclusively of a coercive and precautionary character.

### GERMAN CITIES OCCUPIED

The French immediately made all preparations for invasion, in the face of the disapproval of their allies and of the repeated German protests, and carried out the movement early in the morning of April 6. Frankfurt and Darmstadt were entered at 5 o'clock, Homburg, Hanau, Dieburg and the surrounding territory within four hours. German Reichswehr forces still in the region withdrew, the population showed no hostility, and no conflict occurred. General Degoutte, at the head of the occupation movement, proclaimed that his forces would be withdrawn as soon as the German troops

evacuated completely the neutral zone of fifty kilometers, where armed forces had been expressly prohibited by Articles 42, 43 and 44 of the Peace Treaty. The August protocol had given Germany special permission to maintain 17,000 soldiers in this district until April 10. According to French information the Germans had sent about 40,000 soldiers into the Ruhr Valley. These figures the Germans disputed, Herr Müller, the Chancellor, declaring that the French arguments seeking to justify the occupation were but a flimsy pretext for wanton aggression, and charging the French with a desire to disintegrate Germany by seizing the gateways between the north and south. A formal and official protest was handed to the French Government on the same day, defending Germany's full right to suppress the Ruhr disorders, asserting that the French fears were groundless, and insisting that France, by the terms of the treaty itself, could take action regarding alleged infractions only in union with the other allies. Meanwhile the French troops held the towns, grimly awaiting the complete evacuation on which the Paris Government insisted.

Martial law was proclaimed in all the cities occupied. In Frankfurt, a town of considerable size and importance, the Moroccans and Senegalese, who had marched down the long Mainzerlandstrasse in full fighting gear, with helmets and rifles ready for action, were posted at close intervals throughout the city, every signal box and every crossing and bridge being occupied. The Senegalese held in force the main square of the city, and all the main streets were commanded by machine guns and auto cannon.

A false report to the effect that Great Britain and Italy demanded immediate evacuation had tragic consequences on April 7. According to an official report by General Demetz, in charge at Frankfurt, rioting started in the afternoon before the Imperial Hotel, which was the French headquarters. Anti-French propagandists jeered the French colored soldiers and insulted the officers. The French troops ordered the mob to stand aside, and when they continued their



menacing attitude, they opened fire. Three men, three women and a boy were killed and several wounded. This episode aroused great excitement in Frankfurt; mobs paraded through the streets,



GENERAL DEGOUTTE

*Commander of French forces temporarily occupying Frankfurt and other German cities*

and several clashes occurred on the following day.

### ANGLO-FRENCH RIFT

Germany, on April 8, supplemented its protest to the Allied Council by a formal appeal to the League of Nations to intervene on behalf of Germany against France. At this date a new crisis arose, this time between the French and British Governments. After full discussions between Mr. Lloyd George and M. Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador, a Cabinet council was held in London, at which the French policy was fully explained. Shortly afterward the British Government issued a statement which completely disavowed France's action, and which declared that France had acted entirely on her own initiative in occupying the German towns; that Great Britain, the United States, Italy and Belgium had all been opposed to the

plan, and that France, by executing it on her own authority, had created a delicate situation, responsibility for which could not be shared by her allies. France's answer to Germany's precipitate invasion of the Ruhr district had been in effect an action of last resort reserved for combined action by all the Allies. Great Britain, for herself, and for the other allies, declined to admit that the Ruhr situation necessitated police duty at that time: should this become imperative, all the Allies would act together to enforce Germany's compliance.

This note was followed up by a notification to France that if she persisted in acting alone in measures to enforce the treaty, Great Britain would withdraw her representative from the Committee of Ambassadors—the official body charged with the enforcement of the Versailles Treaty. This note produced a serious impression upon French officials. The fact that Belgium had just come out in approval of France's action, even offering troops to aid the occupation, accentuated England's admonitory attitude.

M. Millerand at once replied to the British note, defending the course that his Government had followed. A series of note exchanges followed amidst tense feeling, reflected in the press of both countries. On April 14 it was announced that the French and British Governments had finally reached an agreement. France, it appeared, had pledged herself to take no further action without the full consent of her allies, and had also promised to withdraw her troops from the occupied towns as soon as the supplementary German forces had evacuated the forbidden area. The period for complete evacuation had been extended from April 10 for one month. The British, on their part, had given full assurances that Germany's disarmament would be insisted upon. Further discussion of the Ruhr situation, as well as of the French status in the British evacuation of Constantinople, was reserved for the meeting of the Council of Allied Ministers at San Remo, Italy, which had been set for April 19.

# CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 20, 1920]

## THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

IN this issue of CURRENT HISTORY appear retrogravure portraits of eight widely known aspirants for the Presidency of the United States, viz.: *Republican*: General Leonard Wood, Herbert C. Hoover, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio; *Democratic*: Former Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo, Governor E. J. Edwards of New Jersey and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer.

In April a number of State primary preferential elections were held, but they showed no decisive trend toward any candidate. The outstanding development during the month was a declaration by Mr. Hoover that he was a candidate only as a Republican, and would not accept a Democratic nomination or run as an independent.

Primaries in the populous States of New York, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin gave no indication of a popular swing toward any particular aspirant. One definite result of the primaries was the strengthening of the candidacy of Senator Johnson, in that his vote in the States named was larger than had been expected.

The campaign for the Republican nomination became more active as the convention day (June 8, at Chicago) drew nearer, and considerable bitterness developed among the various candidates. Enough delegates with varied instructions had been chosen to prevent a nomination on the first ballot, and there was every indication that there would be a sharp contest before a choice was made.

The Democratic campaign was more impersonal. Attorney General Palmer was the only aspirant who was making a general speaking tour, though others were seeking votes by speeches in their own States. There were rumors during the month that President Wilson, if his

health permitted, would in the end accept a third term nomination in order personally to bring the Versailles Peace Treaty before the electorate; it was stated that if his physicians forbade this he was nevertheless in a position to control the choice of the Democratic nominee. The candidacy of Governor Edwards was avowedly based on his strong opposition to the prohibition amendment; on this issue he was directly combated by William Jennings Bryan, former Secretary of State, who received a number of votes in the various primaries. William G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury, declined to permit his name to be voted upon in the primaries, the presumption being that he would not actively engage in the campaign until some definite announcement was made by the President (Mrs. McAdoo's father) respecting his own attitude.

\* \* \*

## FIRST WOMAN MEMBER OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

THE first woman to be appointed to the office of United States Civil Service Commissioner was nominated by President Wilson on March 22. The new incumbent is Mrs. Helen Hamilton Gardener of Washington. She succeeds Charles M. Galloway of South Carolina, who, with Herman Craven, Republican, was asked by President Wilson to resign. Mr. Galloway had stated publicly that he and Mr. Craven "were not willing that the commission should be a mere adjunct to the Post Office Department," and subservient to it in the appointment of Presidential Postmasters.

Mrs. Gardener was born in Winchester, Va., in 1858, the daughter of the Rev. Alfred G. Chenoweth. She began writing at an early age under the pen name of Helen H. Gardener, and subsequently had this name legalized. In 1901 she married Colonel Selden Allen Day of the army, who died last year. She has been active in the movement for woman suffrage and is a Vice President of the American



Suffrage Association. She is also a member of the Congressional Committee of this organization, and is a counselor of the newly formed League of Woman



MRS. HELEN HAMILTON GARDENER  
First woman member of Civil Service Com-  
mission

(© Harris & Ewing)

Voters. She has published a number of novels and plays.

\* \* \*

#### BRITAIN'S BILL IN PARIS

IN connection with the bill for £503,388 for expenses of the British Peace Delegation in Paris, which was presented in the House of Commons late in March, charges were made that the Government had indulged in reckless extravagance, and Sir Alfred Mond, First Commissioner of Works, was sharply questioned regarding the three items of food, champagne and dances. He disclaimed responsibility for these, as well as for the expense of clothing and typewriters. One member of the House declared that it would have been better for the British delegates to go to bed to think over the business of the Peace Conference than to indulge in champagne drinking and dancing, but that if they did indulge in such pleasures they should have stood the expense from their own

pockets. The Government representative admitted, in response to a charge that the Government had maintained "huge staffs in Paris hotels," that the British had five hotels and three other temporary abodes, as compared with the Americans, who had only one hotel; but he declared that the Americans had spent even more money than the British. The total staff of the British delegation was 524.

\* \* \*

#### MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

THE death of Mrs. Humphry Ward, the well-known novelist, occurred at London on March 24. Acute heart trouble was given as the cause of her death. The passing of Mrs. Ward was commented upon with genuine sorrow by the press not only of Great Britain but of the entire English-speaking world.

Mrs. Ward was the eldest daughter of Thomas Arnold, second son of the famous Arnold of Rugby. Her maiden name was Mary Augusta Arnold, and she was born in New Zealand in 1851. When her father was forced to resign his post as Inspector of Schools for Tasmania because of his conversion to Catholicism, he returned to England with all his family in 1856, and soon received an appointment as professor in the University of Dublin. Part of the earliest childhood of the future novelist was thus spent in Ireland, amid a constant struggle with straitened means. Her father's teaching career took him next to Birmingham, then to Oxford, where, in 1872, Miss Arnold met and married T. Humphry Ward, then a fellow at Brasenose College.

By this time Mrs. Ward had begun her literary career by contribution to minor journals. Her first attempt at fiction was a child's tale published in 1882. A translation of Amiel's "Journal Intime" gave her inspiration for a novel which established her reputation at one stroke—the famous "Robert Elsmere," begun in 1885, but not published until 1888. Before its publication another novel, "Miss Bretherton," had been issued. "Robert Elsmere" had an unprecedented success. Mr. Gladstone reviewed it in *The Nineteenth Century*; every one read and discussed it with the greatest ardor; by some critics it was called "a clever

attack upon revealed religion," by others, including Mr. Gladstone, it was interpreted as an attempt to get rid of the supposed lumber of Christian theology. In its three-volume form the book ran through seven editions in five months. Half a million copies have been sold in America, and it has been translated into several European languages.

There followed in 1892 "The History of David Grieve," and in 1894 "Marcella," which ranks next to "Robert Elsmere" in popularity. All the many later novels, from "Sir George Tresady" (1896) to "Missing" (1917), were assured of a wide public in England and in America. Besides her work as a novelist Mrs. Ward had an important place as a settlement worker and a student of social conditions.

\* \* \*

#### BERMONDT THE ADVENTURER

ACCORDING to Russian papers of Novorossisk, South Russia, the real name of Colonel Avalov-Bermond, the Russo-German adventurer who led the Courland expedition ostensibly against the Bolsheviks, is Bermant. According to these accounts, he was born in Eastern Siberia, and took his second name, Avalov, from his mother. During the Russo-Japanese war he was bandmaster to one of the regiments quartered in Siberia, but after the war he was dismissed from the army and went to Europe, where he lived both in Russia and abroad. During the European war he acted as Adjutant to General Mishchenko. After the revolution he went to the Ukraine; he was there when Skurovsky, with German aid, became Hetman, and was by him appointed Acting Governor of the town of Rovno. A "Southern Russian Army" was formed by the Germans in the Ukraine, and Bermond, or Bermant, was made head of its secret service. When the Bolsheviks arrived, Bermond escaped in time and went to Germany, where he raised the German-Russian force which was defeated so disastrously by the Letts at Riga. He is said to be a handsome and energetic man, very fond of self-praise and flattery, delighting in fine phrases and fond of creating a sensation. While

living in Petrograd between the Russo-Japanese war and the conflict of 1914, he was a special protégé of Gregory Rasputin, whose influence at Court enabled Bermond to escape the consequences of many of his escapades.

\* \* \*

#### KING HUSSEIN'S BANQUET

A BANQUET given by King Hussein of the Hedjaz to Lord Allenby, the British High Commissioner, as described by an Arab correspondent of The London Times on March 2, was a striking example of Oriental magnificence. After preliminary visits and military reviews, in which the Bedouin cavalry dashed by at full speed, firing their rifles, the banquet was held in true Arab style in the municipality buildings at Jeddah. On the table, which was eighteen feet broad by thirty feet in length, barefooted waiters dressed in rich Arab costumes walked about helping the guests, seventy in number, to slices of the joints of roasted half-sheep stuffed with almonds, rice and spices. Each guest had three or four plates, and was surrounded by some twenty or thirty dishes of salads, fish, roasted chickens, pilaff of mutton and sweets of all descriptions. The King's band of musicians played throughout the banquet. At the end of the feast the King's servants handed round silver basins with ewers of scented water for the guests to wash their hands in. Coffee was served in another room while guests of a lower degree sat down at the banqueting table. The remnants of the feast, which were considerable, were distributed among the inhabitants of Jeddah and the crews of the British ships at anchor in the harbor.

\* \* \*

#### CRIME WAVE IN GERMANY

THE increasing wave of crime in Germany, by which acts of violence connected with highway robbery and burglary surpassed all former records, was attributed by an Oberregierungsrat of the Berlin criminal police to the bad influence of army life during the war. This official said:

The crime wave is, of course, colossal. To speak of a huge increase is not mere sensationalism. But there are no new varieties of crime, only the old crimes



committed in greater number and with added violence. \* \* \* You can't expect anything else after a war. People have grown used to violence and think little of it. \* \* \* Our young men have been terribly demoralized by four years of war, followed by revolution and social misery. The country is full of desperadoes. Many of those who come before me must have been refined and decent fellows before the war, but are now nervous wrecks, with all their moral stamina gone, careless of life and thinking nothing of murdering another man for the sake of a few marks.

From another source it was gathered that carpets had become the special desire of thieves, owing to their immense rise in value. Thus Persian carpets, which before the war cost 36 marks a square foot, now sold for between 2,000 and 3,000 marks. It had also become necessary to establish a special department at Police Headquarters to deal with typewriter and automobile stealing. While last year ten or twelve typewriters were reported stolen daily during the months of January and February, this year over 1,200 machines disappeared in that period. Police statistics show that thefts from hotels have trebled in number, and murders and other crimes accompanied by violence increased about 400 per cent. in 1919 as compared with the previous year.

\* \* \*

#### MARRIAGE UNDER SOVIET LAW

THE preface to the new code of marriage laws promulgated by the Russian Soviet Government, as published in translation by the Contemporary Review for March, throws light upon the Bolshevik ideas of marriage. This official preface and explanation was written by Alexander Hoichbarg, chief editor of the Law Bureau. The portion dealing with registration, marriage and the future of children is given in summary below:

Certain principles of this code—for instance, those of the marriage law—may at first sight not appear socialistic. Especially lively criticism has been leveled at the institution of registration of marriages by the civil authorities (the Soviet). "Registration of marriage, official marriage—what kind of socialism is that?" people cried. No registration is necessary. Indeed, in a socialist society, to use the expression of Kautsky, the legal fettering of husband and wife becomes useless. But that is the case in a firmly established

Socialist society, and we live in an age of transition.

The marriage law is not only a means of counteracting clerical-religious influences upon the people. That law is revolutionary and socialist. It sweeps away all the patriarchal and feudal hindrances to marriage, differences of religion, religious prohibitions, &c. It establishes complete equality between man and woman, in so far as this depends upon the provisions of the marriage law. It does not make the aim of marriage to be the birth of children. The family is based, not upon marriage, as it was formerly, but upon actual parentage. It establishes complete freedom of divorce, thus refraining from making marriage a lifelong institution. In a word, every day of the existence of these marriage laws is an assault upon the individualist view of marriage, "the legal fettering of husband and wife."

In the province of family law our first code rejects all fictions, places in the foreground the true state of affairs, actual parentage; accustoms people to truth-telling, frees them from superstitions, not in words, but in fact; places all the children on an equal footing as regards their rights, without distinction of birth, and enables them easily to make use of this equality.

The Soviet marriage law requires a wife to support an ill or helpless husband, if she continues to live with him, as explicitly as it requires a husband to support an invalid wife.

\* \* \*

#### MIDDLE CLASS UNION IN FRANCE

FOLLOWING closely on the organization of the Middle Class Union in Great Britain, whose manifesto was noted in the March issue of CURRENT HISTORY, a similar union in France was announced in Paris on March 10. The name chosen for the new body is "Les Compagnons de l'Intelligence," and its manifesto is signed by a large number of eminent men, headed by M. Louis Barthou, and including men well known in artistic, technical and professional fields. The manifesto opens by stating that intelligence is in danger because the middle classes are threatened by the power of money, on the one hand, and by the power of numbers on the other. It protests against the false doctrine that regards manual labor as the generator of all wealth, and that denies the vital importance of management, technical skill and invention.

# AMONG THE NATIONS

## Survey of Important Events and Developments in Various Countries in Both Hemispheres

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1920]

[For alphabetical index of countries see Table of Contents]

### The British Empire's Knotty Problems

#### UNITED KINGDOM

**A**LTHOUGH by the middle of the month no agreement had been reached between the British Government and the National Union of Railway Men, the Coal Miners Federation on April 15, by a majority of 65,135 out of a total vote of 820,000, accepted the Government's proposal of 2 shillings increase per diem, when they had asked for 3. Thus of the two serious national disputes which actually threatened the life of the United Kingdom the less serious was settled. The coal production in the week preceding the settlement was about what it was for the corresponding week of last year—4,800,000 tons. The lowest week was for July 26, when it sank to 2,537,954. If the demands of the miners had been accepted it would have cost the nation £45,000,000 more annually.

The revenue returns for the final quarter of the year ended March 31 maintained buoyancy to the close. For the first quarter of the year there was an increase of £30,000,000; for the second quarter the expansion was £86,000,000; for the third quarter there was a growth of £72,000,000; and for the last quarter of the year the expansion was no less than £263,000,000, making a total increase for the year of £450,000,000, as compared with the Chancellor's original estimate of an increase of £312,000,000. The position for the year may be briefly stated as follows:

#### RESULTS FOR 1919-20

Ordinary revenue .....	£1,339,571,381
Expenditure chargeable .....	
against revenue .....	1,665,772,928
Deficit .....	£326,201,547

First Lord of the Admiralty Long issued the naval estimates for 1920-21 in

the form of a White Paper on March 15; they totaled £84,372,300, as against £157,528,810 and the maximum £334,091,227 in 1919-20 and 1918-19, respectively.

On March 26 the War Office announced that the rank of Brigadier General would be abolished with the passing of the Annual Army act.

On March 19 an official announcement was made of the appointment of Thomas J. McNamara, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, to the portfolio of Minister of Labor, in succession to Sir Robert Stevenson Horne. Sir Robert became President of the Board of Trade, succeeding Sir Albert Stanley. Charles A. McCurdy, then Secretary to the Ministry of Food, was appointed Minister of Food. Mr. McCurdy succeeded George H. Roberts, who resigned as Food Minister early in February.

According to speeches made by opposing leaders in the House of Commons, the future of the Coalition Government was reposed in the principle of co-operation, not of fusion, while the new Opposition, led by former Premier Asquith, ridiculed co-operation, reasserted that its aim was fusion, and that the time had come for the Unionists and Liberals to stand or fall on their own party programs. In a speech delivered by the Prime Minister before the Coalition Liberal members of Parliament on March 18, some of Mr. Lloyd George's more striking phrases were:

A real danger would be that in a conflict between Unionists and Liberals the Socialists would snatch a temporary majority, and a temporary majority now is enough to do the mischief.

I want to see more co-operation, closer co-operation, between all those who have a common purpose. Unless you do it the



forces of anarchy, the forces of subversion will inevitably triumph. You cannot trust to luck.

The wild gamble of socialism, if the experiment is tried in this country, will fail. But the experiment will be harmful, because commercial wealth and prosperity, once they depart, very rarely come back again. So our peril is great.

## CANADA

It is officially announced that, owing to heavy financial commitments and pending a decision as to the British Empire's naval policy, Canada will not enter upon the upbuilding of a large naval establishment. In the interim she will accept from the British Admiralty one light cruiser and two destroyers, all of modern type, for training purposes. These will displace the obsolete *Rainbow* and *Niobe*, cruisers obtained from Britain some time before the war, and formerly used for the training of men who wanted to enter the naval service.

So far as is publicly known it is still the intention of the British Government to call an empire conference, to be held in London this Spring. The constitutional relationships of the empire will be discussed, as well as matters relative to defense. Unofficially the opinion is expressed in well-informed quarters that Canada's future policy respecting naval matters will be largely shaped by the information presented in the course of the discussions. To what extent this policy will be affected by the naval expansion plans of the United States remains to be seen.

The Government has agreed upon the plans for the formation of the Canadian Air Force as part of the country's defense system. It will be confined for the present to an enlistment of 5,000 officers and men from the many thousands of Canadians who served with the imperial air force, a large proportion of whom by arrangement with the British authorities received their training in camps in Canada. The permanent personnel will be very small. One month's training in each year will be given, except in the case of those who wish to qualify for superior commands, and who pass the necessary preliminaries. Camp Borden, in Ontario, where there is a million dollars'

worth of British equipment, has been taken over as the first training ground. A number of British machines have already arrived, and some of the latest and fastest models are on the way for the new force. Enlistments, it is announced, are coming in at the rate of between fifty and sixty per day.

By-elections in debatable constituencies continue to go against the Federal Government. Angus McDonald, a labor-farmer candidate, was elected for the Temiskaming riding, formerly represented in the House of Commons by the Hon. Frank Cochrane, once Minister of Railways, who died recently. The Government candidate was second, and the Liberal Opposition candidate third. The riding includes a number of gold and silver mining centres, where the labor element is strong.

The Ontario Legislature is debating measures to strengthen the prohibition laws. It is expected that it will ask the Dominion (Federal) Government to allow the taking of a plebiscite on the prevention of the importation into Ontario of liquor for private residences from Quebec Province or any other place. Of itself the Legislature will probably pass a law forbidding "short circuiting," that is, the ordering of liquor in Quebec and the supplying of it from distilleries and warehouses in Ontario.

Anticipatory interest in the details of the reported amalgamation of the leading steel, coal, shipbuilding and steamship companies of Canada is keen. Report places the Dominion Steel Corporation, the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company and the Canada Steamship Company in the merger which, it is said, is to include concerns in Britain and Australia. The Canadian companies named, if combined, would make the new concern, next to the Canadian Pacific Railway, the largest corporation in Canada. A gigantic shipbuilding program for the Dominion and the supplying of steel plates for a much wider market is said to be part of the initial plans of the company to be formed.

## AUSTRALIA

Australia is gradually changing her attitude on economic and labor questions.

The United Chambers of Commerce recently urged that in view of the unsatisfactory experience of compulsory arbitration some means of obtaining more satisfactory relations between capital and labor be sought, and asked the Government to arrange conferences between employers and employes to this end. Compulsory arbitration has long been regarded as a failure by both.

Parliament is considering tariff increases varying from 5 to 20 per cent. on more than 500 items. Countries agreeing to reciprocity are to have favored treatment. To keep a large supply of wool for home consumption the export of tweeds and other materials has been forbidden except under license.

After a trial of sixty-five years the State of Victoria has abolished its compulsory vaccination laws. In New South Wales the population has just reached the 2,000,000 mark, according to the Government statistician. More than half the population is in Sydney and other towns.

The destroyer flotilla presented by Great Britain to Australia was expected to arrive in Sydney on April 25, Anzac Day. The crews will serve in the Australian Navy for two years. The British Navy, nevertheless, is likely to remain for some years to come the bulwark of defense, in the opinion of Sir Joseph Cook, Commonwealth Minister of the Navy.

## NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand is having trouble with profiteers. Recently the embargo on the export of hides was removed and prices advanced from 50 to 100 per cent. above those previously fixed by Government. In Napier the Headmasters of schools advised their pupils to attend barefoot in protest against the increased cost of shoes. Dearer bread has caused the Government to set a minimum price of 7s. 3d. a bushel on wheat. The present scarcity is due to the fact that farmers have found it more profitable to raise sheep and cattle, and there has been a steady decrease in wheat acreage for the last five years. This season's acreage is estimated at 142,960, about two-thirds of the previous season.

The British Imperial Government has notified New Zealand that it will not re-

new its contract, expiring July 1, to take over frozen meat and wool. There will thus be available about 600,000 bales of wool, for a portion of which New Zealand producers are seeking a market.

New Zealand has accepted the mandate for German Samoa, which she has been administering since 1915, and which is to be known as the "Territory of Western Samoa." Natives and white residents are demanding a plebiscite, saying they have suffered from four years of misrule and would prefer to be incorporated with American Samoa.

## EGYPT

The Milner Mission finished its work and went home, and, although the report of its investigations in Egypt will not be published until its appearance in the form of a White Paper, the press of Egypt has been permitted to outline its observations and suggestions for reforms. The official summary reads in part:

The Egypt which the Milner Mission adumbrates will have its Sultan as titular head of the Government, its Council of Ministers and its Chamber, or, rather, Chambers, because it is believed that a return to the bicameral system, which was in vogue till Lord Kitchener's "reign," is recommended. The upper house will consist of members partly elected indirectly and partly nominated by the Government, the latter not being more than 25 per cent. of the whole. The lower house will be entirely elected.

The "Parliament" will not have control over the Ministry, for the Ministers, as now, will be appointed by the Sultan, nor will it have power to stop existing sources of revenue. Additional direct taxation, however, must be agreed to by the Chambers.

The powers of the proposed Chambers will not be those of a sovereign assembly. It would be impossible to make them so. But they will have every chance to make good. If they have the ability they will indubitably control the Ministry.

Great Britain will control the finances and the Suez Canal and maintain a naval base at Alexandria. There will be a thorough remodeling of the Egyptian Government and a sweeping reduction of British officials. This is expected to satisfy the majority of educated Egyptians and to go far toward anticipating the wishes of the Nationalist Party, headed by Zaglul Pasha. Fifty-two of



the sixty-six elected members of the Legislative Assembly gathered at Zaglul's house on March 10 and passed a resolution declaring the British protectorate null and void and proclaiming independence. The thanks of the meeting were cabled to Zaglul Pasha, who was in Paris, for advocating their cause before the members of the Peace Conference. Meantime, General Allenby is maintaining order in Egypt through martial law, while awaiting the result of Lord Milner's mission.

### TRIPOLI [ITALIAN]

Italy has begun preparations for establishing a Parliament in her colony of Libya, or Tripoli and Cyrenaica, which she annexed in 1912 as a result of the war with Turkey. The process is slow owing to the obstacles which have to be overcome in a country that has never before enjoyed such privileges. The recall of many of the Italian troops has encouraged natives of the hinterland to rebel under the leadership of Radamel Sceteui, a chief who has never recognized Italian authority.

### SOUTH AFRICA

The South African Parliament met on March 18, the Premier, General J. G. Smuts, with the help of the Unionists and Independents, having a majority of four. Parties are thus divided as a result of the elections: Nationalists, 43; South African party (Smuts), 40; Unionists, 25; Labor, 21; Independents, 3, with two vacancies. General Smuts announced as among the subjects to be discussed the questions of profiteering, of securing fair rents, dealing with the housing problem, establishing industrial councils and regulating wages and conditions of labor, railway construction, irrigation and land settlement. He can count on the support of many of the labor members. The Nationalists, who are the most numerous party, favor separation from the British Empire. General Christian de Wet, one of their leaders, in a speech at Pretoria on March 31 declared that his party would persist

in pleading with Great Britain for independence until she became so tired of them she would say: "Go, form your own Government."

### INDIA

Advices from Delhi, dated March 22, noted great preparations being made in India for the reception of the Prince of Wales in May.

In anticipation of the Hunter report on the Punjab riots of April, 1919, which is understood to justify the methods used by the military in order to suppress them, the special commission appointed by the Indian National Congress completed its report in three volumes and published them in Delhi on March 23. According to the digest published in *The London Times*:

After tracing the course of events and describing the policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration, the Rowlatt acts and the Satyagraha agitation, the commission states that the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were responsible for the first outbreaks, and condemns these acts of the Punjab Government as uncalled for, saying "They were like matches applied to inflammable material."

The Central Government is blamed and the Viceroy accused of not taking the trouble to examine the people's case, of supporting the Punjab Government without inquiry, and of hastily indemnifying officials. The commission's report states that Lord Chelmsford has proved himself incapable of holding his high office and demands his recall. It declares that no conspiracy to overthrow the British Government was proved. It insists that the Satyagraha and Rowlatt acts agitation were not anti-British, and that the facts made public did not justify martial law.

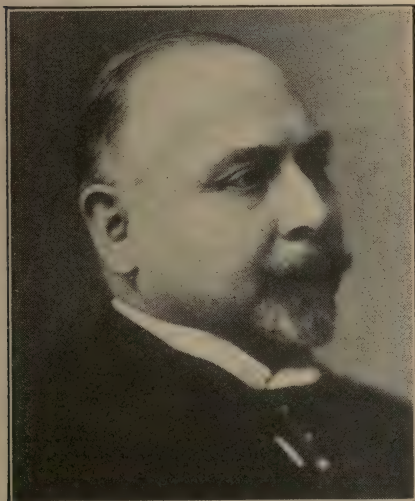
The "Government excesses" are condemned, as are equally the excesses of the mob. The Jallianwala Bagh affair (Amritsar) is described as "a calculated piece of inhumanity unparalleled in ferocity."

The report demands that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer, Colonel Frank Johnson, Colonel O'Brien and Mr. Bosworth Smith (Deputy Commissioner of the Punjab) and two Indians should be relieved of their offices under the Crown. Finally the repeal of the Rowlatt acts and the punishment of certain minor Indian officials are demanded.

# Constitutional Crisis in Denmark

## Fall of the Zahle Cabinet

DENMARK was on the verge of an anti-monarchical revolution. The plebiscite held in February in the first Slesvig zone produced, as a foregone conclusion, a large majority for union with Denmark; but the plebiscite held in March in the second zone pro-



FORMER PRIME MINISTER ZAHLE  
Whom King Christian was forced to dismiss  
by the labor parties' general strike  
(© Underwood & Underwood)

duced an even larger majority in favor of German nationality. It was then charged that the Zahle Government, while remaining passive during the first plebiscite, had actually connived at producing the German majority in the second. One astonishing result of the vote in the second zone was that the important commercial City of Flensburg, which all through the Prussian administration of fifty-four years was supposed to have preserved its Danish character, registered an overwhelming German vote.

Beginning the last week in March there then ensued a series of events which produced two Ministries, brought the labor forces in open conflict with the Socialist, produced a general strike, and

at one time threatened the supplanting of the monarchy by a republic.

For seven years the causes of conflict had remained dormant; it only needed the plebiscite of the second zone to bring them into activity. From the first the Government, dominated by the Radical, C. T. Zahle, since 1913, had been openly opposed to bringing any populations into the realm which were not entirely Danish. For this reason it declined to entertain the idea of a plebiscite in the third, or Southern, zone, and so expressed itself to the Peace Conference. It feared an addition to the Conservative and reactionary political forces of the kingdom, which might undo the results of the movement to deprive the King of many of his prerogatives embodied in the Constitution of 1849. Some of these had been taken away by amendments adopted in 1855, 1863 and 1866; but the most drastic came in 1914, when the Zahle Government, then scarcely a year in office, succeeded in bringing about suffrage reform, an extension of membership in the Folkething, or lower house, and a reorganization of the Landsting, or upper house, which produced in both houses a large Radical and Socialist membership.

Throughout the war, while King Christian X. and a majority of the Danes were enthusiastically anti-German, the Government of Premier Zahle and Parliament remained neutral, with strong German sympathies. Since the armistice, however, the Zahle attitude toward Slesvig had caused it to lose its great majority, until, after the vote in the second zone, it could only summon a plurality of four in the lower house. The King and the Conservatives by these deflections measurably augmented their strength on patriotic and pan-Danish lines.

On March 27 the King demanded the resignation of the Government, on the ground of its "unpatriotic" attitude, and called the Liberal leader, M. Neer-



gaard, to form a new Cabinet. Thereupon a Socialist delegation waited upon the King and demanded the reinstatement of the Zahle Government, while progressive party leaders in a manifesto declared that the alternative was the proclamation of a republic. The King flatly refused to reinstate the Zahle Government, and, as M. Neergaard could not command a majority, he appealed to M. Liebe, a Supreme Court official, who was not a member of Parliament, to form a non-political Cabinet whose chief function should be the issuing of writs for the elections to the Folkething and directing affairs until the elections should have taken place. M. Liebe finally got together with the King's mandate the following slate:

Otto Liebe..

Premier and Minister of Justice  
Commander Konow..Minister of Defense  
De Grevenkop-Castenskiold..

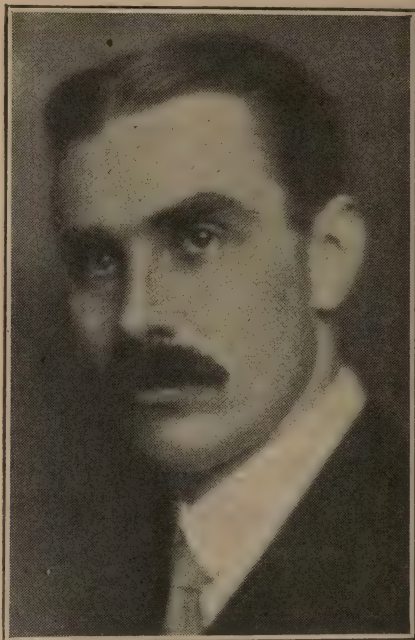
Foreign Affairs

Professor Røvsing.....Education  
State Councilor Monberg.....Traffic  
M. Oxholm.....Interior and Agriculture  
M. Hjerl-Hansen.....Finance  
The Rev. Hass.....Public Worship  
M. Svenson.....Trade

The action of King Christian was severely censured in the Socialist and Radical press. It was called "Unconstitutional" and "Christian X.'s Coup d'Etat," and the Kapp coup in Berlin was used against it. In the towns opinion was about evenly divided. In the country districts there were enthusiastic demonstrations in favor of the King. His reply to his critics was that as the leaders of Parliament had shown that the Zahle Ministry no longer possessed a majority, he had been obliged to dissolve it and await the results of the elections; meanwhile he had appointed a non-political Government to keep the machinery going.

On March 31 the (Socialist) Trade Union Congress declared a general strike—the water, gas and electric services only being excepted—to take effect April 6. All parties except the radical Socialists issued proclamations to the voters urging them to stand loyally by the King and the new Cabinet. The radical Socialists, however, issued a proclamation, alleging that a coup was being planned for the annexation of Flensburg.

Against the impending strike danger all the troops in Copenhagen were served with ball cartridges on April 1, and the Cabinet issued a call for all the enlisted men not then in service, to have them ready for the occupation of the Flensburg zone; these men were to assemble



JOSEPH CLARK GREW

*Newly appointed United States Minister to Denmark*

(© Harris & Ewing)

on April 6, when the strike was to culminate. All classes of the population began to hoard food, petroleum, candy and water. The police kept the situation well in hand.

On April 2 Premier Liebe summoned the Folkething to assemble on April 14 for dissolution on April 21, and announced that elections would be held on April 28. On April 2, also, delegates from Flensburg appeared before the Liebe Government in Copenhagen and the International Commission at Paris demanding that the city should not be "handed over to the Prussians." Labor manifestos from the same place were addressed to the Socialist leaders in Den-

mark declaring that the threatened strike should not be employed "to restore Flensburg to Germany."

Nevertheless, the general strike, opposed by local labor groups, was declared and proceeded, gaining much moral support from the similar means which had been used to paralyze the Kapp coup in Berlin. On the night of April 3-4 the King held negotiations with the Parliamentary leaders, with the result that the general strike was called off, the Liebe Government resigned, and M. Friis, former Director of the Ministry of Justice, accepted the Premiership and assembled the following Cabinet, the members of which were said to be opposed to the King's action in dissolving the Zahle Government:

M. Friis—Premier and Minister of Defense	
Oscar Scavenius.....	Foreign Affairs
M. Sonna.....	Agriculture
H. P. Prior.....	Trade
M. Vendel.....	Interior
M. Schroeder.....	Justice
M. Kofoed.....	Finance
M. Jensen.....	Labor
M. Pedersen.....	Education
M. Riishansen.....	Traffic
M. Ammentorp.....	Public Worship

By the settlement arrived at an amnesty was granted political offenders (many arrests had been made and some property destroyed during the strike), electoral reforms were promised and the date of the general election brought forward to April 22.

In both Sweden and Norway, as well as in Denmark, the view generally expressed in the moderate Conservative and Liberal newspapers was that King Christian X.'s action could not be regarded as a personal coup d'état, and that anything of the sort would have been entirely inconsistent with his past record. He made use of the right conferred on him by the Constitution, it was said, in order to ascertain the wishes of the Danish people, whom M. Zahle refused to consult. At the same time the view was taken, particularly in Sweden, that the King made a tactical error in dismissing the Ministry by extra-Parliamentary means when, in view of the state of the parties in the Folkething, its days were clearly numbered, and by dismissing it without having in readiness a regular political Ministry to succeed it.

## Events in France, Italy and Spain

### Heavy Tax on French Bachelors

#### FRANCE

**A**LTHOUGH officially denied at the White House, M. André Tardieu's story, printed in *l'Illustration* of March 27, telling how M. Clemenceau succeeded in securing the insertion in the Versailles Treaty of an additional protective clause for the purpose of reinforcing the existing stipulations providing for an allied occupation of certain parts of the Rhineland for a period of fifteen years, may have a certain bearing on the Anglo-French dispute over the French initiative of April. M. Tardieu writes:

On April 23, 1919, in a private interview M. Clemenceau asked Mr. Wilson the following question: "The treaty as it stands is satisfactory to me from the point of view of guarantees, but neither you nor I can command the future. You have a

Senate, but I have a Parliament to reckon with. Neither of us can be sure what they will do in ten years' time or even to-morrow. If, for instance, the special treaties with England and America are not ratified, what will be the situation of France? What other guarantee shall we be able to put in place of them?"

President Wilson replied: "What you say is perfectly right, but it brings up a very difficult problem. Let us see if we can find a means to solve it."

On April 29 the President and M. Clemenceau, in accord with Mr. Lloyd George, drew up the final text of a clause which they believed met the difficulty. This was the clause which forms the last paragraph of Article 429 of the treaty. Those who read this paragraph will comprehend its importance.

The paragraph in Article 429, referred to by M. Tardieu, reads:

If at that date the guarantees against unprovoked aggression by Germany are



not considered sufficient by the allied and associated Governments, the evacuation of the occupying troops may be delayed to the extent regarded as necessary for the purpose of obtaining the required guarantees.

The bachelor tax, which has formed the subject of so much humor, made its first stage on its way to becoming a grim and accomplished fact when the Finance Commission of the Chamber unanimously recommended that all unmarried persons of both sexes who are subject to the income tax shall pay an extra 10 per cent. in this kind of taxation. As a matter of fact, male bachelors are already indirectly taxed, as present laws make certain rebates in favor of fathers of families. The commission also fixed the percentage of tax payable by various categories of incomes.

The peace loan closed on March 21, and on April 12 the result was announced—the total, 15,730,000,000 francs, of which 6,800,000,000 was in new money.

According to the *Journal Officiel* of April 4, French production, despite the difficulties of manufacturing, had so far increased as nearly to triple the exports in the last twelve months. The *Petit Parisien* quoted one of the chief customs officials as stating that the increase in imports of raw materials during the first two months of 1920 was equivalent to the increase in exports of manufactured goods.

The customs official pointed out that within a year France's exports had been nearly tripled, and that the figures for the first two months of this year amounted to almost two-thirds of the equivalent figures for pre-war exports.

There were repercussions in Alsace and Lorraine of the German general strike which was used to put down the Kapp military revolt. A general strike was called at Strasbourg on March 22, and the next day railway employees were ordered out throughout the two provinces. The obvious connection between the movements and the German general strike, however, caused the French General Federation of Labor to intervene and stop them.

On March 22 the Minister of War signed a decree making football obliga-

tory in the French Army and placing the game on the same basis as field exercises and ordinary drill as part of the usual training of a soldier. Each regimental section will in future possess its own football club, and matches between companies, battalions, regiments, divisions and army corps will be organized systematically. American outfitters in football goods are being sought.

On April 15 the trial of former Premier Caillaux before the Senatorial High Court was drawing near its close without any new, sensational evidence. In the session of April 14 M. Lescouve, in his address for the prosecution, uttered what is considered a mild indictment when he said:

It is possible that M. Caillaux may have had in view only the interests of France, but what was permissible before the war became a crime after the opening of hostilities.

## ITALY

The reorganized Government of Premier Nitti, the roster of which was printed in these columns last month, needs a word or two concerning certain new departures and new members, both famous and unknown; Signor Bonomi, who holds the portfolio of War, has a post usually assigned to a soldier. Admiral Sechi, who remains at the Ministry of Marine, will resign his commission in the navy. Signor Bonomi is a follower of Signor Bissolati. Two of the new Ministers are Radicals and two are Liberals from the Right. Signor Falcioni is a most prominent Giolittian, and his nomination implies Signor Giolitti's support. Signor Luzzatti is the most eminent of the new Ministers. Premier in 1910, he is Italy's leading financier. He was Minister of the Treasury in 1891, in 1903, and 1906, and of Agriculture in 1909. He has negotiated twenty-eight commercial treaties and has had fifty-five years of public life. He is enthusiastically Anglophile and a strong friend of Armenia. The only newcomer is Signor Torre.

The Catholic, or Popular, Party, which, at the eleventh hour, decided not to be represented in the Government, held a congress at Naples in the first week of

April to define its policy. Two factions came into evidence: One, headed by the veteran Catholic leader, Signor Meda, stood for social order in collaboration with the Nitti Government, directly or indirectly; the other, led by Signor Miglioli, formerly head of the Christian Socialists, presented a program to divide the land among the peasants, ally themselves with the Socialists and re-establish relations with Russia.

There were tumultuous sittings of the Chamber in March, with little practical legislation being accomplished, but with almost daily expectation that the Government would be voted out. Early in the morning of March 31, after a sitting of ten hours, Signor Nitti obtained a majority of fifty-five on a direct vote of confidence, or more than double his majority on the last occasion; 445 out of 508 Deputies were present and voted. All the Catholics, including the Socialistic Catholic, Signor Miglioli, voted for the Government, while the minority was composed of official Socialists, Republican Combatants, and the Right. The Chamber then adjourned until April 20. The final debate showed a growing desire to settle the questions of the peace treaties, which come up for revision on an economic basis. Signor Trevas, the Socialist leader, in an attack on England, said that, while Great Britain was still extending her empire, factories were shutting down for lack of raw materials—all Italy wanted of Turkey was raw materials.

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Although Spanish industries per se continued to be afflicted on opposite sides by the lockouts instituted by the Federation of Employers and the strikes of the syndicalists, a large number of foreign companies were registered in the industrial districts—some American, some British, French, Belgian, and some German—all seeking shelter of Spanish registration to avoid the heavy taxation levied on foreign enterprises. The American firms were mostly banks and insurance companies.

In the Cortes the interminable debate on the budget alternated with the inter-

minable debate concerning the steps the Government was taking against the coercive measures adopted by the employers and the syndicalists.

In the third week in March nearly all the papers dedicated at least one article to what Señor Dato had described in the Cortes as the "coming great historical crisis." Luis Araquistain's article was entitled "Revolutionary Symptomatology," and he wrote:

Each day the situation becomes more acute. There is no more solidarity and discipline. The owners prefer the ruin of industry, which is their ruin and that of the nation, to meeting the demands of the workmen. The workers on their side prefer to sacrifice their life to hunger, a life that is theirs but also of society, rather than submit. \* \* \* The historical parties have entirely lost their solidarity and discipline. \* \* \* There are now nearly as many monarchist parties as individuals, ready to sacrifice the monarchy to their quarrels, to personal vanity, or to a pathological greed of power.

The *Heraldo de Madrid* declared:

Spain is at a turning point in her destinies, which may lead to further greatness or to an irremediable catastrophe. A few more months of present-day politics, destitute of ideals, and the future of Spain will take the path of anguish and tragedy.

In Portugal the new Government, with Senhor Silva as Prime Minister, formed on March 6, had hardly begun to function before Senhor Alvaro de Castro was asked to form another. He, too, withdrew, and then a week later Colonel Antonio Maria Baptista, having been promised the support of the majority of Parliament, presented a third slate:

Colonel Antonio Maria Baptista,

Premier and Interior	
Dr. Jose Ramos Preto.....	Justice
Major Esteves Aguiar.....	War
Commandant Judice Biker.....	Marine
Major Pina Lopes.....	Finance
Dr. Xavier da Silva.....	Foreign Affairs
Colonel Utra Machado.....	Colonies
Senhor Lucio de Azevedo.....	Commerce
Senhor Bartholomeu Severino.....	Labor
Dr. Joao Ricardo.....	Agriculture
Dr. Vasco Borges.....	Instruction

Throughout the protracted crisis, and in spite of the numerous strikes that were demoralizing trade and industry, public order was maintained without the intervention of force, all parties apparently working hard on the give-and-



take principle to restore normal business. In many cases the strikers returned to work on the promise that a co-operative system would be introduced by their employers. The new Government will

chiefly concern itself with the strikes of public servants. On March 28 it gave the striking postal and telegraph employees 48 hours in which to return to duty or be discharged.

## States of the Balkan Peninsula

### Albania Recognized by Italy

#### ALBANIA

THE recognition by the Italian Government of the autonomous Government of Albania on April 7 is believed to be the Italian initiative toward a solution of the Adriatic problem. It is a step more nearly in accord with the Anglo-Franco-American memorandum of Dec. 9, 1919, than with the Anglo-Franco-Italian note of a month later, to which President Wilson objected. By the memorandum the southern part of Albania or Northern Epirus was to be divided between Greece and Serbia, while the note recognized Serbian rights in the north as far south as the Drin. The Italian announcement also followed a report received in Washington on March 20 to the effect that conversations in Paris between Foreign Minister Trumbitch of Yugoslavia and M. Konitsa of Albania had resulted in a protocol for the Serbo-Albanian frontier. Meanwhile C. A. Chekrezi, the Albanian representative at Washington, had this to say in regard to the situation:

Following the circulation of the reports that, in the allied project which was protested against by President Wilson, for the settlement of the Adriatic problem, it is provided that the outlying northern and southern provinces of the Albanian State should go to Serbia and Greece, respectively, and the remnants would be placed under an Italian mandate, an overwhelming wave of violent indignation swept the Albanians.

On the 28th of January last the National Assembly was hastily summoned, and after an unsuccessful attempt to have it sit at Durazzo, the provisional capital, its members assembled at Dushnja, some thirty miles south of Durazzo. The Assembly voted unanimously a resolution calling the Albanian people to resist to the last man every attempt against the independence and territorial integrity of

their country and to oppose any kind of foreign interference.

#### BULGARIA

Encouraged by the note of President Wilson to the Supreme Council, made public in America on March 30, in which the writer made a plea for Eastern Thrace in favor of Bulgaria, the press of Sofia was of the opinion that the Turkish treaty of peace had some unpleasant surprises in store for the Greeks. The Echo of Bulgaria of March 23 had a typical article headed, "Hellenic Madness."

After the defeat of the strikes and the successful criminal proceedings against the leaders of the short-lived Soviets, attempts were made to unite the two Socialist parties, with a view to establishing an economic union throughout the peninsula, with the possible adhesion of the Italian Socialists. On the other hand, Bishop Platon, formerly of Odessa, received a commission from King Boris to work for an alliance between Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece in order to insure the mutual safety of these countries against the Communists. On March 21 the Bishop was in Bucharest on the first stage of his mission.

With a greatly depleted electorate Bulgaria held its first post-bellum general election on March 28, with the following result in general terms:

Communists .....	48 seats
Socialists .....	25 seats
Agrarians .....	113 seats

The latter, of course, represent the absolute vote on which the Premier, M. Stambouliisky, can depend.

#### GREECE

Clisthenes Philaretos of the Ministry of National Economy at Athens issued

a brochure on March 14 dealing with the mining and industrial opportunities and needs in Greece. None of the mines or industries, he stated, was producing 10 per cent. of its capacity. This was due to lack of exploitation and the needs of modern methods and machinery, particularly the latter in the utilization of the water power. Only about 12 per cent. of the total area of Greece, he said, was cultivated, when the percentage should be 40. Some of his observations and suggestions are:

There exists in Greece proper, 6 or 7 miles from the coast, a body of iron ore containing no less than fifty million tons of good quality ore, and as much more of iron ore is found in the neighboring islands. Some of these iron ores contain chrome, manganese and nickel. Coal for the reducing of this iron into pig and even refining it into steel can be procured from undeveloped coal mines situated near the coast of Asia Minor and at a distance of about 500 miles by water from the above-mentioned iron ore deposits.

There is a large amount of lignite of good quality found in Greece and its islands, but few of these mines are being worked. The main company producing lignite in fairly large quantity, say 300 tons a day, is the mine of Kymi, while smaller mines to the number of 30 give a yearly production of 120,000 tons. The production could be increased considerably. The present yearly demand of coal is about 1,000,000 tons.

The mountainous districts of Greece with its rivers, lakes and falls offer a great field for the development of hydro-electric power. Studies of several of these power propositions have been undertaken by the Hellenic Government. Thus far the amount of power calculated from steam measurements would give a total of 150,000 horse power. The Government is open to any reasonable offer made by foreign capital, which capital will be assisted in forming one or several electric light and power companies by local banks and others.

## RUMANIA

The Cabinet which was forming on March 15 under General Fofzo Averesco, who had succeeded Alexander Vaïda-

Voëved, was completed a few days later with a rather distinguished list, particularly in regard to the portfolios of Foreign Affairs, Finance and War, held respectively by Duiliu Zamfiresco, M. Argetoyano and General Rascano. The first is a well-known author of dramas and a diplomat of experience. The second, a youthful and ardent politician, has been described as the "Rumanian Roosevelt." The third was associated with the Premier in the war, and later with him formed the People's League.

It was officially reported in Bucharest on March 17 that the Government had come to agreement with the Russian Soviet army leaders through a protocol drawn up by General Marderescu covering the following points:

1. Rumania demands the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the neighborhood of the Rumanian frontier.
2. Unconditional recognition of the annexation of Bessarabia to Rumania, and the inviolability of Rumanian territory.
3. Cessation of all Bolshevik propaganda in Rumania from outside the Rumanian border, that is, from Soviet Russia.
4. Soviet Russia must bind herself not to give support to the Bolsheviks in Rumania.
5. Immediate liberation of all the Rumanian war prisoners still in Russia.
6. Conclusion of a commercial treaty, with a reciprocal, most-favored-nation clause as regards customs duties.

The Moscow Government appointed MM. Krassin and Winarski to go to Rumania and negotiate a treaty. The Rumanian Government selected Dorna Vatra, Bukovina, as the place of meeting. On April 1 the Rumanian Army, according to plans devised by General Averesco, began to be demobilized and placed on a semi-peace footing, thus saving \$30,000,000 a month. There is to be a peace army of 30,000 men, and a national police of as many more for the newly acquired provinces, which double the nation's population as well as its territory.



# New Government in Hungary

## Distress in Austria

### HUNGARY

**A**DMIRAL NICHOLAS HORTHY, the new Lord Protector and Regent of Hungary, is a man of about 45 years, whose sympathies, politically, are supposed to be strongly on the side of the Hapsburgs. He is not a member of the higher aristocracy, like most of the officers of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, but is of the small land-owner class.

As a naval officer Admiral Horthy achieved a brilliant record. When war broke out he was Captain of a battleship, but it was as commander of the fast cruiser *Novar* that he established his name as a daring officer and adventurous seaman. His principal achievement was in leading the small squadron which broke through the Allies' lines at the Straits of Otranto. He sank several small allied ships, and brought his own squadron safely into port, though he was wounded in the action. For these services he was promoted to Admiral, and became a popular hero.

After the war Admiral Horthy retired to his farm, but when the Rumanians left the country he raised an army to keep order, to which stable elements among the Hungarians rallied. Until then he had never entered politics. He insisted that the Parliament should give him certain powers, and that the party leaders should attach their signatures to this agreement in writing. The draft specified the many important powers he would gain. Only when duly signed did the Admiral consent to take the oath of Lord Protector and Regent.

With reference to the numerous reports from Hungary of White terrorism and wholesale executions of persons obnoxious to the Government, Mr. Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons, on March 12, that "the Government had received a long and detailed report from his Majesty's High Commissioner at Budapest, which indicated that the various reports which continued to be received in this country were much ex-

aggerated, and that the Hungarian Government was, on the whole, maintaining order well, and was in no way indulging in political persecutions." He proposed shortly to communicate the report to the House, and was confident they would agree that his Majesty's Government would not be justified in interfering in what, after all, was a question of internal Hungarian politics.

A new Hungarian Cabinet was formed on March 14 under the Premiership of M. Simonyi-Semadam. Admiral Horthy and M. Huszar had brought about the unity of the Christian National Union and the Agrarian parties. M. Huszar retired, but the bulk of the Cabinet remained, and the jettisoning of ex-Premier Friedrich promised to promote internal harmony. The appointment of Count Paul Teleki to the Foreign Office was regarded as a great improvement. Among the principal points of the compromise were the signature of the Peace Treaty, land reform, reform of the Constitution, and the solution of the Jewish question. The new Cabinet is as follows:

M. Simonyi-Semadam, Premier and Minister of the Interior.

Count Paul Teleki, Foreign.

General Soos, War.

M. Julius Rubinek, Agriculture.

M. Stephan Haller, Public Worship.

Baron Friedrich Koranyi, Finance.

M. Alexander Kulin, Justice.

M. Stephanszabo Nagynyi, Food.

M. Sokoropatka, Small Farmers.

M. August Benard, Public Welfare.

M. Jacob Bleyer, National Minorities.

Early in April the former War Minister, Stephen Friedrich, was indicted before a military court of honor for complicity in the assassination of Count Tisza, war Premier of Hungary and one of the leading statesmen of the Central Powers. His trial is expected to reveal a daring plot involving the restoration of King Charles IV. to the throne of Hungary. Meanwhile a highly esteemed Hungarian journalist, Paul Keri, is in prison under a ten-year sentence for the crime in question.

On March 29 the Conference of Am-

bassadors at Paris continued consideration of the response to be sent to the Hungarian plenipotentiaries concerning questions which had arisen with regard to the peace terms submitted to Hungary.

The Hungarian peace delegates at Paris declared on April 10 that they would refuse to sign any treaty which did not provide for plebiscites in the territories detached from their country by the Treaty of Neuilly. They asserted that no party existed in Hungary, and none could be formed, that could hold power after accepting the proposed amputations, and that the Peace Conference could enforce such a treaty only by power of arms.

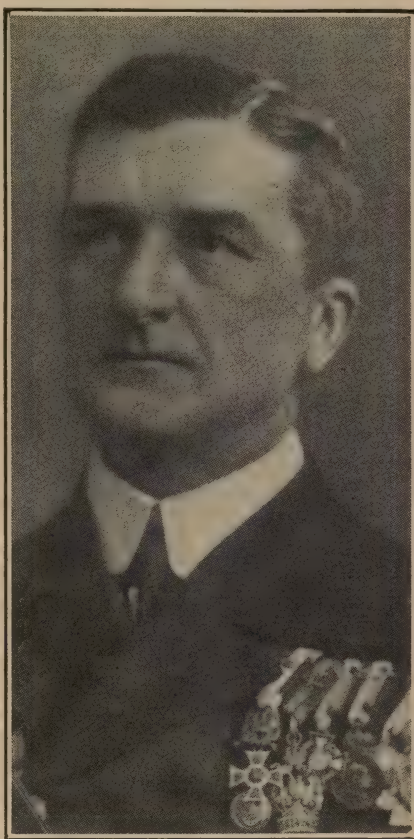
### AUSTRIA

In Austria the economic conditions during March and the first two weeks of April underwent no improvement. The return of Baron Koranyi, Minister of Finance, from Paris empty-handed, except for some small food credits, added to the general feeling of dejection. Manufacturers declared that these small food loans, in view of the imminent exhaustion of supplies, were futile, and predicted the complete economic breakdown of the country if large quantities of coal and raw materials were not speedily obtained. Coal contracted for in Czechoslovakia had not been delivered, while the country's main source of coal supply, Upper Silesia, had been temporarily cut off pending the plebiscites to be taken in this region. Meanwhile Austrian industries lay idle.

Regarding the food question, reports received at the American Red Cross headquarters on April 11 indicated that school children in Vienna were so weakened by insufficient nourishment that they were rapidly falling victim to the epidemics that were constantly ravaging the city and the surrounding country. Of 187,000 children ranging from 6 to 14 years of age only 7,000 were found to be sufficiently nourished. Though the high mortality among these underfed children was the most alarming feature of the situation, the condition of the adult population was stated to be extremely seri-

ous, acute suffering prevailing among the 600,000 or more of the poorer classes, and also among the middle class. More than 25,000 persons were being cared for at the public hospitals.

Temporary relief had been afforded over Easter, according to this same report, by the arrival in Vienna of ninety-



ADMIRAL NICHOLAS VON HORTHY  
*New Regent of Hungary*

three carloads of food, drugs and clothing on April 1. These supplies were immediately distributed to the sick and destitute. An Easter message of thanks was sent to the American people by President Seitz, who stated that these supplies had enabled the Government "to make Easter a veritable feast of joy for many poor families."





CHILDREN AT ONE OF THE HOOVER FEEDING STATIONS IN VIENNA

## Soviet Russia Seeking Peace

### Desire for Commercial Relations

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1920]

SOVIET Russia's policy of fighting its enemies vigorously with one hand and offering peace with the other underwent no change in March and April. The remnants of the army of Denikin, disheartened and demoralized by a series of uninterrupted defeats, were driven successively from Novorossisk and Ekaterinodar, in the Cossack Kuban region, and 31,000 prisoners were taken by the victorious Reds. A desperate exodus of the Denikin forces began from Theodosia, on the southeast coast of the Crimea, following the general principle of "sauve qui peut," British and other allied warships standing by to take off the survivors.

Denikin himself gave up the hopeless struggle and left for Constantinople, where he arrived with his chief aid, Colonel Romanovsky, on April 6. In the Russian Embassy, soon after arrival, Colonel Romanovsky was assassinated by persons unknown, and Denikin was taken on board a British warship, which left for Malta on April 8. It was estimated at this time that there were over 50,000 Russian refugees in Constantinople, al-

ready overcrowded and suffering for lack of food; and General Agapiev, the commander of the South Russian forces in Constantinople, was planning a general deportation of all officers and men of military age back to the Crimea.

Meanwhile the Bolshevik Government continued its efforts to secure a re-opening of trade with the allied nations, and conversations were initiated at Copenhagen to arrange for the dispatch to London of a Soviet delegation to be headed by Krassin and ostensibly to speak for the Co-operative Societies of Soviet Russia in the anticipated discussions. The Copenhagen parleys, however, were suddenly broken off on April 11. Various reasons for this rupture were assigned, one explanation being that Krassin had refused to go to London without Litvinov, whom England had barred on the ground that she had already expelled him for undersirable Bolshevik activities. A French charge that the break was a result of an alleged Bolshevik repudiation of the Russian debt was denied by Krassin himself at Stockholm on April 15. The French further

charged political activities on the part of the Soviet delegates, and pointed to the following order issued shortly before in Moscow:

With a view to preventing the overlapping of the work of the co-operatives with Soviet organizations, the local Co-operative Societies will be gradually abolished and their functions transferred to the corresponding central and local Soviet organizations, the Commissariats of Food, Agriculture and Education, which are parallel and competing bodies.

This order, declared the French delegates, proved that all further talk of dealing with the Co-operative Societies was useless.

After protracted negotiations, agreement on the question of an exchange of prisoners was reached by M. Litvinov and Mr. O'Grady, the British representative in Copenhagen, on Feb. 11. By its terms the Moscow Government set all its British prisoners free and provided railway transportation and food supplies for their return. Rejoicing at their liberation after months of captivity, they left Moscow on March 8.

The last American contingents left Siberia on April 1. The spread of Bolshevism in Siberia became such a menace to Japan that she abandoned her provisional intention of withdrawing her troops. After the departure of the American forces, according to the Japanese official statement, the hostility of the Russians in and around Vladivostok became pronounced, and a series of attacks began on the Japanese troops at Nikolsk and elsewhere. To secure its military base against the Bolshevik wave and to insure the immediate safety of its forces, the Japanese military administration seized the City of Vladivostok on April 5 after eight hours' heavy fighting in different parts of the city, including the Korean quarter; the Russian leaders in control of the Government were arrested. The occupation, which was supported by heavy artillery and machine guns, whose fire was directed by searchlights from the Japanese battleship in the bay, began with a surprise attack at 1 o'clock in the morning. By daylight the city was quiet, with Japanese patrols preserving strict order.

General Semenov, the Cossack leader in Transbaikal, had regained his lost prestige by instituting reforms, and was again co-operating with the Japanese. The latter had captured the entire line of the Ussuri Railroad by April 10. The Chinese, encouraged by Bolshevik promises, were asserting their claims to control of the Chinese Eastern Railway in opposition to the administration of General Horvath.

In Soviet Russia the economic situation underwent little improvement, despite Trotzky's new system of labor armies, employed mainly in railroad construction and repair in Russia and Siberia, and the Soviet decree of compulsory labor for all male citizens between the ages of 16 and 50, and for all female citizens between 16 and 45. In his decree of Feb. 27, addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Trotzky had declared that compulsory labor was an essential part of Communist Government, and that free labor was possible only under a capitalistic form of government. In this belief, any refusal to work was punished by internment, and a new system of "work-books" was organized, enforced by a Communist Disciplinary Committee, by which every worker was required to give proof that he was contributing his full measure of labor.

Reports of expert economists, presented in Warsaw, stated that the food situation in Soviet Russia was bad, and that the Government, contrary to its assertions, had no stocks of wheat and flax for export, that no mills were running, and that the transportation system, both by rail and water, was so badly demoralized that it was only 2 or 3 per cent. efficient. There were only 300 serviceable locomotives in the country. The railway system was admitted by Krassin, in Stockholm on April 4, to be very unsatisfactory, and Soviet Russia's need of rolling stock and other railway equipment emphasized. L. C. A. K. Martens, the Bolshevik "Ambassador" to the United States, declared at this time that he was placing orders for 2,000 locomotives in the United States.



# Poland's War With Soviet Russia

## Poles, Victorious on Russian Front, Lay Down Strong Terms of Peace to Lenin and Trotzky

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1920]

**E**MBOLDENED by its military successes against the Soviet forces early in March, and by further victories gained in subsequent battles through the month, the attitude of the Polish Government toward the peace proposed by Moscow became stronger and stronger. The conferences initiated at Warsaw with the representatives of Finland, Latvia and Rumania resulted in complete agreement between those countries and Poland regarding the principles to govern the negotiations with the Bolshevik Government. Meantime, the Polish Government, having duly considered the peace proposals of the Soviet, made a formal reply, embodying the terms on which it was willing to make peace. These terms, as made public on March 26, were as follows:

1. Russia must renounce sovereignty to all territories obtained through the partitioning of Poland, the Western Russian frontier to revert to that of 1772, before the first partitioning of Poland. The territories and peoples in the regions between the eastern frontier of Poland, as decided by negotiations, and the old frontier of 1772, are to fall under a Polish protectorate, to assure such peoples of the right of free decision as to their future fate and national connections by general vote.

2. Russia must recognize the independence of all the States which on the western frontier of Russia have established *de facto* Governments.

3. Russia must agree to refrain from any propaganda whatever on territories forming part of the Polish States.

4. Russia must indemnify Poland for the devastation of lands and industries caused by the overrunning of Poland by Russian armies since 1914.

5. Russia must return to Poland all locomotives and rolling stock, including the thousands of railway carriages taken from Poland by Russia since the beginning of the war in 1914, this rolling stock to be returned in good condition, or the value of such rolling stock in cash.

6. Russia must indemnify in cash all Poles inhabiting Russian territory whose properties have been destroyed.

7. The exchange of war prisoners must

be undertaken and the free return to Poland of all emigrants is to take place from the moment of the signing of the armistice.

8. Russia will supply trains so that the Polish Arm in Siberia may return to Poland, and this with the honors of war, with ammunition, arms and food.

9. Russia must return to Poland all the archives, the works of art, libraries and collections taken from Poland, from the first invasion of Poland during the first partitioning of the Polish State up to the present time, this applying equally to both public and private collections.

10. As a guarantee that Russia will keep these conditions, the Polish Army will occupy the Government of Smolensk, together with the town of Smolensk, from which territory it will withdraw as soon as Russia has fulfilled the last condition of peace with Poland.

11. The peace treaty must be ratified by a duly elected Russian representative Diet.

Answering a wireless note sent from Moscow by Tchitcherin on March 6, and addressed to the allied Governments, which declared that all military action against Poland was a consequence of the Polish offensive in the Ukraine, M. Skulski, the Polish Prime Minister, declared that it was rather the threatening concentration of Soviet forces against the Polish front which had brought about a renewal of hostilities. Poland, however, said the Minister, was ready to discuss the terms proposed. A wireless sent to Moscow at the end of March fixed April 10 as a date of meeting between the Polish and Soviet negotiators, and the town of Borysov (fifty miles northeast of Minsk) as a place of discussion.

A hitch arose over a demand of Moscow that the negotiations be conducted in Esthonia and that hostilities cease meanwhile along the entire front. Both of these suggestions the Poles refused, and reiterated their original proposal.

The Soviet Government, however, on April 12 definitely rejected Borysov as a

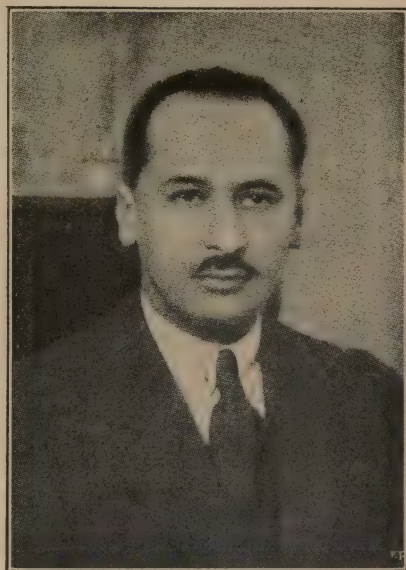
meeting place, and announced that if no agreement were reached it would address a note of protest and complaint to the allied Governments and America. The Soviet note again insisted on holding the meeting in Esthonia, and attributed the Polish demand for a local armistice around Borysov, "the centre of the fighting front," to hidden military plans. The note added:

The Polish Government, by refusing our proposal, is now responsible for the misfortunes of war on the working classes of both nations. We do not see what Poland has in view by insisting on continuance of military operations, thus preventing creation of desirable conditions for a peace conference. Consequently, we doubt the real pacific feelings of Poland.

Ignace Jan Paderewski, former Polish Premier, announced in Geneva on April 11 that at the special request of his Government he had consented to resume his duties as a member of the Polish Diet. He had previously declared that he had retired permanently from politics and would devote his remaining years to musical composition.

Living conditions in Poland during March were far from favorable; the food

and fuel shortage continued, and typhus was reported to be epidemic throughout the country.



M. SKULSKI

*Polish Premier, successor to Paderewski as head of Polish Ministry*

## Affairs in Asiatic Countries

### Attitude of Moslem Parties on Turkish Peace Treaty—Prince Feisal and Syria —Japan and China

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1920]

#### TURKEY

THE decision of the Supreme Council that the Sultan, with some of his political and all of his ecclesiastical prerogatives, would be allowed to remain in Constantinople was clearly shown by diplomatic correspondence to have been a sop thrown to the Moslem subjects of Great Britain and France rather than a concession made to the Turks themselves. The Sultan, whatever may have been his good intentions toward the Entente, which was trying to keep him in the ancient Byzantine city, had no more power to stop the massacres of Armenians in Cilicia, the attacks upon the

French in Syria, the revolutions there and in Turkestan, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia and Azerbaijan, than he had over the Nationalist Army mobilized by Mustapha Kemal Pasha at Angora. But, as intrigues in favor of Kemal were still going on in Constantinople, and even threatening a rising in the city itself, it became necessary for the Entente to stop them, and, at the same time, to support the *de jure* Government.

Consequently Constantinople was occupied in a military sense by an Anglo-Franco-Italian army under the British General Sir George F. Milne on the morning of March 16, landing under the guns of the Entente warships. [For



text of proclamation and other details see Page 323.]

Five hours after the occupation the Allied High Commissioners informed the Grand Vizier, Salih Pasha, who had just completed the slate of his new Cabinet with the appointment of Mahamud Pasha as Minister of Marine, of the *fait accompli*.

Naturally, as his Ministers had been appointed on the orders of Kemal and several of them were on the proscribed list of the Interallied Mission, they could not remain. Nevertheless, Salih felt constrained to issue a proclamation the next day, in which he stated that the Government would do everything in its power to defend the rights of Turkey and to demonstrate its readiness for reform.

Then the hegira of the political agitators of the Nationalists, Nationalist M. P.'s, and certain noble families began in the direction of Kemal's headquarters at Angora, situated on the railway, 215 miles southeast of the Golden Horn.

Although the occupation had been accomplished without opposition in the capital, a storm was produced in the provinces. In the vilayets of Anatolia, Kemal told the Turks to restrain themselves, as he would presently make an announcement; in Adrianople the Nationalist Military Governor, who had already begun to fortify Eastern Thrace against Greek occupation, issued the following proclamation:

Early on March 16 the British, after collisions by force, occupied our civil and military departments. Naturally, faced with this situation, the national forces in Anatolia will do their utmost to assure the integrity of the empire. Every one knows that the lot of the Adrianople province is intimately bound up with the destinies of the empire. Consequently, for as long as there is not at Constantinople a Government enjoying entire national confidence the civil and military administration of Adrianople declares itself independent to obtain its national aim.

On March 24 his paper, *The People*, issued another proclamation with the heading "Stamboul in Flames," which read in part:

Constantinople, under the protection whereof so many nations lived since 1453, has been occupied without any reason by British detachments — by that power

whose navy constitutes its strength. The unhappy city has lost its national authority and our flag its domination. The official departments have been seized by British personnel. It is certain that the British intend to seize the seat of the Caliphate and deprive us of the right to live, ending our national sovereignty and our Constitution. Today the world must be made to know that between Thrace and Anatolia is the unbreakable link of the capital of the Caliphate, without which Turkey cannot live. Let us carry independence to the death and oppose oppression by the uprising of three hundred million Moslems.

Although Parliament had for some time been in a state of gradual dissolution and no quorum could be assembled, Damad Ferid Pasha was requested to form a new Ministry with himself as Grand Vizier. He had already been Grand Vizier and Minister of Foreign Affairs in March, 1919, and President of the peace delegation to Paris last June. The Revolution of 1908 had made him a Senator, but owing to his lack of sympathy with ultra-Nationalist ideals and with Germany, he had, since 1914, refrained from politics, latterly at the Sultan's request.

On April 6 he appointed Durrizade Abdulla Effendi Sheik-ul-Islam, and distributed these portfolios:

Minister of Justice.....	Ali Ruchid Bey
Education .....	Fahreddin Bey
Public Works.....	Djemal Pasha
Commerce .....	General Hasseini
Agriculture .....	Rennis Pasha
Finance .....	Rechad Pasha

On March 19 the Chamber had adjourned for two months, but an anti-Nationalist minority continued to hold spasmodic meetings until April 13, when the Sultan actually dissolved the "rump," ordered new elections, and designated the Cabinet as the proper authority for ratifying the Treaty of Peace when it should be delivered.

Meanwhile an opposition Government was coming into form at Angora under the direction of Kemal. The refugee members of the Turkish Parliament he had formed into a congress, while the fact that sooner or later he intended to usurp both the political and the religious prerogatives of Sultan Mohammed VI., was said to be foreshadowed by the circumstance that, on April 11, he desig-

nated the Chief of the Dervishes in Anatolia as his Sheik-ul-Islam in order to have ecclesiastical authority for so doing. Meanwhile, also, he declined to treat with a British mission under General Rawlinson until the troops of the Entente should have been removed from Turkish soil, and he dispatched agents to every vilayet to send delegates to a National Assembly at Angora. Here, it was reported, before the end of April the subject of an independent Sultan and Caliph would be discussed, it being contended by Kemal that Mohammed VI., having been deprived of his political and religious powers by the Entente, was in no position to exercise either, but that Turkey must have a Sultan with hands free and Islam a Caliph.

## SYRIA

Prince Feisal, according to the press of Beirut and Damascus as late as March 28, renounced one after another the prerogatives he had claimed as King of Syria and the demands he had made on the Entente, on the occasion of his election by the Pan-Syrian Congress assembled at Damascus on March 8. The Lissan-ul-Hal of Beirut, founded by a Syrian-Frank as long ago as 1877, gave credit to the story that the congress was nothing but an Arab gathering with tribal-appointed delegates, who in no sense represented the population.

Among the hundreds of local and racial expostulations that were sent to M. Millerand, the French Premier, was one from the Council of Lebanon, where the people claim descent from the ancient Phoenicians, and assert that they have never been conquered by either Turk or Arab in all the two thousand years of their existence. Another came from the Syrian Jews. Still another was sent by Chekri Ganem, President of the Central Syrian Committee. This was a telegram, which read:

If it be true that General Gouraud has tendered his congratulations to the Cabinet of Damascus, then we protest against this recognition of an illegal authority which no allied power has sanctioned and against which every Syrian protests. To allow for a moment the establishment of an Arab or Shereefian Government would be to hand over Syria to an incompetent, anarchic and retrograde

power, worse than that from which the allied victory has delivered her.

We pray the Government of the Republic to hold fast by the engagements entered into by all its successive heads.

On April 4 it was reported that Feisal had dropped the demand that the independence of Syria be recognized by the Entente. It was expected that he would appear in person before the Supreme Council at an early date and explain matters.

## ARMENIA

On March 20 the Supreme Council offered the protection of the League of Nations to an independent Armenia, which should include the territory running from the Black Sea littoral in a southwesterly direction to the vilayet of Aleppo, including, besides the Russian Armenian Republic of Erivan, the devastated territory of the middle ground. On April 11 the League found itself unable to accept the mandate because it lacked "the machinery for administering the region," but it suggested that the council pursue its investigations and recommended that the members of the League make collective arrangements to meet the financial needs of the projected Armenian State.

Meanwhile, the Armenians to the north and to the south of the devastated regions were subjected to further indignities. War between them and the Tatars broke out in the district of Zangezour; the Moslem Council at Erivan complained to the Peace Conference that the Armenians were ill-treating the Tatar peasants, although other reports to the conference stated that the rural Armenians were being rounded up by Tatar bands from Azerbaijan and that 17,000 had perished. On April 12, 25,000 Armenians were seeking refuge in Georgia from Baku. In the south, in the vilayet of Aleppo, the January massacres at Marash were followed by raids on towns in the vicinity—Urfa, Aintab, and Hadjin. Aintab, the seat of extensive American mission and educational work, was relieved by a French column of 3,000 on March 28, sent by General Gouraud. Aintab had been practically besieged by Turkish Nationalists since Feb. 1.



## PERSIA

Reports received at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, from Teheran were to the effect that part of the Persian Ministry had balked at executing the Anglo-Persian Treaty, although reports at Downing Street, London, stated that the Anglo-Persian Commission under Sir H. Llewellyn Smith provided for in the treaty, had been formed and was at work revising the customs regulations and drafting the terms for the military agreement.

Meanwhile, the comprehensive case of Persia, with particular reference to its relations with neighboring States, was presented to the Supreme Council by Prince Firuz Nosrat ed Dauleh, the Foreign Minister, in person. The document, which represents the views and opinions held in official Persian circles, throws a flood of light upon various ramifications of the whole Turkish question. Some of its observations are:

The sentiments of other branches of the Moslem world in respect to the Sultan's position as Caliph are not shared by the Persians, who are Shiah, or by other Shiah Moslems in the Caucasus, India and elsewhere; nevertheless, the Government has always been anxious to maintain the best relations with the Turkish Government. The Persian Government now seeks the aid of the Supreme Council to secure just reparation for the damages which have been directly inflicted on Persia by the Turks. As to the damage caused indirectly by the Turkish military operations, it is declared that it is incalculable.

The Persian Government desires that the Kurdistan settlement should be of a nature to prevent a recurrence of the constant frontier troubles. It is pointed out that over 1,000,000 Kurds still live in Persian territory, and this is given as an additional reason why Persia is keenly interested in the new status to be given that portion of the Kurdish race which lives outside Persia.

As regards the frontier and territorial differences with Russia, particularly on the Caucasian frontier, it is declared that the Russian Government on various occasions annexed Persian territory. Since the creation of the new Transcaucasian Governments those differences have been removed to a certain extent, and it is believed that the establishment of a natural frontier line will be sufficient to lay the foundation of friendly relations between those countries and Persia.

Up to the present the Russian Bolsheviks have not violated Persian territory.

As far as Persia is concerned, she will be guided by the principle of instituting friendly relations with her neighbors, and she hopes that in due course she may be able to adopt the same attitude toward the Bolsheviks.

## CHINA AND JAPAN

Following strictly the point of view expressed by Dr. C. T. Wang, a prominent member of the Chinese peace delegation to Paris, on his return to China, the Chinese Government continued through March and April to decline all negotiations with Japan over the return of Shantung. The Chinese attitude, as summed up by Dr. Wang, was as follows:

China's only hope for a just settlement of the Shantung question now lies with the League of Nations, not in direct negotiations between Japan and China, which Tokio is seeking to open.

The Japanese Foreign Office on March 22 admitted that its attempts to open such discussions had failed; it declared, however, that it had in no way modified its policy. Meanwhile the boycott of Japanese goods continued, bringing, in the words of the Japanese Consul at Tientsin, "incalculable loss" to Japanese commerce, and neither threats nor persuasions availed against the unalterable resolution of the Chinese merchants not to handle Japanese goods.

In Siberia the Chinese official policy was one of armed neutrality against the Bolsheviks. It was officially announced on March 21 that the Chinese Government had received assurances from the Bolshevik Government of the latter's good-will. A proffer of peace had also been made, based on a renunciation of Russia's share of the Boxer indemnity and on transference to China of the right to control the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Chinese frontier garrisons, however, had been strengthened.

Attempts by Japan to persuade China to occupy North Manchuria as a defensive measure against the Bolshevik invasion had failed. At several points on the Amur River the Chinese had established excellent relations with the Bolsheviks, and they systematically resisted all Japanese attempts to gain control of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

as a communication base. This important line was being policed by the Chinese, in accordance with an inter-allied agreement, pending China's option to purchase it from Russia in 1939, and they insisted that their forces were amply sufficient to guard this railway and the Manchurian frontier.

## AZERBAIJAN

Last July the Interallied Mission at Constantinople unearthed a treaty between the Transcaucasian republic of Georgia and Turkey negotiated the year before, but it remained for the Entente military authorities on the Golden Horn to unearth one negotiated three months after the Georgian discovery, between Turkey and the sister republic of Azerbaijan, which, together with Georgia and Russian Armenia, were supposed to form a barrier protecting Persia and old, devastated Armenia, between the Black and Caspian Seas, from the Bolsheviki of Ciscaucasia. The independence of these three republics was recognized by the Entente last January for this and other reasons—Azerbaijan holding the Baku oil fields and part of the Caspian coast; Georgia, with its capital at Tiflis, and the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus, with its capital at Erivan. The adjoining vilayets of Diarbekir, Bitlis and Van, in old Armenia, were described by the Harbord report as desolate wastes with remnants of a starving population.

These States were originally created under German direction, and the information which has since come to hand proves that subsequently, while seeking protection from the Entente, they were at the same time negotiating with Turkey. It is now feared that these treaties, proving inoperative at Constantinople, were taken over by Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the *de facto* Turkish Nationalist Government at Angora.

Azerbaijan is supposed to have strong Moslem, if not Turkish, sympathies. Its delegate who signed the treaty was General Kerimoff. According to the text, the two States bind themselves to grant reciprocal assistance against such foreign

aggression against the territorial integrity of either "as may be inflicted by the Treaty of Peace."

In order that mutual co-operation may be the more effectively secured, the republic binds itself to allow the Turkish Government to organize its army and supply the officers and soldiers required for the proper training of the Tartar troops. In return the Turkish Government undertakes to supply such guns, rifles, munitions and aircraft as may be available in excess of its own requirements after the conclusion of peace. Azerbaijan agrees not to enter into military agreements with neighboring States without the knowledge of the Porte, and finally the treaty ends with elaborate safeguards as to its interpretation and execution.

## MESOPOTAMIA

Although reports from the various British Commissioners at Bagdad showed that Mesopotamia was being more successfully administered than any other remnant of the Turkish Empire, all through the month the Opposition in the British House of Commons made it a particular theme for attacking the Lloyd George Government. Former Premier Asquith, in a speech on March 25, declared that the force of 60,000 men necessary to maintain peace in the region would, if attacked, lead to an infinite expansion of force and territory, and that the British should confine their administration to the Vilayet of Basra and no further. Even Winston Churchill, Secretary for War, declared that other means of administration must be devised if the whole of Mesopotamia were to be retained, and he suggested an extensive airplane patrol.

Two reports from Bagdad indicate a high stage of efficient improvement in many departments other than those directly connoted by them. One is from the Censor Office at Basra, and shows that the population had been counted in three months and was found to be for the entire region 2,849,282. The second report dealt with the crops, adding this interesting item on another subject:

Practically, all prisoners of war dé-



portés have now returned to Mesopotamia. It is satisfactory to know that of 17,000 or more thus repatriated during the past twelve months scarcely a dozen have come before the courts for any form of lawbreaking. The steps taken by local governments to look after their families in their absence are greatly appreciated by returned prisoners.

Official dispatches received at the India Office, dated as late as April 1, made no mention of the inauguration of the Kingdom of Irak (Bagdad Vilayet) and the proclamation of Emir Abdulla, third son of King Hussein of Hedjas, as King.

## Developments in Latin America

### Serious Rebellion in Mexico—Overthrow of Cabrera in Guatemala —Radical Triumph in Argentina

#### MEXICO

A SERIOUS rebellion has occurred in Mexico, overshadowing the Presidential campaign and threatening to disrupt the republic. Sonora, next to Chihuahua the largest State in Mexico, has seceded and, after refusing to submit to Carranza's summons to lay down arms, began invading the neighboring State of Sinaloa.

There was a strike on the Southern Pacific Railroad of Mexico and a Federal Judge at Nogales announced that unless the railway and its striking employees came to an agreement within three days the Government would seize the railroads and operate the trains with soldiers. The strike was ordered despite a Federal court injunction, and the road was completely tied up. The Judge's ultimatum was issued on April 6. On April 9, the day it expired, the State Government of Sonora, anticipating Federal action, seized the railroad and began to operate it, employing the strikers and promising to grant all their demands.

The Sonora Legislature elected Governor de la Huerta as "supreme power of the Republic of Sonora." The Governor sent a telegram to President Carranza protesting against sending Federal troops into the State and asking suspension of the troops movement. Carranza replied, saying any opposition by the State to the entrance of Federal troops would be considered an "evidence of insurrection." The situation was similar to the difference between President Cleveland and Governor Altgeld

about sending Federal troops into Illinois without requests, except that Illinois did not resist.

Next day, April 11, the State Congress at Hermosillo ordered all Federal property taken over. General Calles was made Commander in Chief, and all Sonora soldiers, whether Federal or State, were called upon to join the Sonora army to resist invasion by Carranza's troops. General Dieguez, Carranza's northern military commander, warned General Calles that military measures would be taken unless Sonora returned to its allegiance. The Sonora authorities began to fortify Pulpito Pass, the gateway from Chihuahua to Sonora, which, it is said, a few hundred men can defend against a large army. All the Federal troops in Sonora went over to the rebels, except a few of their officers.

General Dieguez arrived in Mexico City from Guadalajara on April 13 to confer with Carranza, and a movement was started in the capital for mediation. At the same time troops were being rapidly sent north to attack Sonora. The first clash of the rival forces took place at El Fuerte on the border between Sinaloa and Sonora. Eight hundred Federalists on April 14 left Juarez for Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, to march overland into Sonora. Yaqui Indians who have been at war with Carranza made peace with Sonora and agreed to fight the Federal forces. A German steamer, the *Vorwärts*, seized at Guaymas by order of the Carranza Government, was taken over by Sonora and refitted as a cruiser. She was to have been used as an army

transport along the west coast of Sonora. The Sonora troops won the first battle, capturing El Fuerte and San Blas, another town in Sinaloa, and pushed on toward Culiacan, the capital of that State. Federal troops in Sinaloa were said to be deserting and joining the rebels. The commanders and crews of the gunboats Guerrero and Chiapas also placed their vessels at the disposal of General Calles, these being the only two war vessels of the Carranza Government in Pacific waters. Sonora leaders said the success of their movement would result in the overthrow of Carranza, and after that they would be willing to return to the Mexican national allegiance.

Carranza on April 16 was planning a triple attack on Sonora, one by landing troops from transports at southern ports, one through Sinaloa and one from Chihuahua. He also asked permission of the United States to move troops through American territory so as to make a fourth attack from the north in the region of Agua Prieta. Sonora, in answer to this move, stated that if permission were granted it would mean a battle at the border, and probable damage to American property. The Governor of Texas opposed granting passage to the Carranza troops.

Sonora troops under General Angel Flores entered the City of Culiacan, capital of Sinaloa, on April 17. The Carranza garrison of 3,500 men was defeated in a lively engagement and many prisoners were taken.

Governor de la Huerta ascribed the break with Carranza to politics as well as to a desire to put down the strike. He said the President was notoriously partial in the electoral campaign. An order was issued on April 8 for the arrest of General Benjamin Hill, leading supporter of General Obregon for the Presidency. As a result both Hill and Obregon prudently disappeared in Mexico City a few days after the candidate was acquitted of charges of having been implicated in the Vera Cruz revolt. Obregon has announced his opposition to the Sonora rebellion, as has his rival candidate, Ygnacio Bonillas. The latter is believed to be favored by Carranza. The election will take place on July 4 unless

the rebellion should become so serious as to necessitate its postponement.

## GUATEMALA

A revolt broke out on April 7 against Estrada Cabrera, President of Guatemala since 1898. The cause of the



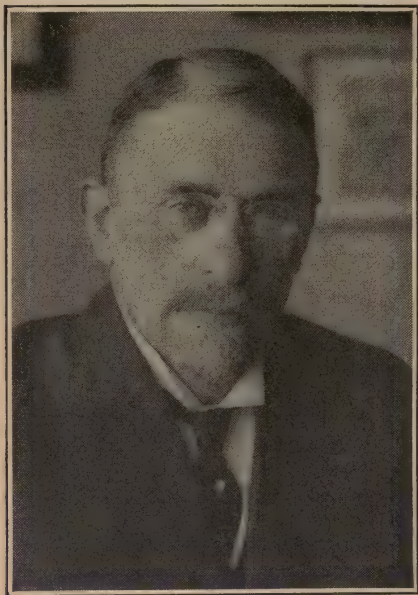
SONORA, THE MEXICAN STATE THAT HAS REVOLTED AGAINST THE CARRANZA GOVERNMENT

trouble was the agitation for a Central American union of the five republics of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador and Costa Rica. Such a union would have terminated the rule of the dictator, and he began making wholesale arrests of all who favored it. A large number of college students were thrown into prison for favoring the union, and many are reported to have been executed. There had been riots and other disturbances, ruthlessly put down by troops since early in March.

Finally the Unionists gained control of Guatemala City in spite of Cabrera's army, the largest in Central America. The President was at his Summer home, La Palma, in the suburbs, and immediately ordered an attack on the city, threatening it from three sides. He began shelling it on April 8 and for three days shells continued to fall in the city, many non-combatants being killed. The



whole country by this time had joined the revolutionists, who formed a new Government with Carlos Herrera as President. His volunteer troops held the capital and the principal railroad. On



HENRY MORGENTHAU

*Former Minister to Turkey, now Ambassador to Mexico*

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the night of April 11 a conference was held by both sides at the American Legation in Guatemala City and an armistice between the Unionists and the forces of President Cabrera was signed. The suggestion was made that Cabrera leave the country; the Unionist leaders guaranteed safe conduct for him and his family.

Señor Cabrera was formally deposed from the Presidency on April 17 by the National Assembly, and Dr. Carlos Herrera was named as President. On the same morning the Cabrera forces near Guatemala City surrendered and Cabrera himself was taken prisoner. The new Government at once began functioning, and perfect order was reported throughout Guatemala.

Following the assassination of General

Barrios, Cabrera had been elected President of Guatemala on Oct. 2, 1898. He promoted education and commerce and built railroads, but, aiming at a dictatorship, he encouraged the imprisonment, torture and execution without trial of political opponents. The people lived in terror of him and he in turn lived in terror of assassination. He was able to get himself re-elected in 1905, 1911 and 1917, but, like President Diaz of Mexico, was finally overthrown.

## ARGENTINA

One of the most bitter electoral campaigns in years ended on March 7 in the complete triumph of the radical party, to which President Irigoyen belongs, over a coalition of the democratic progressists with the conservatives. For the first time in the history of Argentina there were two women candidates, Dr. Julieta Lanteri de Renshaw, leader of the National Feminist Party, and Dr. Beron de Estrada, on one of the Socialist tickets. As a result of the election the Argentine Congress, which will assemble early in May, will consist of 102 Radicals, 46 Conservatives and 10 Socialists. The campaign had been accompanied by labor disturbances and strikes. Prompt action by the Government prevented the movement from becoming general. Troops were quartered in Buenos Aires, twenty anarchists' headquarters were closed and 200 arrests were made. Large quantities of bombs and explosives were seized. There was also disaffection among the metropolitan police. Some policemen, refusing to perform their duties unless they received more pay, were arrested and a citizen guard was mobilized.

Medical students of the University of La Plata on April 5 engaged in a riot over precedence for examinations; a student was killed. The police arrested 130 students and took from them 120 revolvers.

## BOLIVIA

General Ismael Montes, twice President of Bolivia, is about to present to the League of Nations a plea for an adjustment of the dispute with Peru and

Chile and the need of his country for a seaport; he is returning to Europe for that purpose. Bolivia's desire for a seaport is favored by Chile; the port which Bolivia now wants, however, is not her former town of Antofogasta, but the former Peruvian town of Arica. Instead of asking for her own, Bolivia is seeking what belonged to her former ally in the war against Chile in 1880.

Peru resented this attitude, and a Bolivian merchant's establishment in Juliaca was attacked. A large mob in La Paz, the Bolivian capital, attacked the Peruvian legation on March 14. The Bolivian Chargé d'Affaires at Lima officially expressed regret for the occurrence. Chancellor Porras of Peru meantime sent a note to the United States Government saying that Chile was urging Bolivia to extreme measures.

The American Government sent a note to La Paz insisting that Bolivia should not disturb the peace of South America. A communication was also sent to Chile asking her to leave nothing undone to prevent a rupture between Peru and Bolivia. These notes stirred all South America. The Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs declared Chile would not allow interference "from any power or powers," and the Argentine press severely criticised the "arrogant" tone of the notes from Washington. Angry feelings were calmed by Secretary Colby, who announced that the United States Government did not intend to exercise pressure or intervene in any form. Brazil took the same view as the United States and agreed to act as arbitrator in the dispute between Peru and Bolivia; preliminary steps to this end were said to have been taken. Nevertheless, in her latest note to Peru, published on April 10, Bolivia announced her "irrevocable resolution" to obtain the port of Arica as an outlet to the Pacific.

### BRAZIL

Unlike most nations which took an active part in the war, Brazil profited rather than suffered by the conflict. The enormous demand from Europe had the effect of developing Brazilian agriculture beyond all expectations. Last

year the favorable balance of trade of Brazil was about \$200,000,000. Coffee is still the chief item, but its percentage is steadily declining. Brazil's excess of exports has placed her in a very advantageous position from the standpoint of favorable exchange rates, and the expansion of trade forced her paper money up to par. Credits were not as extended as here, but there was inflation that resulted in similar labor unrest.

A strike of railway men in March was followed by one of motormen and drivers. Then the Federation of Labor called a general strike. Trade in Rio Janeiro was practically paralyzed. Firemen on all Brazilian steamships walked out in sympathy with teamsters and truck drivers. At Sao Paulo all the clothing factories were closed by a strike. Waiters and cooks in Rio Janeiro struck, restaurants were closed, and hotels had difficulty in meeting their guests' requirements. The Government announced it would prosecute and deport all foreigners involved in disturbances, and 1,600 arrests were made. The strike culminated on March 28 in the explosion of three bombs in Rio Janeiro, without, however, doing much damage. Finally the Federation of Labor called off the strike on the Government's promise to release most of the men arrested.

Brazil needs labor to develop the interior of her vast country, and President Pessoa recently signed a decree opening a credit of \$500,000 for expenses in connection with the transport, reception and settlement of immigrants from Europe. Preliminary work has begun on the construction of great irrigation canals in the drought-stricken section of Northeastern Brazil, and it is planned to extend railroads there.

German ships seized by Brazil will be taken over by a syndicate of French ship owners on payment of \$26,000,000, according to the Paris Journal.

The new Congress meets on May 3 to consider the tariff bill submitted by President Pessoa. The bill provides for a decided reduction on articles of prime necessity, and indicates a departure from the protective principle hitherto prevailing. It does not affect the 20 per cent.



preferential reciprocal tariff on certain products of the United States imported into Brazil.

## CHILE

A new Chilean Cabinet succeeded the Quezada Ministry on March 26, Pedro Nelasco Montenegro, formerly Minister of War, becoming Premier and Minister of the Interior. Antonio Huneus, who has held portfolios in many Chilean Cabinets in the last twenty years, is Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Charges of conspiracy of a revolutionary character are reported in a Buenos Aires dispatch of April 14 to have been made against thirty-five Chilean army officers, including six Generals. The death penalty is said to have been demanded by General Hurtado, Military Attorney General. A court-martial was to be convened to try the accused.

## PERU

Major General W. C. Gorgas, who won fame by his work in the Panama Canal Zone, has begun extensive sanitary improvements in Peru under a five-year contract with the Peruvian Government, involving an expenditure of \$100,000,000. The work includes providing Lima and thirty other cities with fresh water, drains, paving, garbage disposal plants and other municipal advantages. Paíta, which has been infested with yellow fever, is to be totally destroyed and a new town erected on its site. General Gorgas has gone to West Africa by way of Belgium, having left Lima on April 1, but will return to Peru in January.

The All-America cable line was opened to Arica on April 1, connecting with land lines to Tacna and La Paz. Its completion was delayed by a submarine earthquake on Feb. 28, west of Mollendo, Peru, where the subterranean outlet of Lake Titicaca is supposed to enter the

ocean. Ten miles of the broken cable were buried beyond recovery.

## ECUADOR

President Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno of Ecuador and President Marco Suarez of Colombia met early in April at Ipiales on the border of their respective States and laid the cornerstone of a monument commemorating the signing of the treaty in July last defining the exact frontier between the two countries. Dr. José Luis Tamayo, President of Ecuador, before entering upon his duties in September will make a visit to England.

Italy has sent a military and commercial mission to Ecuador, which reported on April 6 that it had arranged a tobacco monopoly for an Italian company in that country in consideration of which Italy agrees to undertake the construction of public works in Ecuador.

## URUGUAY

Washington Beltran, editor of the Pais, a newspaper of Montevideo, was shot and killed in a duel on April 2 by José Batlle y Ordones, former President of Uruguay, causing great political excitement. Beltran in referring to the last elections called Batlle, head of a rival political party, the "champion of fraud." This led to the duel. Batlle voluntarily gave himself up to the police, as there is a law against dueling in Uruguay. The Chamber of Deputies voted an annual pension of \$3,000 to Beltran's widow.

Uruguay has been experimenting with her Constitution. The new document, which has been in operation a year, limits the powers of the President, dividing the executive functions with a Commission Nacional de Administracion. Now it is proposed to do away with the President altogether and have the Government run by a commission of eleven members.



# THE MARCH OF SCIENCE

## Rise of the Wireless Telephone and Some of the Wonders It Has Achieved\*

**A**N amateur wireless operator at St. Mary's, Ohio, was taking a message in telegraph code one night early in February, 1920, when suddenly he was dumfounded to hear a human voice in his instrument. The voice came from Ossining, N. Y., and it was coming on wireless waves into an amateur instrument hundreds of miles away meant only for dots and dashes. The Ohio operator knew that something revolutionary was happening. Having no telephone apparatus he had to tick back his acknowledgment in dashes and dots. This incident illustrates the way in which wireless telephony has grown out of wireless telegraphy. In many places the same plant is equipped for both.

The evolution of adequate receiving and transmitting apparatus for long-distance radiophony is an eventful drama, which began a little over five years ago; and although wireless inventions have made almost all the world a whispering gallery, the half has not yet been realized; at the same time the story is still unfolding so fast that it is impossible to keep timely record of the improvements.

The feat just referred to was performed by an engineer of the De Forest Radio Company of Ossining, N. Y. He afterward communicated with Chicago, and later with Valley City, N. D., almost fifteen hundred miles away. Even this distance, it is true, was only a small fraction of distances that had been covered by wireless telephone from Washington with a high-power plant; the remarkable fact about the Ossining feat was that it eclipsed all previous records with the low-power apparatus allowed by law to amateur operators. The New York amateur's new record was made with a small amount of aerial, a short wave-length, and only one-third

of a kilowatt of power—an important cheapening of the long-distance radiophonic process.

Though in this and other instances wireless telephony has made a dictaphone, so to speak, of a wireless telegraph instrument, the fields of the two arts are as distinct as are those of wired telephony and telegraphy, and the amount of interference of one with the other is negligible. Moreover, though the wireless telephone has attained high practical value, it is not expected ever to supersede the wired telephone. Rather, one complements the other.

### TALKING ACROSS THE OCEAN

When Secretary Daniels communicated by radiophone with President Wilson on Feb. 22, 1919, while the latter was sailing from France to the United States, the Secretary used the ordinary desk telephone in his office at Washington, which was connected by long-distance with the radio transmitter of the naval radio station at New Brunswick, N. J., whence the words were carried aboard the George Washington, nearly a thousand miles out at sea. Having no transmitting radiophone apparatus, the President could reply only by wireless telegraphy. On the President's second voyage to France, the radio station at New Brunswick kept in communication with him all the way across the Atlantic, and even at Brest—the conversation being still only "one way." But before the President's final return home the George Washington was fitted up with a powerful radiophone apparatus, so that he could carry on a distinct "both-way" conversation with Washington from the moment he boarded his ship at Brest.

The wireless telephone requires no fixed channels of communication, via expensive wire lines, whose construction and upkeep necessitate an accessible path between stations. It is free from all

\*Illustrations by courtesy of the Radio Corporation of America.



cost of line construction and maintenance. But, unlike the wire telephone, it does not secure secrecy, or power efficiency, or selection of a desired station, or freedom from interference. Nevertheless, radiophony is of high utility in its own field. It is practicable at sea, in the air, and in inaccessible places on land, where the ordinary telephone is a physical impossibility.

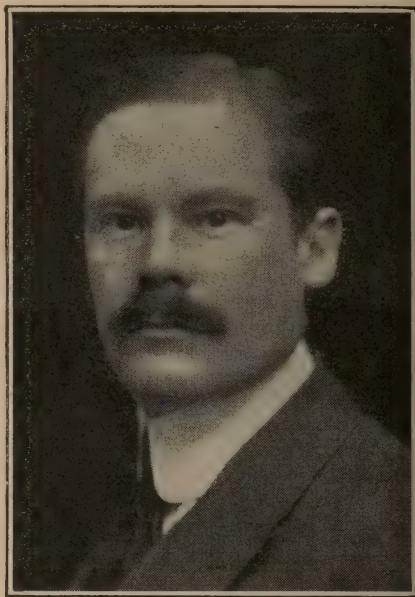
To connect a wire system with a radio system is just as simple as connecting two wire lines by means of a repeater. To reach most persons one can best use a combination of the wireless telephone with the network of ordinary telephone wires extending to perhaps 99 per cent. of the stations; the other 1 per cent., however, to which it is impracticable to build wire lines, must be reached by radio transmission alone. This practicability of the radio as a connecting link between wire systems insures for it an ever-increasing demand, especially to provide communication with arctic stations, and with stations on islands, in deserts, and in sparsely settled regions. As wireless telephony can be used in the same station with wireless telegraphy, and does not require an expert technical operator, it will ultimately be preferred wherever secrecy and accuracy are not important.

#### STIMULUS OF THE WAR

Though wonders are still being added to the power, range and economy of wireless telephony, the art was secretly brought to a high stage of development under the exigencies of the World War. On both land and sea, as well as in airplanes, it was of tremendous importance in winning the conflict. It was the main determinant of air strategy. Naval strategy was revolutionized by it. Wonders began to be realized through the high improvement in amplifiers, for increasing the wave length, especially at receiving stations. The British constructed a nineteen-stage amplifier which enabled naval operators to "listen in" to German radiophonic conversations over 300 miles away. Unsuspectingly the Germans used on their warships in the Kiel Canal the buzzer sets which they supposed to be practicable only for inter-

communication between ships lying less than a mile apart, or at most less than five miles apart. So the official orders, important messages and the usual gossip between operators, which they telephoned with unconcern through these buzzers, enabled the Allies to share the Germans' plans and keep in touch with the latest developments of the German fleet.

By the same token, with all the stupendous improvements in the way of



ERNST F. W. ALEXANDERSON  
*Chief engineer, Radio Corporation of America; inventor of the Alexanderson high-frequency alternator and creator of the high-power radio station at New Brunswick, N. J.*

amplifiers and the post-bellum vacuum tube, even an amateur wireless operator in any part of the United States today cannot be sure that his words are not picked out of the air in Japan or China. However, but for the impetus given by the war to both radio arts, their phenomenal development of the last five years would not have taken place; particularly is this true in regard to wireless telephony. Most wireless stations nowadays are equipped with a telephone receiver and transmitter for radiophony as well as with a telegraph key for

radio telegraphy, together with the other apparatus essential to each.

### RECENT HISTORY

The possibilities of wireless telephony were demonstrated by many investigators from the beginning of the war. During the year 1915 the United States Navy Department carried on experiments in wireless voice transmission over great distances, in conjunction with radio engineers of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and the Western Electric Company. On Aug. 27, 1915, signals were sent from the naval radio station at Arlington, Va. (just across the Potomac River from Washington, D. C.), to the naval radio station at Darien, on the Isthmus of Panama, a distance of about 2,100 miles. The messages comprised a few sentences spoken into the transmitter by various officials, of which only words and phrases were received by the operators at Darien; but they were able to recognize two selections played by a phonograph.

On Sept. 19, 1915, a combined radio and wire telephony test was carried out between the naval radio stations at Arlington, Va., and Mare Island, Cal. Both kinds of telephony had to be used then, so that conversation could be carried on in both directions. The long-distance wire line from New York was connected with the radiophone transmitter at Washington, and the wire line from New York to San Francisco was connected with the radiophone at the latter city. Speech was successfully transmitted, without relay, from New York to Washington by wire telephone, from Washington to San Francisco by wireless telephone; then replies were received in New York by wire telephone from San Francisco.

Having succeeded in talking by wireless over a distance of 2,500 miles, the United States Navy Department arranged for the test which set the record for long-distance radiophone transmission. On Oct. 23, 1915, it transmitted signals from Arlington which were simultaneously received in Honolulu and in the Eiffel Tower at Paris.

The success of this experiment led to a comprehensive study by the Navy De-

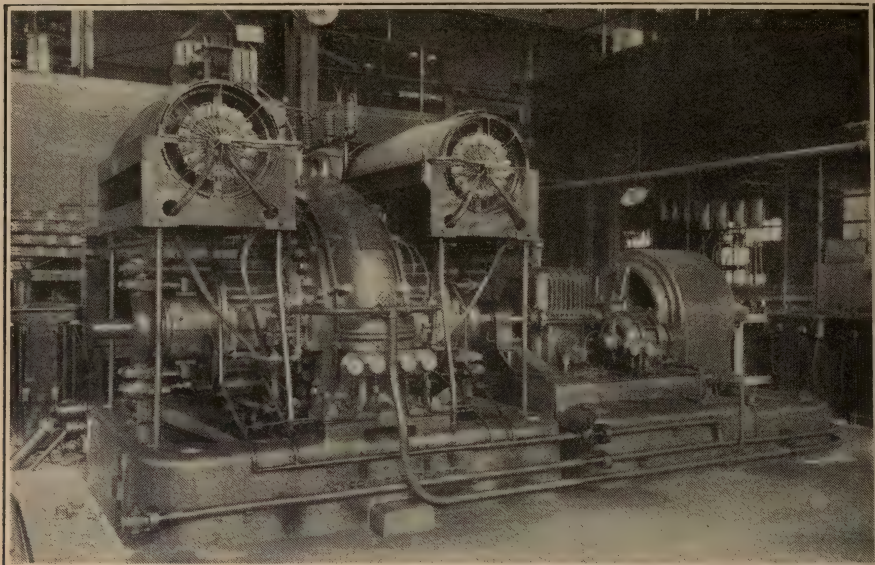
partment of the possibilities of mobilizing wireless telephony for use in naval operations. The foregoing experiments had consisted of one-way conversations only. In May, 1916, a radiophone transmission set was installed on the battleship *New Hampshire*, and when she was fifty miles at sea both-way conversations were satisfactorily carried on. For shore transmission the Arlington station was used, but many operators at other shore stations along the Atlantic Coast received the signals on wireless telegraph apparatus, and heard the whole test. Observers reported that the transmission was even better than with a wire telephone, various sounds on shipboard being distinctly heard, such as the footfalls of officers walking on the deck. The apparatus installed on the lower bridge deck of the *New Hampshire* differed from the apparatus at Arlington only in size. The receiver and transmitter were installed on the bridge itself, whence the Captain could converse while on duty directing the movements of the ship.

Though perfect transmission of speech was secured by these experiments, the apparatus comprising several score of vacuum tubes arranged in parallel, the tests were so expensive that the costly apparatus was later dismantled. The cost of maintenance of such an outfit would have been prohibitive. Nevertheless, experiments continued for military and naval uses, in which transmission over distances so vast was not essential, and the United States entered the war with a number of serviceable types of wireless telephones, the demand for which resulted in very rapid commercial and industrial development.

### TELEPHONING TO AIRPLANES

The most striking development of wireless telephony during the war was in connection with aircraft. Wireless telegraphy had been used for scouting and the control of gun fire; but only spark-gap types of telegraph apparatus had been used, and its field had been limited to one-way communication. In May, 1917, the problem of radiophonic intercommunication between airplanes while in flight was presented to a group of American engineers and scientists, at the





THE EPOCH-MAKING MACHINE THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO TALK ACROSS THE ATLANTIC BY WIRELESS TELEPHONE: THE ALEXANDERSON HIGH-FREQUENCY ALTERNATOR IN THE WIRELESS STATION AT NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

request of Major Gen. Squier, Chief Signal Officer of the army. Laboratory work was directed especially toward producing a telephone transmitter, or microphone, which should be responsive to voice frequencies, and at the same time insensitive to extraneous noises, such as those made by the motor and the wind. At the same time a headset was devised for the aviator, comprising a leather helmet with a transmitter and with the receiving elements so disposed and screened from external noises that the wearer could readily detect the weak radio signals.

A full transmission set was taken into the air on July 2, the same year, and, when the plane was two miles away, speech of good volume and quality was received at the ground station. On July 4 the receiving set was taken into the air and the aviator received spoken messages clearly when several miles from the ground station. Such tests and experiments were kept up through the Summer, and on Dec. 2, 1917, an official demonstration of both receiving and hearing was successfully made at Dayton, Ohio, in the presence of members of the Air-

craft Production Board, the Joint Army and Navy Technical Board, and various Signal Corps officers, all together a party of about thirty.

This demonstration consisted of a three-cornered conversation, the manoeuvres of two two-place airplanes being directed from the ground station. By connecting a loud-speaking receiver with the ground-station radio set in a certain way a dictaphone was formed by which the whole party could overhear the conversation between the planes and the ground and that between one plane and the other. They heard the fliers' acknowledgments of orders transmitted from the ground station, and saw the planes carry out the orders in the required evolutions. Even after the airplanes were eight miles away and out of sight, the party could overhear what the pilot and observer of one plane said to the pilot and observer on the other, and what the aviators said to the officer on the ground. The success of this demonstration was so conclusive that the Signal Corps immediately placed quantity orders with manufacturers for the radiophone apparatus thus proved.

Under the stress of limited time many and intricate problems were overcome in adapting the designs to manufacture in commercial quantity. This is the first instance on record in which the production of either kind of wireless apparatus was put on a manufacturing basis on a scale comparable with that obtaining in ordinary lines of electrical manufacture. The timely means thus afforded of communication between battleplanes when flying in squadrons were of inestimable value in increasing the war efficiency of aircraft.

### THE VACUUM TUBE

Since then, great advances have been made, both widening radiophonic range and restricting the range of an apparatus at will. This twofold marvel has resulted from the constantly higher perfection attained in that manifold wonder-machine known as the vacuum tube. The long-distance, two-way conversations made possible by it are of immense naval advantage, enabling an officer in high command to direct strategic movements of a fleet from department headquarters in Washington or from any important naval base. The Secretary of the Navy, in May, 1919, carried on a two-way conversation from his Washington office with an officer on an airplane 150 miles out at sea. In the same month, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Acting Secretary of the Navy, sitting at his desk in Washington, conversed reciprocally with Secretary of War Baker, who was on board the George Washington 200 miles at sea. This demonstration was a testing out of the epochal invention which enabled President Wilson to converse reciprocally with the departments at the capital, from the time he boarded the George Washington at Brest until he reached the United States: this invention being the Alexanderson high-frequency alternator—or alternating-current generator—the invention of Ernst F. W. Alexanderson, who also is the creator of the high power station at New Brunswick, N. J.

Wireless telephony, or radiophony, like wireless telegraphy, depends on electromagnetic waves traveling through ether-filled space. These waves are of two kinds, intermittent and persistent; or, as they are technically called, damped

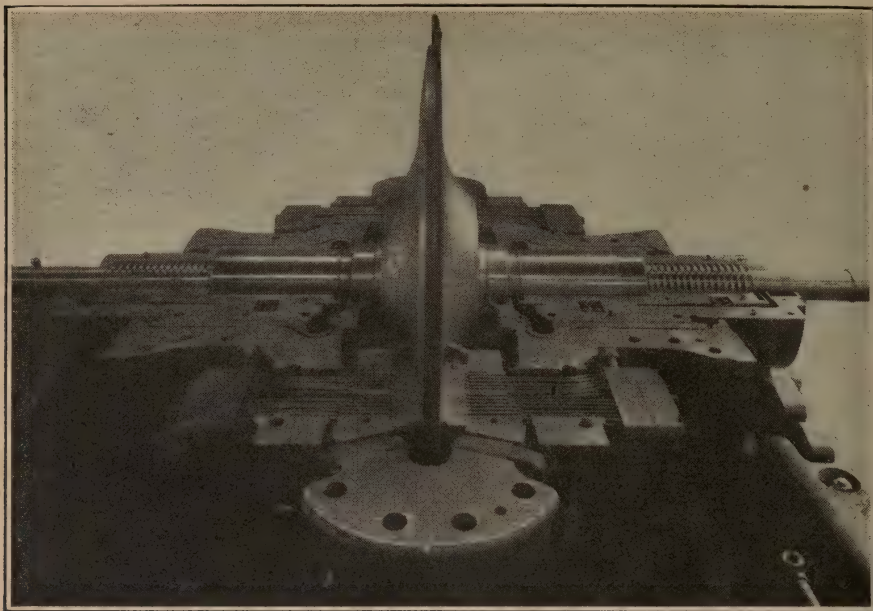
waves and undamped. As an illustration of intermittent (damped) waves, consider the concentric ripples, or waves, which one starts by throwing a pebble into a pond. The series of waves radiating from the point where the pebble strikes the water consists of waves of unequal length; they tend to die away. Throwing another pebble starts a similar series of waves of unequal length. Such waves are intermittent (damped). A succession of such series of waves is called a train.

Next, as an illustration of persistent (undamped) waves, consider the waves one makes by stirring the water with a paddle. In this way one can so apply power to the paddle at will as to create series and trains of waves of equal length. The length of a wave is the distance from crest to crest. Such waves created with a paddle are persistent (undamped).

Now think of waves, not in water, but in the ether that fills all space and all matter. The electro-magnetic waves, which, in wireless communication, travel through the ether at the rate of 186,000 miles per second, in a radial direction, are created by the discharge of a condenser (of the Leyden-jar type) across a spark-gap through self-inductance coil. The simple circuit thus formed for the passage of the periodic discharge is connected, directly or indirectly, with the antenna (air-wiring) system and ground. The function of the antenna and ground is to propagate the waves into the ocean of ether at the transmitting end, and to detect the waves at the receiving end.

For example, consider the antenna and ground as a hinged paddle dipping in the pond. Suppose another hinged paddle is placed some distance away in the same pond. If the first paddle is moved back and forth the waves that radiate from it will make the other paddle oscillate as soon as they reach it. These oscillations, in turn, can be made to strike a bell, drive a pencil to and fro on a sheet of paper, or otherwise to indicate that the second paddle is affected by the waves started from the first one. Such is the action of the transmitting antenna and ground on the receiving antenna and ground in wireless communication.





THE WHEEL THAT CREATES THE ELECTRIC POWER FOR THE WIRELESS TELEPHONE OR TELEGRAPH: 200 KILOWATT HIGH-FREQUENCY ALTERNATOR

The antenna and ground go together, at each end of the line of communication. The antenna, or aerial (as the air-wiring system is also called), consists of one or another arrangement of wires elevated on one or more masts. If one mast is used the aerial wires extend in umbrella formation from its top to the earth, and a lead-in wire connects them from near the top with the radio instrument below. This "umbrella" type of antenna is the type used by the United States Forest Service on Mount Hood, Ore., where it is conducting tests with a view to introducing wireless telephones in the national forests. There the mast used is a 50-foot bamboo pole, which can be taken down in case of sleet storms.

If, as more generally, two masts are used, a harp-shaped arrangement of some half-dozen wires is stretched between them; then from these wires converges a fan-shaped system of wiring down to the lead-in wire.

For very high-power radio stations three masts with a "V-antenna" are used. To one of these masts from each of the other two is stretched a harp-shaped

wiring arrangement, forming the "V." Then down from each "harp" converges a fan-shaped wiring-set, the two "fans" meeting in "V" formation at the upper end of the lead-in wire.

The two-masted harp-antenna can be installed, in little, on an automobile, enabling the motorist to communicate with his home station or with another motorist similarly equipped. Other types of antenna are too numerous to mention here. During the war live trees, with a nail driven in near the top for attachment of the upper end of the lead-in wire, proved good receiving antennae, and were used successfully for transmitting within a very few miles.

The condenser is charged by any of several means well known in electricity. These include induction coils and dynamos, as incorporated, often on a gigantic scale, in the Alexanderson high-frequency alternator. The condenser is to intensify the induced current. Its discharge across the spark-gap is a succession of sparks so rapid as to look like one spark. The condenser discharges its accumulated energy in one tremendous rush across the

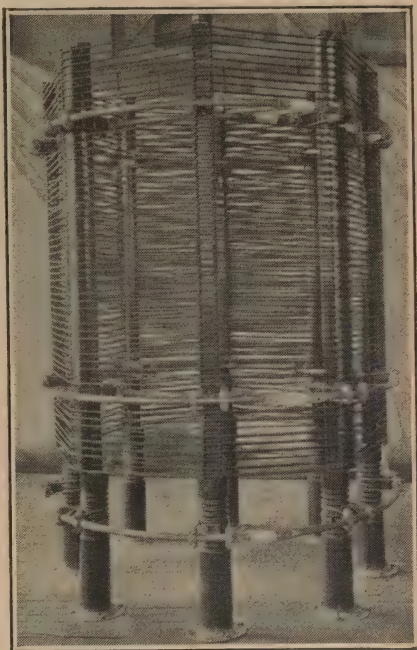
gap, first in one direction, then, in another rush of current, somewhat less powerful, in the opposite direction; and so on, pendulum-wise, each discharge becoming weaker than the preceding one, until the condenser has completely discharged its original accumulation of energy.

All this takes place in a mere instant of time. One discharge each way across the gap constitutes what is called a cycle. The rapidity with which these discharges are made is called the frequency (of the radio waves or oscillations). This radio frequency depends on the length of the waves; therefore, the value of the radio waves, or oscillations, is given in wave lengths. The frequency is determined by the number of cycles per second. A standard wave length of 10,000 meters has a frequency of only 30,000 cycles per second, while a wave length of 200 meters has a frequency of 1,500,000 cycles per second.

Except in special cases the amateur wireless station is limited, by United States law, to a wave length of 200 meters for the transmitter. The Government took over the control of all radio work during the war, to concentrate and perfect it; and this law was made to prevent amateurs from "jamming" the waves of Government stations. Ship-station transmitters use a wave length of 300 to 600 meters; while much greater wave lengths are used in Government and long-range stations. Only in experimental work are wave lengths greater than 18,000 meters used; because the equivalent frequency becomes too low to be practical, while necessitating too great power to make the charge and too vast an antenna system to project it into space.

To make practical use of the waves for sending messages and receiving the same at distant points, it is necessary to create regular electrical disturbances in a circuit which starts the wave. Next, by means of the transmitting antenna, the waves must be got into surrounding space and started on their journey at high speed. On reaching a distant station, these transmitted waves have to set up electric currents in the receiving circuit, to which they are

turned over after they strike the receiving antenna. Within the receiving circuit the waves of the currents are changed so that they may be detected (rectified) by certain electric instruments, so that the operator can take the message. Usually he takes it through signals in a telephone receiver, although,



ANTENNA TUNING COIL

*A wonderful new invention that has greatly increased the distances covered by the wireless telephone*

as before indicated, the message sometimes becomes audible in a wireless telegraph instrument.

Wireless telegraphy transmits by means of damped (intermittent) waves, which the telegraph key interrupts to form the dots and dashes. In wireless telephony, undamped (persistent) waves are used, which are not interrupted, but are modified by the voice and the amplifying and modulating instruments.

The function of the sensitive electric instruments within the receiving circuit is to amplify transmission waves that arrive too weak, or to reduce radio frequency to what is called audio frequency.



A wireless telegraph receiving set can take a message on a radio frequency of over a thousand times what would be possible for the receiving telephone diaphragm to follow or the human ear to hear. The upper limit of audio frequency for the human hearing is 16,000 to 20,000 sound waves per second.

Here is no space to mention any member of this receiving-circuit set except the epochal vacuum tube, whose manifold capacities for wonder working in both kinds of telephony and telegraphy have earned it the epithet of the new Aladdin's lamp. Briefly, it is an electric light bulb, containing the usual incandescent filament, a pole-plate, and between these a transforming element called the grid. The electric charge in the filament is negative, that in the plate is positive. That in the grid can be made one or the other at will, for raising

or lowering the power of the current from the filament to the plate. The tube can powerfully modulate the waves received, or in a transmission set it can create very high-power waves. The vacuum tube first made very long distance telephony (wired or wireless) possible. It eliminates static interference (the interference of atmospheric electricity).

As a transmitter it is only surpassed by the Alexanderson high-frequency alternator. But even with this alternator, the vacuum tube is necessary to modulate the waves produced by the alternator. The tube superimposes the telephonic signals on the waves from the alternator. Only, the alternator is durable and cheap in upkeep. The tube is costly in upkeep, and the alternator economically reduces the number of tubes needed. Alternators are built ranging in power from 2 kilowatts to 200.

## An Engine That Saves Half Its Fuel Waste

Everybody has noticed the waste steam that issues from the radiators of an automobile. To save such thermal waste as this, an Englishman, William Joseph Still, after eight years of research and experiment, has created an internal-combustion engine, which British engineers and scientists regard as more economical and stable for many services than even the Diesel engine, which made so remarkable a record during the war. This new Still engine uses any gas or oil for fuel, is self-starting, and provides a reservoir of power capable of sustaining a large overhead of steam for a short time, even when overloaded to a degree under which an ordinary internal-combustion gives up work. It raises steam

from such heat as is lost by other engines in the steam jacket and the exhaust, and then expands it at the back of the main piston, which gives one stroke for the steam and one for the combustion pressure. One expert has claimed for it an efficiency of 10 per cent. over the Diesel engine. By recovering the heat which passes through the combustion cylinder, it both increases engine power and reduces fuel consumption. Its capability of self-starting raises its efficiency from 30 to 42 per cent. It weighs 20 per cent. less than the geared turbine plant used in marine propulsion, and is alleged to consume 2,000 pounds less fuel for a round trip lasting 1,000 hours. More than 50 per cent. of the fuel energy is recovered.



# INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

[American Cartoon]

## Not the Setting Kind



—From The San Francisco Chronicle



[English Cartoon]

## “Splendid Isolation”



—From *The Passing Show*, London

[American Cartoon]

## "No European Entanglements"

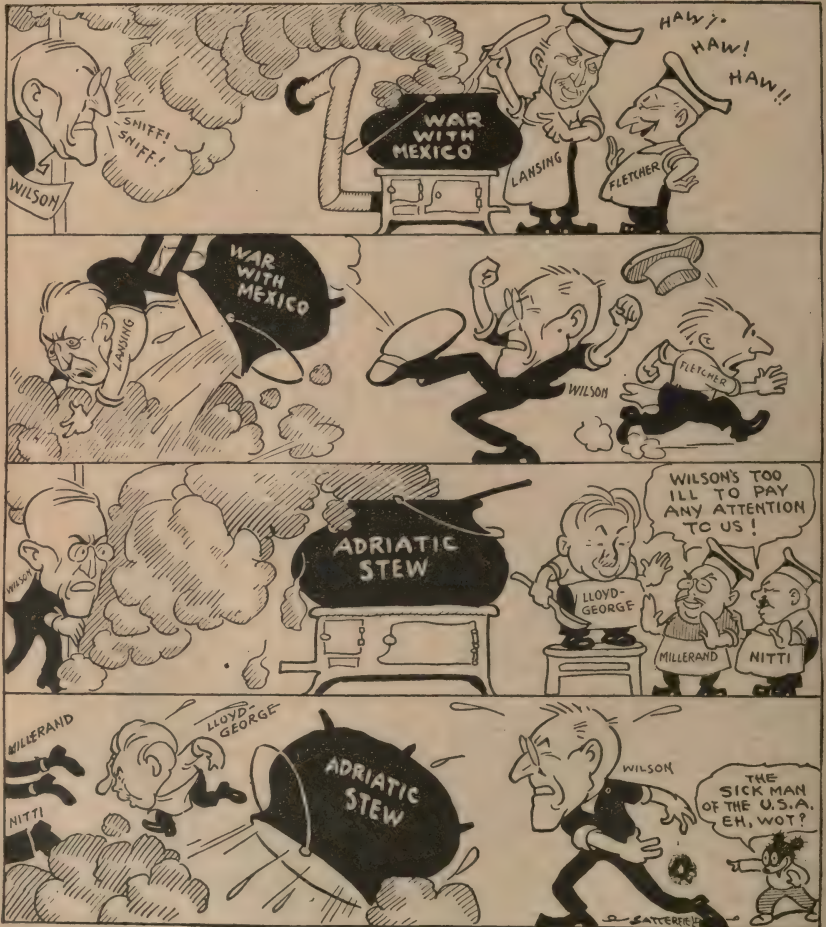


—From The New York Tribune



[American Cartoon]

## Not So Sick After All



—From The Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland

[American Cartoon]

## Just One More Spree Before the Country Goes Dry



—Central Press Association, Cleveland



[American Cartoon]

## Not Making the Load Any Lighter



—From The New York Times

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

## The Eastern Question



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich

Does Japan stretch forth its hand to help Russia or to grab Siberia?

[Dutch Cartoon]

## The Demand for German War Criminals



—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

GERMAN MICHEL (to Court): "I thank you for this demand. You have now so clearly overdriven things that I am certain of the sympathy of the public (neutral nations) in the gallery"



[English Cartoons]

## The Mountaineers

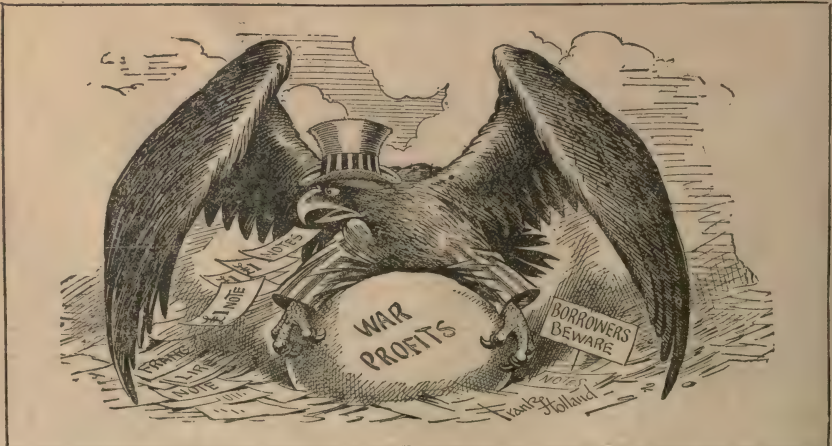


—From Reynolds's Newspaper, London

The mountaineers were climbing fast;  
From peak to peak they quickly passed;  
It was the Fat Man led the climb,  
And he kept shouting all the time—

“Excelsior!”

## The Lucky Bird



—From John Bull, London

Here is the Yankee Eagle, he  
Is “feathering his nest,” you see;

He’s got a nest-egg, too—my word!  
He is a lucky dicky-bird.

[American Cartoon]

## Whoa, Maud!



—From The San Francisco Chronicle



## Conservation of Bird Life



—Brooklyn Eagle

## Clipping Its Clauses



—San Francisco Chronicle

## As the Supreme Council Would Have It



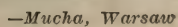
—San Francisco Chronicle

## Signs of Spring

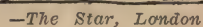


—Brooklyn Eagle

## The Terms of Peace

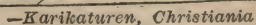


## Allied Policy Toward Germany



[Norwegian Cartoon]

## Entering the Giants' Den



283



[Italian Cartoon]

## Italy and Fiume

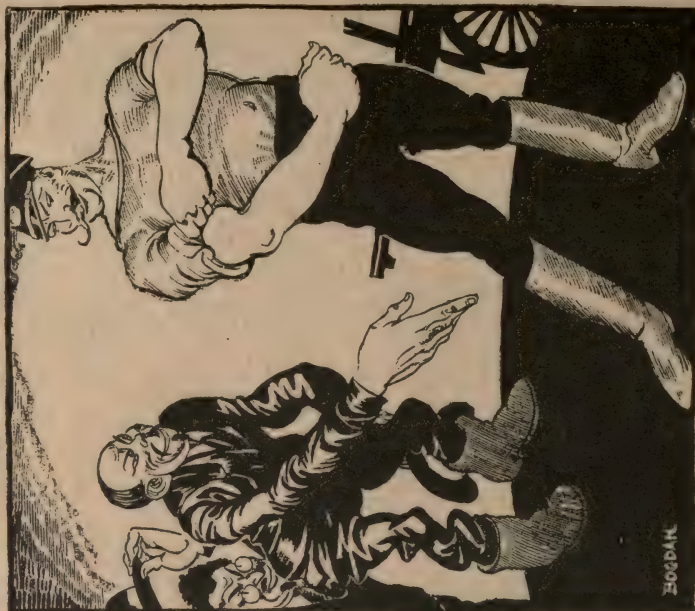


—From *Il 420*, Florence

God Guard Her from Her Friends!

[Polish Cartoon]

## Making Peace With Red Russia



—From *Mucha*, Warsaw

LENIN: "Well, Mr. Pole, will you not clasp my hand?"  
POLE: "O! You can have my hand; but if I give you one to clasp I shall certainly keep the other ready for your coat collar if you start any of your tricks."

[American Cartoon]

## Our Mental Picture

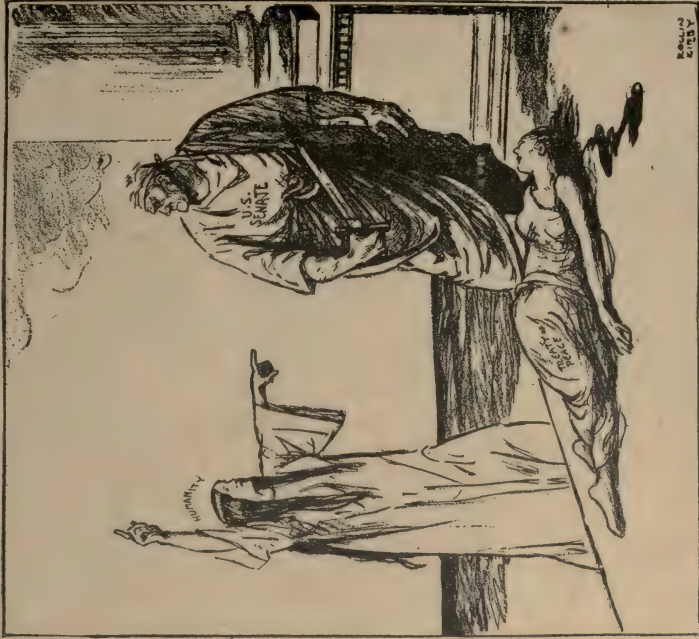


[From description previously furnished us of our new Secretary of State]

—*Milwaukee Sentinel*

[American Cartoon]

## The Accuser



—*New York World*



[Norwegian Cartoon]

## The Sower



—*Tyrihus, Christiania*  
Mr. Jonathan, from the U. S. A., sows his dollars in the bloodsoaked soil of Europe

[Austrian Cartoon]

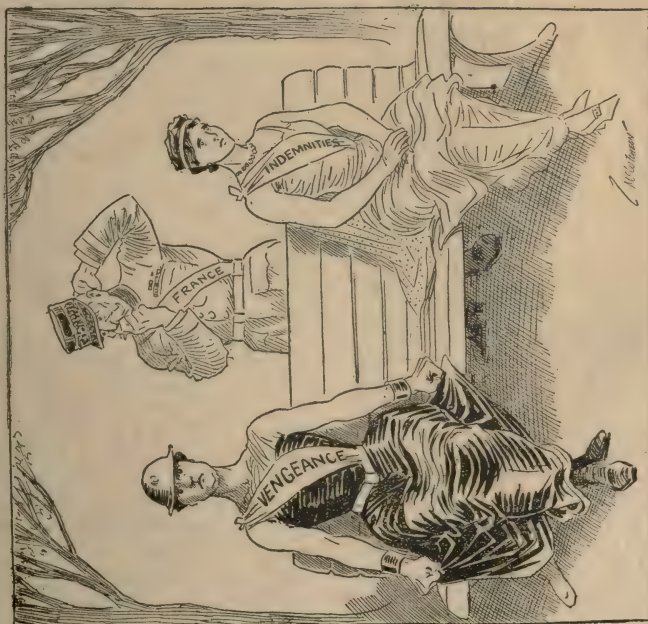
## English Policy



—*Wiener Caricaturen, Vienna*  
LLOYD GEORGE: "You Bolsheviks are the scum of the earth! For the last time I ask you—will you trade with me?"

[American Cartoon]

## He Can't Have Both



—Chicago Tribune

[American Cartoon]

## The Leopard Cannot Change His Spots



—Cincinnati Post



[English Cartoon]

## The Goblins



—From *The Passing Show*, London

Scared away



TYPICAL WAYSIDE SCENE IN PICTURESQUE PORTO RICO UNDER AMERICAN RULE

## Life in Picturesque Porto Rico

By F. P. DELGADO

**I**T is significant, even in this modern day, when the disadvantages of distance and the discomforts of travel have been annihilated, that Porto Rico must be discovered anew and approached by sea as when Columbus and the Conquistadores set sail for it in the fifteenth century. The same tropical skies, the same blue waters strewn with sargassum like goldenrod on purple hills and alive with glistening flying fish, the same starry nights with their flaming constellations and the Southern Cross upon the horizon greet the modern explorer as they did the old. Seen from the sea, afar off, the vision is the same—the distant hills and the towering peak of El Yunque, a gleaming jewel set in a silver sea.

It is only upon entering the beautiful Harbor of San Juan that the simile ceases to exist and the present divorces the past. Even the fern-covered walls of battle-scarred El Morro and the picturesque Casa Blanca of Ponce de Leon, impressive landmarks of a noble past and a departed glory, have outlived the functions for which they were originally

erected, and are now incongruously blended in an aspect of modernism which not even the white-walled houses with their multi-colored roofs can completely dispel.

### THE OLD AND THE NEW

Spain brought to the New World the great tradition of Christendom; the untarnished glory of Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella of Castile, the pomp and prowess of Spanish arms extending from the Peninsula to the Low Countries. Today all this has changed and only the legend remains, with here and there a few pitiful landmarks, a pile of ancient stone, perhaps, on which lies a lizard sleeping in the sun. The American occupation, the ruthlessness of progress, the traffic and commerce of the world, the swift forgetfulness of an unimaginative people have brought about an astounding change, fruitful if regarded in the light of modern and progressive standards, but regrettable in the disregard of much that was picturesque and full of charm. In the Harbor of San Juan great derricks unload the steel



ships in their modern quays where, of old, worn pavilions with a sail above an oar laid their wooden keels on the sandy shore. Unlike many other less-favored lands, the transition from the old to the new has been violent and abrupt. To gain one thing it is frequently necessary to lose another, and Porto Rico has paid the price.

So much for the past and the memories and traditions that have been scattered. But what of Porto Rico of today and its many problems still to be solved, involving not only its relations with the United States, but also those concerned with its own internal welfare? For twenty years the island has presented a fertile field for the study and examination of that important and mooted question—whether the laws, social conditions, inspirations and aspirations of one country can successfully be engrafted upon another. In view of similar conditions elsewhere arising out of the results of the great war, the experience of Porto Rico is of peculiar and timely interest.

#### POLITICAL STATUS

The present great problem is that of its political status. Is the island only a colony or possession, as some hold, or is it an integral part of the United States, as asserted by others? The confusion and uncertainty engendered by this question are responsible for much of the political unrest on the island today. A good deal of this is due to a misunderstanding of the new "Organic act" of Congress, known as the "Jones bill." The main features of this act are the granting of American citizenship to the Porto Ricans, the separation of the legislative and executive functions, extension of the appointive judiciary system, and an elective House of Representatives and Senate. Representative government is implied by the presence in Congress of a Resident Commissioner elected by the people of the island.

But an important faction of the Porto Rican electorate demands more than that. Citizenship without statehood seems an anomaly to it. It chafes at the fact that the executive power resides in an American Governor, and that associated with him is an Executive Council, of which six

of the eleven members are Americans, each at the head of an important administrative department. A further source of irritation is the fact that acts of the Porto Rican Legislature must be approved by Congress and the Governor.

#### NOT AN INCORPORATED TERRITORY

It has been asserted by many Porto Ricans, contrary to the contention of the Attorney General of the island, that Por-



CROSS AT AGUADILLA, PORTO RICO, MARKING THE SPOT WHERE COLUMBUS FIRST LANDED ON THE ISLAND IN 1493

to Rico is an incorporated Territory of the United States. This interpretation was strengthened a short time ago by the decisions of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico and the District Court of the United States for Porto Rico in two important cases (*The People of Porto Rico vs. Carlos Tapia* and *The People of Porto Rico vs. José Muratti*, 245 U. S., 639). Recently, however, the Supreme Court of the United States reversed these decisions, and upheld the opinion maintained

by the Attorney General. Referring to it in a recent report he said:

The Supreme Court followed precedent to the effect that the question of the political status of a Territory was to be determined by Congress, and depends upon the expression of Congressional intent. The new "Organic act" conferred American citizenship upon Porto Ricans, but the question of the incorporation of a Territory does not depend upon citizenship alone.

Legally the island is thus an organized but not incorporated Territory of the United States. It enjoys many of the same rights which an incorporated Territory has, including the fundamental guarantees of the United States Constitution, the privilege of the Grand Jury, a Public Service Commission and the regulation of its own internal commerce. Furthermore, it is largely exempt from both Federal and war taxes. By this new act all internal revenue laws, unless specifically made applicable to Porto Rico, do not apply there, and such revenue already collected there is to be given back, a ruling applicable to no other Territory.

#### GENERAL POLITICAL UNREST

Thus, from the standpoint of the Government, the position of Porto Rico is ideal, and Congress seems in no mood to modify or change its attitude. From the standpoint of the average Porto Rican it is far from being so; unfortunately, however, he does not always know what he wants, and realizes only that he is dissatisfied with existing conditions. Besides those demanding statehood, represented by the Republican Party, there is also the important Unionist Party, which is in favor of complete independence. Another and a minor group would welcome back the old Spanish rule. The last question is purely academic. The methods and the means to realize it are quite impossible at the present time, yet it is symptomatic of the general political unrest. Recently Joseph G. Cannon, the former Speaker of the House of Representatives, delivered an address before a joint session of the Insular Legislature in which he strongly deprecated the idea of immediate Porto Rican independence. "Why are you worrying about statehood

and independence?" he asked. "You will get either or both just as soon as you are ready. Do not get the idea that we are lying awake nights trying to do you an injustice!" His unconciliatory remarks made a somewhat painful impression upon his hearers.

#### LACK OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

Accordingly the political future of Porto Rico waits upon the knees of the gods. The theory of "self-determination" as applicable to small nations has lost too much caste to be revived there successfully. The principal trouble between the authorities in Washington and the natives of the island is a complete lack of mutual understanding. The absence of a common language is a formidable barrier. The present Governor, Arthur Yager, is accompanied everywhere by an interpreter. American officials, appointed often for political rewards at home, without any especial fitness for their office, are often unsympathetic to Latin traditions and ideals. Despite loud expositions to the contrary, the average Porto Rican is neither an American nor a Spaniard at heart. He is first, last and all the time a Porto Rican, with a very limited and insular viewpoint. This might lead one to assume that, perhaps, it would be better if he were left free and unhampered to work out his own political destiny, but the popular intelligence needed for such an experiment is not yet sufficiently developed.

Yet in spite of divergent political views and the misunderstandings and the unrest occasioned thereby Porto Rico prospers, at least officially and according to statistics. But the prosperity is not distributed. It has fallen to the lot of the better class, the small minority. The few have prospered, the wealthy sugar, tobacco and coffee planters and the professional classes. They send their sons to the United States or Spain to be educated. They are seeking to preserve the pure strain of their Spanish blood. Last year, for instance, commercial business was both active and growing. External trade reached a total of \$141,896,400, and there was a trade balance in favor of the island of \$17,095,680.

But prosperity did not reach the level





PARISH CHURCH, OUR LADY OF THE ASSUMPTION, AT AGUADILLA, PUREST EXAMPLE OF SPANISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN PORTO RICO

of the great majority. Nearly 80 per cent. of the population are desperately poor. Unfortunately, there is no middle class, the backbone and the sinews of any democracy. Between the favored few and the miserable many lies a great gulf, an almost impassable barrier. If there is often a lack of vision, even among the chosen few, what must be said of the viewpoint of the average Porto Rican, the small shopkeeper, the street vendor, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, the workers in the fields, especially on the sugar plantations, and the unclean, afflicted beggars who abound everywhere? Living under sanitary conditions that are shocking, ill-fed and emaciated, the prey of tropical fevers and diseases, their condition is a pitiable one. Largely black or half-breed, intermarriage is prevalent and immorality is common among them. They still live under a state of peonage, although officially and technically they are free. Ignorance is their besetting sin, and laziness their prevailing characteristic. *Mañana* is still their watchword today, even as it was under the Spaniard.

Touring the country you will pass countless thatched *bokios*, or shanties, consisting of one room, where a family

of six or more live huddled together with a pig and a few chickens under sanitary conditions that are obvious. There is no furniture, perhaps only a hammock for the lord and master of the house. The floor supplies the need of bed, table and chairs. For food, the wild plantain, a handful of rice and beans must suffice. Life flows by monotonously, hopelessly, varied only by the birth of another child to increase the already too numerous offspring; or else by a death; a cheap and pitiful wooden casket is carried carelessly by the men to the cemetery, while the women remain at home and weep.

Prosperity did not mean much to this class. There were some increases in the wages of the workers, but these were hardly sufficient to offset the increase in the cost of the necessities of everyday life. Also the bringing back of large bodies of laborers who had been taken to the American Continent by the War Department for urgent war work just before the armistice, and the rapid demobilization of the soldiers of the Porto Rican contingent of the national army occasioned many problems of unemployment and re-employment that were very difficult to solve. In addition, the terrible earthquake near the close of the year



PORTO RICAN TOBACCO FIELDS COVERED WITH MUSLIN NETTING, WHICH TEMPER  
THE SUN'S RAYS AND IMPROVES THE QUALITY OF THE PRODUCT

1918, and the subsequent serious epidemic of influenza, in which over ten thousand perished, took their toll chiefly among the poor.

#### EDUCATION URGENT NEED

There is no doubt, since more than 60 per cent. of the people are illiterate, that the most vital problem for the island today is that of education. And this has a distinct bearing on Porto Rico's future political status, because questions of government require brains for their solution. The public schools of the island were founded by the American administration, and they have not had time as yet to present telling results. Most of the men over 31 years of age, and a large percentage also under that age, are uneducated. Only about one-third of the school-age population is attending school. To be exact, last year (1919) the total enrollment was 160,794. The total number of children within the school ages (5 to 18 years) is estimated at 441,465. In regard to teachers there are 2,984, all of whom, with the exception of 148, are native Porto Ricans.

These figures are not an eloquent testimony of Porto Rico's boasted educational progress. Added to this unfortunate condition of affairs, the work of the public schools was considerably handicapped lately by war conditions, as many men teachers resigned to enter the military service. The reason that instruction is given chiefly by natives is that teachers from the States are not attracted by the low salaries paid. This naturally results in a loss of efficiency. English is taught in the schools, but is largely forgotten outside of the classroom. In fact, the English language in Porto Rico, except as spoken by the American colony and a few well-educated natives, is practically non-existent. Without a knowledge of Spanish, the stranger or traveler will get nowhere. The Spanish spoken by the people, it should be said, has suffered many local changes, and their speech is far removed from the Castilian fluency of their sires.

Governor Yager has declared that "all the hopes of Porto Rico for improvement in political, social and economic conditions rest upon the general



"education of its people. There is such an enormous population (at present estimated at 1,263,474) compared to the area and wealth of the island, and there is such an accumulation of illiteracy and ignorance due to neglect of this duty in years long past, that it seems impossible for the insular Government to accomplish this immense task without outside help and within a reasonable time." In his latest annual report the Governor further declares that "only a beginning has been made in the tremendous task of educating the people of Porto Rico."

Another element in the educational system that is not conducive to social or moral welfare in a community in which moral laxity is prevalent is the association of white and black children in the same classrooms, where companionships and friendships are formed, often leading later to unfortunate ties of intimacy. The race question cannot be helped by such conditions.

### THE RACIAL PROBLEM

The solution of the race problem, indeed, is vital for the future of the island, and a discussion of it presents many difficulties, because ethnologically there is no characteristic and distinctive Porto Rican people. To try to trace their lineage, to endeavor to establish their common origin, presents a problem more in the domain of the student of atavism than of history.

Generally speaking, the Porto Rican of today may be said to be descended from three distinct races—the Indian, the Spaniard and the negro. The Indian aboriginal welcomed the conquering Spaniard kindly, then turned against him because of his cruelty and oppression, and in turn was exterminated because the bow and arrow were no match for the arquebus and the sword. The Spaniard, during his early voyages of conquest and colonization, brought no women with him, so that there naturally sprang up wherever he went a mixed race, *pur sang* on the one hand and aboriginal on the other—the *mestizo*, hybrid both physically and morally. The negro slave imported early in the sixteenth century to take the place of the exter-

minated Indian introduced a new racial element, and by the side of the *mestizo* there developed the *zambo*, common offspring of the two. Later, the bringing of negro women from Santo Domingo and other islands added the mulatto to an already heterogeneous condition of race. It was not until very late in the history of the island that corrective features and elements were introduced by a new influx of prosperous Spanish settlers and their families driven from Venezuela and the mainland by the incessant revolutions in those countries. Accordingly, the modern Porto Rican has many racial and natural handicaps to overcome. And all this bears decisively on the question of the island's admittance into the comity of our statehood.

### INFLUENCE OF CHURCH

As in most Catholic countries, the influence of the Church has been a potent factor in the life of the Porto Rican people. In the old days, with the explorer and the soldier came the regular clergy and the monastic orders, such as the Dominicans and Franciscan friars, with constant bickerings between the two, and with the usual appeals on the part of both to royal authority for recognition and power. Under such conditions, the Inquisition introduced from Spain fattened on the life and energy of the inhabitants. Yet the influence of the Church from that day to this has been so influential in ruling quarters that the effort of Protestantism to establish both creed and missions has been negligible.

With the coming of the Americans, however, a decided change for the better arose in the affairs of the Church. The Diocese of Porto Rico, erected in 1511 by Pope Julius II. and by Apostolic Brief—"Actum Præclare"—is immediately subject to the Holy See. The present Catholic Bishop of the island is the Right Rev. William A. Jones, O. S. A., D. D., who, in spite of his Welsh name, is an American, and further has the advantage of speaking Spanish.

Modernism has destroyed and supplanted much that was old and beautiful in the traces of early Spanish ecclesiasti-

cal art. With the exception of the parish church of Aguadilla, which is dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption, and which contains two old and beautiful Spanish hand-carved and lifelike reproductions in wood of Murillo's "Assumption" and "Immaculate Conception," the interiors of the churches of Porto Rico are uninviting from an artistic standard. In San Juan, for instance, the cathedral has been remodeled along modern and garish Italian lines; the ancient convent of the Carmelites has been sold and now harbors a garage, and the old and venerable church of San Francisco—the oldest church in all the Americas—has been torn down and replaced by a modern high school. Thus the ancient symbols of belief have been put aside for the utilitarian demands of the day. Here and there are old, abandoned churches, some set upon a hill as at Trujillo Bajo, where in centuries past the pious have looked up for light and inspiration. Now deserted, with leaky roofs and drafty aisles, they stand alone and dignified in their desolation, silently mindful of their mission to prove that a city built upon a hill cannot be hid.

Such is Porto Rico of today, unimaginative and very matter of fact, absorbed in its own local problems and largely ignorant of the great, outside world; patient, plodding and pathetic in the poverty and ignorance of its poorer classes. But if one has imagination, and can laboriously retrace the milestones of the ages, can visualize the past and

ignore the present, the island presents many highways and byways wherein the mind may wander and grasp, here and there, illusive pictures of both the old days and the old ways. Here dwelt one of the early outposts of European civilization, the cradle of that new life which, spreading westward, was to transform a vast continent and to establish a new and imperious race. First regarded as part of the fabled Indies and christened San Juan Bautista, and then as a treasury of unmined gold to refill the depleted coffers of the mother country, it rightly stirred the imagination and cupidity of those old Spanish soldiers of fortune, knights, courtiers and adventurers, with their numerous satellites and unsavory followers, who sought to find in this new El Dorado a virgin field for activities denied them in the Old World. The chivalry of Spain came and left its bones on its untilled reaches and uncharted shores. Columbus, Juan Ponce de Leon, Soto-Mayor, discoverers, explorers and men-at-arms, sought its primitive richness. But the gold was only a phantom, a yellow will-of-the-wisp, and continual warfare between themselves and the natives, pestilence and devastating hurricanes dispelled the illusion and denied the dream.

Thus today all the pomp and the pageantry are laid away, and a new race has vigorously taken up the worn threads which an old one so laboriously laid down. The past persists, as it ever will, but only in a dream, a faint shadow in the sun glare, a last and lost illusion.

## Can We Keep Our Merchant Marine?

By GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

AT the time of the civil war the lack of the cotton export trade and the ravages of Confederate commerce-raiding cruisers nearly drove the American flag from the seas. From that time until the beginning of the European war the merchant marine was wasting away to nothingness. Among

the causes of this decline were lack of Government interest and high cost of operation.

When the labor unions were created the sea trades banded together and formed their organizations. These sent the cost of operating American ships skyward. With political aid they at



length sent wages so high as to force the American flag from the world of seagoing merchantmen.

As a result of their political operations the La Follette Seaman's act was passed in 1915.<sup>\*</sup> This act forced the shipping companies to better the conditions of their crews to such an extent that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, running in direct opposition to the large and powerful Japanese lines, discontinued its foreign trade. A very bad feature of the act is the conditions-of-pay clause. A seaman may draw half the pay due him at any port. The practice of paying crews before the completion of voyages had been tried before, and always with bad results. The seaman received his pay and was never heard from again, while his ship limped home shorthanded and crippled. Is it any wonder that the Japanese lines, with their full crews and low rates, are taking our Pacific trade from under our very noses?<sup>2</sup>

In normal times the La Follette law would have broken the back of American shipping. It would have forced the costs and uncertainties of operation so high as to cut off any possibility of competition with foreign shipping companies. The war, however, temporarily suspended its evil effects. The loss of the German market was more than repaid by our new business in markets formerly supplied by the Germans. This statement applies particularly to the South American trade, which American business had been trying for a decade to capture. Allied shipping, moreover, was almost entirely engaged in naval operations or military

transportation, leaving the world's trade open to the neutrals.

#### STIMULUS OF WARTIMES

From the first this situation was a rich boon to American shipping. Freight rates were up beyond the dreams of the most ardent dreamers, making the operation of American ships profitable. Cargoes were plentiful, and for the first time in half a century the American ship was a familiar sight in the ports of the world.

With the German submarine campaigns came great shipping losses to both the Allies and the neutrals. The effect of this was to double the Allies' demand for materials and foodstuffs, and to send shipping rates out of sight. Bottoms were scarce. One had but to uncover an old hulk that had not seen service since the civil war, modernize it a little, and send it to Europe with a cargo; presto! one's fortune was made. The shipbuilding industry received fresh impetus, and our merchant fleet began to grow in leaps and bounds.

In such extraordinary circumstances America entered the war, and our new merchant marine was born. Tied to our docks was the pick of the German and Austrian merchant fleets. They had been lying idle in our harbors since 1914, with only skeleton crews aboard. When these vessels were taken over by the Government it was found necessary to man them with navy crews, as American civilian seamen were not to be found. This act was about the first American instance of Government ownership and operation of merchant ships.

One of the first requests from the allied Governments was for merchant vessels. Under Government control the shipyards already in existence were pushed to the limit. Under Government ownership new yards were built and put into operation. Mistakes were made, as in all other enterprises, the worst being the wooden ship. Since 1880 the wooden ship has been considered impractical because of the advantages the steel vessel has over it; yet the Government was inveigled into building useless wooden hulks by thousands of tons.

However, we have no war record that

<sup>\*</sup>The United States Supreme Court, in a decision rendered on March 29, 1920, upheld the constitutionality of the provisions of the La Follette Seamen's act relating to the payment of wages to sailors on demand. The court at the same time confirmed previous Federal court decrees which held that the American law applied to foreign seamen on foreign vessels in United States ports. Foreign seamen on the British steamers *Strathearn* and *Westmeath* had brought libel proceedings to obtain part of their wages on arrival in this country, and the decisions in these cases resulted in appeals by the British ship owners. The final decision was against them and in favor of the sailors.—EDITOR.

can quite compare with that of our ship-building. In August, 1914, we had 624 steam vessels, aggregating 1,758,465 gross tons, in our merchant marine. When the armistice was signed we had 1,366 steam vessels of 4,685,263 gross tons. In 1918 3,033,385 tons of merchant ships were built in American yards. In 1919 we built 4,075,385 tons, and in 1920 we have approximately 2,966,000 tons under construction. In these figures lies not only a war record but a world record.

During the years just mentioned the British yards were tied up with warship construction. In 1920 naval construction in Great Britain has practically ceased, and all facilities are turned to the construction of merchant vessels. In 1918 1,348,120 tons of merchant ships were built; in 1919, 1,620,442 tons, and while the figures for 1920 are still lacking, The Associated Press is reliably informed that the British construction is considerably more than the American.

In Scandinavia and Holland the merchant ship construction in 1918 totaled 207,542 tons; in 1919 it was 283,401 tons. In 1918 489,924 tons were built in Japan; in 1919 611,883 tons were built, and at present there are 309,000 tons under construction there, with further ships to be laid down in the near future. The Japanese Government is making every effort to increase its merchant marine, and has built new shipyards in the last few years. By reason of this Government aid to ship construction some authorities expect to see Japanese merchant ship construction reach 1,000,000 tons this year.

#### COST OF OPERATION

To find the moral in these figures one must turn to the operation costs of the vessels. In 1913 it was estimated that the British could run vessels more cheaply than Americans by 20 per cent., the Scandinavians by 30 to 40 per cent., and the Japanese by 40 to 50 per cent. This condition still exists, and with foreign labor reaching its low mark, we may expect foreign ships to be run at even greater percentages of advantage. In the United States, on the other hand, the price of labor is increasing with almost

every hour. These facts show clearly that it will be impossible for us to operate—without naval control—the huge merchant fleet we have built up during the war under Government subsidy or Government ownership.

For centuries the very existence of Great Britain has been dependent upon her merchant marine. This continues to be as true now as in the past. The idea of wrenching commercial supremacy from England in order to build up our merchant marine is wholly impossible. England's attitude on this subject is clearly indicated in the following lines from the comprehensive report prepared by the British shipping experts for the information of Parliament:

Our findings and recommendations are accordingly based on two hypotheses, neither of which is likely to be controverted—the first, that the maritime ascendancy of the empire must be maintained at all costs, and the second, that the grave wastage sustained by the mercantile marine during the war must, therefore, be repaired without delay.

The American merchant marine is in a perilous position. Shipping rates are already beginning to tumble, and the demand for bottoms will soon be back to normal. Already foreign shipping companies are taking over the trade that has been going in American bottoms.

#### PROBLEM OF SUBSIDIES

The nation is talking of a merchant marine privately owned, but operated under a Government subsidy. Under what kind of Government subsidy, and how large a merchant marine? The various forms of foreign subsidies would be rejected by American ship owners, as they give bounties on the number of ships constructed and on cargoes carried. Neither plan suits our case. A more likely form of subsidy would be a bounty on the wages paid out—say 20 per cent. a month. It is estimated that this would just about make the operation of American ships a profitable venture. Even this form has its shortcomings. The amounts paid out in such a case would be so large as to force the Government soon to discontinue it, and charges of "graft" would make the entire way very unpleasant for all concerned.



Government operation of the merchant fleet is perhaps the most possible solution of the problem. Under control of the navy a sizable merchant fleet might be maintained. When one visits a prize warship and sees the engineering "E" on her funnel, the high efficiency and economy of our navy becomes apparent. Should this efficiency be extended to the merchant fleet the impossible might be accomplished.

### LACK OF AMERICAN SAILORS

Today both the navy and the merchant marine are seriously hampered by lack of men. The high price paid for unskilled labor is drawing our few American seamen inland. One cannot expect a man to go to sea in the fo-c'sle of a dirty ocean tramp for \$75 a month when he can make from two to three times that amount in a factory with almost ideal working conditions.

American merchant ships are now operated principally by foreign crews. Desertions from foreign ships have been greater in American ports than in any other, and no wonder; the wages paid to American seamen are higher than those paid to any other seamen in the world. The difficulty with Americans, however, is not altogether a matter of wages; our young men have no liking for the life of a sailor. The only remedy for this situation is to train America's youth for the merchant marine. Training stations have been established for the naval service, and if we are to continue to have any merchant fleet at all they must be duplicated for the merchant marine.

In time of war the merchant fleet is an auxiliary to the navy. One of the principal reasons upon which our new merchant fleet was built is that it enhances the value of the battle fleet in war. A merchant fleet large enough to maintain the warship fleet in any possible theatre of war is of the right size for our maintenance. With this idea in view the Shipping Board recently decided to order two gigantic 30-knot liners for the transatlantic passenger service, but later abandoned the plan temporarily on account of the prohibitive cost. Though such large vessels can yield good divi-

dends in normal times, it was believed that under present conditions they would be a losing venture. The episode at least indicated the Shipping Board's tendency toward fast passenger liners.

### POSSIBILITIES OF TRADE

Into what channels could our merchant marine profitably be directed? A fast transatlantic passenger service is to be tried. If this line is fast enough, and is freed from the handicap of prohibition, it may yield a profit. On the Pacific it would be folly to run a line directly to Japan in the face of the low Japanese rates; but to run a line from our west coast to the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines, and thence to China, India and Australia, is entirely within the bounds of profitability. A general passenger and freight service with Central and South America is probably the most desirable American line from the standpoint of the American merchant. In 1918 our exports to South America were to the value of \$302,840,975, and our imports about double that amount. Our chief trade in South America is with Argentina. In normal times this trade is principally in British bottoms, but since the war it has been in our own. Only recently it was announced that an American firm had succeeded in obtaining an order for locomotives for Argentine railways, and both English and German firms had been competitors for the order. This tends to show that the American manufacturer is doing business and may be expected to increase his trade if provided with American ships in which to transport his products.

Throughout our history our coastal trade has been a paying venture. High as were the shipping rates during the war, sea transportation cost less than rail.

The greatest share of our foreign trade is with the British Empire. British exports will come to us, in most cases, in British bottoms, but a good share of our exports to British possessions should and could be given to American shipping interests. Asia and South America are the next most attractive foreign fields for American business. Our exports to Asia in 1918 were to the

value of \$445,594,169, and our imports \$853,443,245. One-half of these exports and over one-third of the imports were to and from Japan. This means that practically half of our trade with the East came and went in Japanese bottoms. China is trading with the United States. Our imports from China doubled our exports, and to a great extent this trade was in Japanese and English bottoms. These conditions could be changed. While the Japanese trade will inevitably be in Japanese bottoms, with a properly organized merchant fleet and our merchants alive to the possibilities of trade with China, a larger Chinese trade would surely be carried under the American flag.

#### FORMER GERMAN LINERS

Recently the public has considered itself outraged at the attempt of the Shipping Board to sell twenty-nine of the former German liners. The general impression gained by the public was that they were being sold indirectly to the British. Such was not the case. Only American firms were bidders, and their bids were refused. The plea of the War Department for the retention of the large liners under the American flag is probably the real reason for the exclusion of foreign bidders. With the exception of the giant *Leviathan* and some of the oldest ships; they are of great value to the merchant marine for the Asiatic and South American trade. The *Leviathan*, as has been explained by other writers, never was a paying proposition and was built more as a German advertisement than as a money maker. While some believe that the *Leviathan* could not be profitably operated, let it be known that the Navy Department converted her from a coal burner to an oil burner, doing away with about 300 firemen, reducing the fuel consumption

and the corresponding cost of fuel. Therefore the *Leviathan* must not be considered thoroughly impossible until proved so.

The recent decision of the Shipping Board to sell all wooden ships complete or on the stocks is justified by the situation. The announcement gave the impression that foreign bidders would be allowed, and this surely is desirable, as the vessels have proved themselves quite worthless for our purposes.

A naval officer recently estimated our future merchant marine at 1,000 steam vessels of 3,900,000 tons. He was basing his figures on cost of operation and relative value to American merchants and the navy. If our merchant fleet is to be maintained at this or a similar size, Americans must get used to seeing their ships sold to foreign steamship companies. Private ownership of all lines possible is to be encouraged, but on the very necessary lines, where competition is so keen as to render private ownership impossible, the merchant fleet should be run by the navy. It would seem to be a good plan to sell what merchant ships we may at once, as the demand for bottoms still exists, and the price of tonnage will never be any higher than at present.

The crux of the whole problem is this: With the *La Follette* law repealed we would not be able to induce American seamen to man our ships; with the law as it stands we may be able to get the men still on our ships to stay in the merchant service, but they are too few for our purpose. It is, therefore, evident that to operate a medium-sized merchant fleet it is necessary to turn to foreign seamen, and whether we can get enough of these is still a matter of doubt. Even with a modern-sized merchant marine properly manned we must expect to take a loss.





# Siberia Under Kolchak's Dictatorship

By MAJOR HENRY WARE NEWMAN, M. D.

[DEPUTY COMMISSIONER AMERICAN RED CROSS TO SIBERIA]

ADMIRAL KOLCHAK never attained to any very secure control over the group in Omsk whose nominal head and dictator he remained for a good many months. He gave orders late in 1918 that the plant of the College of Agriculture out behind the city should be vacated and turned over to the American Red Cross for a great base hospital to serve the armies at the front. The buildings were then occupied by some so-called Cossacks, and even there, almost within sight of the office of the dictator, the soldiers stayed on for two months or more in violation of written orders to vacate. One of the secretaries of the Ministry of War finally admitted that the Government could not force the soldiers out before they were ready to move. And when we, in need of blankets for refugees, asked Kolchak's Minister of War to arrange to sell us overcoating material from the Government mills for making the blankets we needed, he informed us that they were unable to get enough of this material for overcoats for the Omsk garrison itself. But, going direct to the official in Ekaterinburg who had charge of the manufacture of this half-wool and half-wood-fibre cloth, we had no difficulty in getting from him as many thousand yards of it as we asked for—for a cash consideration, of course. And this official was supposed to be an appointee of the Minister of War.

As to the "All Russia" in the title of Kolchak's dictatorship, even all Siberia would have been too broad to describe its scope, for Semenov, with his friendship for Japanese interests, never at any time subordinated his authority to any Omsk Government. And I have known the Kolchak agents to beg us of the American Red Cross to bring across Siberia supplies for their soldiers and hospitals, because the officials of the Trans-Siberian Railroad under Horvath

made it impossible for the All-Russian Government of Omsk to escort their own supply trains through the eastern territory. And certainly the common people, the mass of the people of Siberia, never saw in this dictator and his Government the promise of free institutions and democracy that might have brought them loyally to his support.

There are, of course, many out-and-out Red Anarchists throughout the length of Siberia, but I am convinced from personal acquaintance with the people that by far the great majority of them love liberty and hope for a real democracy. They are people who will lend quiet support to a Bolshevist Government because they see nothing that offers for the present any greater promise of liberty. Surely a dictator of the Kolchak type, with reputed strong sympathies for a return of the monarchy, giving them only a rule of weak force, could never hope to enlist their support; and he went to the end without popular support, except in so far as he was able to force the young men into his army.

## ADMIRAL KOLCHAK'S ARMY

He raised a considerable army of men by methods of conscription which might not bear too close scrutiny. Certain it is that few men went willingly into training for the front. Raw country boys of from 16 to 20 most of them were, illiterate and uncouth. They came from home in rags, and many of them never got much better from their command. I recall seeing a rabble of recruits going away from a small railway station along in the Summer of last year. Their families had come to speed them upon their journey. Fathers, mothers, little sisters and brothers and sweethearts all were there, simple peasant folk, and all were laughing, crying, silly drunk with "spiritus"—the vodka that the Czar abolished. I have seen regiments of



HOUSE IN EKATERINBURG WHERE THE CZAR WAS CONFINED AND EXECUTED BY THE  
BOLSHEVIKI

(Photo H. W. Newman)

Tartars entraining for the front when many of them had no better footgear than what they could weave out of slipper-elm bark, and nothing for the Summer to take the place of the goatskin cap they had worn the previous Winter.

Late in the Winter the British military mission in Siberia undertook to bolster up a part of the Kolchak army into a semblance of fighting form. Hundreds of thousands of uniforms made for British soldiers, with caps, leggins, boots and knapsacks, were shipped in and put on these recruits. The division of General Kappel was selected as the first recipient of the honor of parading in the uniform of Tommy Atkins. Very well the men looked while the stuff was new, and they really seemed to feel more like soldiers. One began to feel that after all there might be something in the dictatorship—until one saw them again, up nearer the front, or coming back in the hospital trains as dirty as ever, utterly bedraggled, and, it must be said, many of them shot through the left hand and the left foot. There were so many of these self-inflicted wound cases that we refused to let them occupy beds in the American Red Cross hospitals.

#### TROUBLE AMONG THE CZECHS

It was in the Fall of 1918, late in October, that it became apparent that there was serious disaffection and loss

of morale among the Czech troops, who were still the mainstay of the front. Once more Winter was shutting down, and with its coming would ensue all the hardships they had known already for four or five such Winters.

In November a certain regiment which had been resting in Ekaterinburg received orders from Gaida to entrain for the front. The fighting was perhaps not more than forty or fifty versts from the city at this time, and every day saw trains of wounded arrive, and always with a box car or two of the bodies of those killed in action. The hospitals were full, and every day the military funerals wended their way out to the cemetery. One day I counted twenty-four pine boxes in one long procession. And almost all these casualties were from the less than 50,000 war-weary Czechoslovak troops. Here they were, strangers in a strange land, fighting and dying to keep one group of Russians from driving out another group of Russians. This particular regiment flatly refused to go out to the front. The men opined that it was too cold, so cold, in fact, that their hands would freeze to their rifles; and they added that they should like to know what they were fighting about anyway.

Over behind the Ufa front a week or so later, in the city of Cheliabinsk, there was a notable funeral, that of Colonel



Schmidt of the 3d Czech Regiment, a suicide when the men of his regiment refused to go back and attack a position they had lost. Over the grave General Sirovi, in command of all the Czechs, was overcome with emotion in saying that they were burying a martyr and a hero.

Only a week or two later there arrived in Ekaterinburg soldier delegates from each echelon and each regiment of the Czechs to demand of their war government that they be sent home and taken forthwith from the fighting in which their nation had only a very remote interest.

### TALENTED SOLDIERS

Fine, intelligent men and real soldiers these Czechs seemed to me, and most democratic even in their army. College professors I have seen in the ranks, with bakers and other artisans in office over them. Of artistic talent there was a plenty among these Slavs of Bohemia. I went one night as a guest to a concert given by Czech soldiers in the theatre of the railroad station. It was a bitter cold night outside, and the hall was packed with soldiers in overcoats and fur caps standing shoulder to shoulder. The artists, soldiers all, rendered a program of music that could hardly be excelled in any European or American city. The land that produced a Dvorjak and a Kubelik gave us that night also a Schmidt, in his art of the violin the equal of either, and a soldier in the ranks.

In December came General Stephanic, sent direct from Paris and Prague by President Masaryk. I talked with him the day he arrived in Cheliabinsk. He was free in speaking of the fact that his soldiers were wanting to get out of the fight. "Today," he said, "I have visited the troops and the hospitals and the cemeteries, and I see an army that is tired both physically and morally. They must go home to their own country, and we are determined to take them home just as soon as we can possibly do so. It would be manifestly unfair for us to withdraw from our position at the front just now and leave it undefended against the Bolsheviks. It is necessary for us to give our Siberian friends time

enough to get an army trained so that they may hold their own front." Then, turning to face us more directly, he asked: "Will you of the American Red Cross start right away by taking home for us our invalids from Vladivostok by way of Trieste?"

Since that day eight shiploads of invalids and cripples have made the trip to Trieste under our care. And these poor fellows, after five years of being prisoners and of fighting in Siberia, when they do get home to their own free republican land are met with a coolness that makes them wonder if, after all, their sufferings and sacrifices have not been endured in vain.

### GUARDING THE RAILROAD

Before the end of the year the Red Army drove the Czechs out of Ufa, the central point in the defense of the Ural front. Then came the order from Kolchak to replace all Czech troops on the fronts with Siberian troops. The Czechs were retired to railroad guard duty behind Omsk, the stretch from Novo Nickolaevsk to Irkutsk being intrusted to them. This part of the line had given a deal of trouble; raiding parties of Reds were continually burning stations and derailing trains.

For a month or two every day saw train loads of Czech troops moving east and other trains of Siberians moving westward to take their places on the front. There was no mistaking the one sort of train from the other: The Czechs, quiet, orderly, with their ugly red box cars always decorated with green boughs, and frequently the car doors done in pictures, war scenes or scenes from home, made of moss and bark, or with perhaps a large photo of their beloved President Masaryk wreathed in green; the Russians, always noisy and dirty, singing as the train pulled out—an irresponsible rabble of boys. And the manner of marching in the street is as characteristic of the men as is their appearance. The Czechs march quietly, with rather a tired air, while the Russians march always singing, and with a long, free, swinging stride.

Within a month or two of their complete occupation of the front these Rus-



SERBIAN RECRUITS IN KOLCHAK'S ARMY AT KRASNOYARSK

*(Photo H. W. Newman)*

sian troops began to have some success. On the north they were now commanded by Gaida, the Czech, who had resigned from his own army to be made a Lieutenant General under Kolchak, and in the Urals they were led by Hanjine. Perm was taken in the north, and then in the latter part of March Ufa was retaken, with great stores of war materials. The Red Army was said to be on the run for Moscow and Petrograd. It was expected every day that Samara would fall to the Kolchak armies.

Within ten days of the fall of Ufa I talked with General Hanjine in Cheliabinsk on the subject of Red Cross help in attempting to control the fearful epidemic of typhus that was raging all through the war zone. He asked the interallied anti-typhus expedition to go to Ufa immediately with supplies for opening up a typhus hospital of a thousand beds. Being asked to take personal charge of this project, I put the matter up to the Red Cross Commission; it was also considered by the Interallied Commission, but through failure to agree in

the matter the hospital was not undertaken.

#### CLOSE VIEW OF KOLCHAK

My first meeting personally with Kolchak was in the first week in May of last year. I had gone to Cheliabinsk with a large staff to take over a group of hospitals there and make them into one large base for the wounded and sick from the front. The chief surgeon of Hanjine's army, General Surov, had asked us to come there to take these hospitals and thus release four or five complete Russian hospital units for moving further toward the front, to Ufa and Samara. Kolchak's special train rolled into the station one morning on the way to an inspection of reconquered territories. The whole station area was surrounded with a cordon of armed guards, and no one was allowed to approach the train except after the closest scrutiny on the part of a staff officer. My American uniform was enough to gain me admittance.

I talked with Admiral Kolchak in the



reception room of his train. A very serious individual I found him, quiet and almost sad, with never a smile, the more noticeable that as a rule one finds the Russians most affable and even in times of stress possessed of a buoyancy of spirits. I recall remarking later to my American colleagues that Kolchak looked like a man who knew that he was in great danger, and that whatever the outcome in Siberia he personally would not survive. We spoke of the plans we had talked over with Surov, and he urged us to establish our work there as soon as possible in order that the Russian hospital units might move in haste to more advanced positions.

### TURNING OF THE TIDE

He asked us also if we would equip and operate several hospital trains to run from the front back to our hospitals in the rear. We agreed to take as many trains as he would furnish us the cars for. We agreed also to accept hospitals locally up to as many as 2,000 beds just as soon as sufficient personnel then on the road from America should arrive.

A certain day, the Saturday of that same week, was set as the time for us to accept the first of the hospital plants, and by arrangement at noon on this Saturday we presented ourselves, doctors and nurses, ready to take charge. It was something of a surprise to be informed that in the last half-hour this hospital had received orders not to leave at all, but rather to prepare to receive immediately 500 new patients. The equipment, which had been loaded mostly on a train of box cars lying on the siding, was even at that moment being unloaded again and carried back into the hospital buildings. The chief of the hospital was unable to give us any light upon the change in orders, and suggested that we talk with General Surov in person.

This we did within the hour, and learned from him, in confidence, that there had come a reverse beyond Ufa, and that the Reds were driving the troops back upon that place; it was probable, he said, that all the sick would have to be moved back from those advanced points. He proposed to go per-

sonally to Ufa the following day and invited me to go with him to see just what the conditions were.

### URAL MOUNTAINS IN MAY

That trip over the Ural Mountains in the middle of May was one of the most interesting that I have ever taken. In hollows and in the shade there were still the remains of the Winter's snowdrifts, but the trees were all in new leaf, and the ground was covered with young grass and almost hidden by the profusion of early wild flowers. The streams tumbling down the coves and rushing along in the more level stretches were still turbid, but gave promise of clearing up for the short Summer.

Our train rolled through Zlatoust up on the divide between Asia and Europe, and we looked down over the great steel mills in the valley below, the "Sheffield of Russia." Then down on the European slope of the mountains we came out through the broad fields planted to wheat, just beginning to show light green after the Spring planting. And then around a bend and under some cliffs we came upon Ufa, perched upon a hilltop in a broad bend of the Volga River, whose waters flow south to the Caspian Sea.

Here was held a council of the General Staff, and coming from it Surov met us at the hotel on Alexanderskia. He told us, again in confidence, that it had been decided that Ufa should be evacuated as rapidly as possible; first the sick and wounded should go, then all stores, and after them the troops and as many of the civil population as wanted to go and could find a means of getting away. We were asked to go out with the first hospital train.

### RECORD OF THE REDS

We found that the people fully expected the city to fall again to the Red army. Every one who could do so would get out and go east. One reason for this was that under Bolshevik rule during the Winter months all the people had been on bread cards at the rate of about six ounces a day—a very small ration for a people whose mainstay is bread. We heard some good things said about



SOME OF KOLCHAK'S SOLDIERS IN OMSK  
(Photo H. W. Newman)

the Red Government, however; orphan children to the number of several hundred had been put into an institution on State support, and dependent mothers had been cared for. Entertainments were given for the children of the city, band concerts and movies. The women of the place were not seriously molested; there was not even any suggestion of their being "nationalized." Shops pretty generally had stayed closed, and there were few vendors in the street bazaars; soldiers of the Red army were wont to take what it pleased them to take without troubling to pay, and the money current was worth little more than so much waste paper. A handful of paper notes would not buy a loaf of bread.

The children on the streets were frank in expressing their hope that the Reds would come back. I saw no evidence whatever of destruction of property beyond a degree of general dilapidation that was not different from similar conditions all through Russian territory; simply an accompaniment of five years of war.

Back in Cheliabinsk we turned in to help the Russian hospitals prepare for

evacuation of the sick and wounded from Ufa. We divided up our staff, some going to one hospital and some to another, and gave of our supplies to every hospital in the district. Some of us became convinced that the situation could be handled far better if we could have it all actually under American Red Cross control rather than for us to act merely as supply agents, so I set out for Omsk to urge the Ministry of War to turn over the hospitals to us as they had offered to do in the first instance. Surgeon Gen. Lobosov saw the strength of our argument and wrote a personal letter to Surov suggesting that all the hospitals in the front district about Cheliabinsk should be given to the control of the American Red Cross.

#### GAIDA'S INSUBORDINATION

While I was in Omsk the Chief of Staff of the Kolchak army, General Lebediev, was removed from office. It transpired that Gaida, up on the Perm front, conceived the idea that things were not being properly managed in army affairs. He wired to Kolchak demanding that the Chief of Staff be dis-



missed forthwith. Kolchak answered that it would not be quite convenient to do so just at that time. Gaida wired back that he was on his way to Omsk to arrest the Chief of Staff. Kolchak went out a hundred miles or so to meet him and they talked the thing over. The Chief of Staff was given another job, but Gaida did not get the place; Kolchak gave as his reason that Gaida was not a man of sufficient military training for so difficult and technical a position; at the beginning of the war he had been a student of pharmacy. Gaida resigned his command and went on east to rejoin his Czech comrades.

### LAST GLIMPSE OF KOLCHAK

There occurred at this time in Omsk a public ceremony that afforded me my last glimpse of Admiral Kolchak. It was the annual review and dedication of the wearers of the Cross of St. George. It took place on the parade grounds near the great cathedral. A hollow square was formed by the troops wearing the cross, a square whose sides were almost a quarter of a mile long. In the centre was an altar of the Greek Church, with the high priest and other ministry all in robes of cloth of gold, bare-headed, all but the senior, who wore a tall mitre of golden design. Huge double-armed crosses and banners picturing the twelve apostles were arranged about the altar. And while the priests chanted and waved their pots of incense for an hour or two the dictator with his staff stood before the altar, hat in hand. With him stood General Janin, who later surrendered Kolchak to the revolutionaries at Irkutsk. Looking at Kolchak standing there, I could not fail to note again his look as of fixed purpose without hope.

Back west I went with my letter from Lobosov to Surov. I found that in order to deliver the letter in person I should have to go again over toward Ufa. That city had fallen meantime and the General Staff headquarters had been moved back to Satka, a little place in the mountains.

On reading the letter from his superior, the chief surgeon decided to follow the suggestion it contained. The other officers of his personal staff were

strongly opposed to giving us control over the Cheliabinsk hospital group. He told us that he would have tea with us on board my private car sometime in the afternoon. At tea time he came alone. He had been, he said, to see the new Chief of Staff, General Sakarov, and the Chief quite agreed that the army could be best served by putting the hospitals under one head. He sat down at my table and wrote in pencil on American Red Cross paper the order for the transference of control to us. I am sure that he much preferred not to have to put this letter through the usual channels of assistants and stenographers. Such was the lack of cohesion and discipline that he could not be at all sure it would come out whole even in his own office and with the verbal backing of the Chief of Staff.

### REFUGEES FROM UFA

The railroad from the east was now being kept busy hauling an endless procession of troop trains carrying the soldiers of Kappel's division, all in their British togs. They hoped that these loyal troops, fresh from training in the rear, would be able to stem the onrushing Reds. And coming from the west every train was jammed with people from Ufa, and many from even further west, people of means mostly who had parted with fabulous rolls of rubles to the railroad officials, and who had been glad to obtain room in box cars or flat cars or any sort of rolling stock that could be attached to the outgoing trains. They had left their homes and their all, these people, to run from the Red menace; and thousands of them perished in their journey, stricken with typhus and cholera. Many of these box cars I have seen piled up with choice furniture, grand pianos and Persian rugs, and always a samovar.

By this time June had come, and the mountains were in their full glory. White birches, maples, poplars and elms were in full leaf, and the clear mountain streams looked their invitation to the sportsman. And rare sport is there.

Arrived back in Cheliabinsk, we set about unifying the hospitals and getting them properly staffed and equipped. Our



ROOM IN HOUSE LAST OCCUPIED BY CZAR AND LATER USED BY GENERAL GAIDA AS STAFF HEADQUARTERS IN EKATERINBURG

(Photo H. W. Newman)

large warehouses were filling up with hospital supplies from Vladivostok, landed from American army transports. Our American doctors and nurses were arriving on the same transports and being hurried out west to reinforce us as fast as possible. The best that could be done, however, was three to four weeks for the 5,000-mile rail trip from the sea.

But the sick and wounded came to us much more rapidly than reinforcements for our staff. Every day came the trains from over the mountains, and as fast as we were able to get beds set up in thoroughly cleaned and disinfected wards the beds were needed and filled. Up to this time the majority of our staff was of necessity Russian, for the reason that American help had not arrived in sufficient numbers to carry the work we had undertaken; but by the 1st of July we were getting things pretty well organized and doing a deal of important work.

Early in June was held in Cheliabinsk a great celebration on the first anniver-

sary of the driving out of the Bolsheviks. Special performances at the theatre were given; parades of soldiers from the local garrison were held, and band concerts in the city park lasted all night long. One could hear the wise remark that it was as well to get this celebration done and over with as soon as possible, for the Red army was getting nearer every day.

The first half of July and its happenings are very nearly a blank to me personally; I had been down with fever. One day, the 15th it was, I realized that I was about to be put on a stretcher carried by two of our hospital orderlies. A nurse told me that we were going to the train. We were evacuating our hospital, and the whole city and garrison were evacuating as well. The Red army had nearly surrounded our position, and there was no longer any chance that the city could be held. We started off that night on a trip across Siberia, a trip that lasted five weeks. We were near the end of August in reaching Vladivostok.

The first few days after leaving the



city our progress was slow indeed. The road was congested in almost inconceivable fashion, engines nosing other trains ahead, all trying to get further away from the advancing Red army. One young American woman—a newspaper correspondent—riding on our train, wrote of those days:

I have spent twenty-four hours in hell. \* \* \* We were stalled at the railway station of Petropavlovsk, far Western Siberia, and somewhere to the west of us the Red armies were coming on. To the right of us, left of us, rear of us were typhus fever trains, box cars, passenger cars, twenty-five, thirty, even thirty-five cars to a train, and all loaded with men from the front and from the evacuated hospitals who were in various stages of the dread disease.

To those of us who had been seeing such things for a year or more and working with just such trains and in typhus hospitals it had come to be something of a matter of course; but for the new arrivals from America it did look like something of a visit to some lower region.

But what a beautiful trip over 5,000 miles of marvelous country! It was Summer, and the whole length and breadth of Siberia was in full bloom; wheat fields sometimes stretching as far as the limit of vision, and great broad steppes dotted with groves of birch; where the ground was waist high in wild flowers, a riot of color. Lake Baikal was as blue as the sky, and not a ship nor a sail in sight as our train followed the south shore for nearly a day. Then, east of the lake, we began to see an occasional camp of our own American troops posted out there for the protection of the railroad. Our train, besides the cars of Red Cross personnel, had more than 300 of the refugee children from Petrograd that we had been caring for since the Fall before, and then away on the tail of the train were ten cars of French colonials, veterans of Verdun and St. Mihiel. The French were all being withdrawn from Siberia.

#### BEGINNING OF THE END

As soon as I had sufficiently recovered to be thoroughly rational again I realized that our work in Siberia was seeing the beginning of its end. Having lived with

the Kolchak army for the greater part of a year, I knew that the army was literally going to pieces, that it would be unable again to offer any real obstacle to the Red advance. Other counsel prevailed, however. By the desire of other Red Cross workers to stay there and carry on the work, indeed, I was almost persuaded that physical weakness had rendered me pessimistic. A large force of Red Cross workers and most of the supplies evacuated from Cheliabinsk were planted at the university city of Tomsk, and preparations were made for organizing a large hospital plant similar to the one we had left at Cheliabinsk. A month or so later our whole force was compelled to leave Tomsk. Again, further east, Irkutsk was tried, but even that had to be abandoned in the Fall.

#### KOLCHAK'S EXECUTION

The rest is still fresh in the world's memory. Kolchak, finally driven out of Omsk, hastened east and got as far as Irkutsk. There he re-established his "All Russian" Government. It did not last many weeks, or was it days? Social revolutionaries seized the city. The railroad station, which lies on the side of the broad Angara River opposite the city, was still in the hands of the Czech troops. British and other allied missions were there at the station with their special trains. Deserted by his army, Kolchak finally went to the Czechs asking for personal protection and asylum. News dispatches tell us that a few days later General Janin, the French officer nominally in charge of the Czech Army, finally gave Kolchak over to the revolutionists of Irkutsk upon their threat to wipe out those sections of the Czech Army that yet remained to the west of Irkutsk. Soon came the news that Kolchak had been executed. A good man and a brave one; a man weighed down with care. I believe he realized even in the early Spring that he would never come out of the campaign alive. A chauvinist, and doomed to failure. Siberia nor any other part of Russia wanted then or wants today a dictator of monarchical leanings.

The ever ambitious Gaida, after Kolchak refused to make him his Chief of

Staff, had gone east to rejoin the Czechs. A bit later, again leaving the Czechs and associating himself with another Russian group, he turned upon his former Russian friends with an attempt to start a brand-new revolution in Vladivostok. He seized the railroad station and started from there to capture the city; but the local garrison, nominally loyal to Kolchak, took up a position on a bridge on Svetlanskia, the main business street, the bridge overlooking the railroad station, and proceeded to send a few well-placed shells into the station. Gaida surrendered and was deported. It is probable that only the moral influence of American and other allied troops in Vladivostok prevented Gaida from finding the same sort of end as did Kolchak a few weeks later.

During the Fall, when the Czechs were preparing to move down to the sea on their way home, General Semenov, who throughout the year and more of rough going in the west, had sat with his mixed "Kossaks," Buriats and Mongolians with a sprinkling of genuine Russians, bandits for the most part, comfortably astride the Trans-Siberian Railroad, growing fat from the graft and pickings from the traffic, sent a peremptory note

to General Sirovi, in command of the Czechs, demanding in the name of humanity that the Czechs should not at this time of danger desert their allies, the Siberian forces, and leave them to the mercy of the Bolsheviki. Sirovi answered that this talk of protecting Siberia from the Reds would come better from some one who had actually done some fighting, and furthermore that if Seminov or any one else wanted to try to stop the Czechs from going home he was welcome to start his preventing just as soon as he thought he could get away with it.

Now Siberia is practically all nominally under the Soviet Government from Moscow. Does this mean that Siberia has become a howling wilderness of anarchists? Not by any means. It signifies that the efforts at restoration of the monarchy are dead. They will probably never come to life again. But I am certain that among the people now inhabiting Siberia there is enough leaven of common sense and true democracy to raise the common lump ultimately from a state of destructive, ignorant communism to a plane of decent, socialistic democracy. That is what I think will be the final outcome of the Russian mess.

## British-American Wireless

**D**IRECT commercial wireless communication between the United States and Great Britain was opened at midnight of March 1, and greetings were exchanged between New York and London Chambers of Commerce and Merchants' Associations, and also between British and American wireless officials. The first message sent by the American company was as follows:

May this message, which opens commercial wireless telegraph service between America and England, mark an epoch in history from which the achievements of the future shall date. Communication is the leverage which shall lift the world to better understanding and thus lead to closer ties of friendship between all nations. It is the mission of our respective companies to so strengthen and

improve the wireless service that distance shall be made negligible and communications practically instantaneous.

### The British company answered:

Your first message by the new direct wireless service between America and England expresses exactly the desires animating the activities of every one here. We are certain that this day will pass into history as one upon which was forged a most valuable link of communication between the English-speaking peoples of two great continents. The British Nation whole-heartedly desires the closest possible friendship with the United States of America, and my company, imbued with the national sentiment, will spare no pains in contributing to the fulfillment of this desire by assisting in the provision of practically instantaneous means of communication.



# Reconstruction in Soviet Russia

## How the Bolsheviki Are Trying to Build New Institutions in All Departments of Life

THE triumph of the Soviet Army over its enemies at home brought in its wake the new allied policy of abandoning intervention and of undertaking, instead, to resume trade relations with Bolshevik Russia. Allied recognition of the Lenin-Trotsky Government, however, was still withheld until it should be proved that that Government had radically reformed its terroristic methods. Since then both English and American newspapers have sent correspondents to Moscow to find out what the real conditions are. Among these writers Arthur Copping, Lincoln Eyre and W. T. Goode have been especially prolific in furnishing articles on the constructive efforts of the Soviet régime. While allowance must be made for the fact that these observers have been permitted to see only the pro-Bolshevist side of the picture, the sum total of the new and interesting details which they furnish regarding the work of the Moscow Government in education, sanitation, labor, social welfare, criminology and other lines is so extensive that it calls for attention in any record of current history.

Several divisions of the Soviet Army, since the Dorpat peace with Esthonia, have been mobilized for constructive labor; at the same time, however, Russia presents a strange paradox—that of the most rabid anti-militaristic theorists in the world commanding a trained army of 3,000,000 men, the strongest military organization now in existence.

According to Lenin, the decree which fixed Jan. 22, 1920, as the date on which the death penalty was abolished in Soviet Russia, marked the passing of the Government's former methods of terrorism. Only a renewal of armed intervention by the Allies, he says, can force a return to the policy of blood. This statement is echoed by Peters, former head of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, who

was personally responsible for thousands of executions. "When we were trembling under blows from without and conspiracies from within," he told Mr. Eyre, "we were obliged to handle our foes a bit roughly. That is the logic of self-preservation. Well, I am glad it is over." Peters further said:

I have unearthed a good many plots, and had a good many people shot, but I challenge any one to prove that I ever sentenced any prisoner unjustly. As for the stories of my brutality, let me say that I have never been able to see an execution, though sometimes it was my duty to be present. I could not stand seeing any one shot.

The total number of persons condemned to death for counter-revolution in the year from November, 1918, to November, 1919, was given by Peters as 4,444. Of this number 533 were shot in Moscow and more than 500 in the provincial town of Peza, following a White uprising there.

### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

In the Governor General's former palace, where the Moscow Soviet is housed, M. Kamenev, the President of the Soviet, declared to the Manchester Guardian's correspondent, Mr. Goode, that for the Soviet workers generally there was no such liberty anywhere as in Russia at the present day. Meetings of all kinds were constantly held without police permission. The great halls of former restaurants and clubs had been given over to workmen's clubs, which were allowed the fullest freedom of discussion. But this applied only to the supporters of the Soviet system. No freedom of speech for others. "We are at war," said M. Kamenev, "and à la guerre comme à la guerre: we have to take our precautions and institute war measures. We could no more permit the unrestricted expression of opinion to the favorers of Kolchak and Denikin than would the English Government to pro-Germans and

such-like during the great war. We cannot open the door to our enemies."

As for the freedom of the press, the Soviet régime had completely reversed the old order of things; it was now the workers' press that was large and powerful, while the press of the other groups was completely overshadowed. Strict control of the press had been rendered necessary by the serious shortage of paper, and preference was naturally shown to the workers. Despite this shortage the Committee of National Publishing had printed and issued editions of Russian masterpieces of literature, editions of half a million having been published, as against 30,000 under the old régime, and 3,600,000 copies of the Soviet Constitution had been sent out. The intellectual classes, doctors, teachers, technicians, &c., at first entirely hostile, had at last understood that the leaders of the Soviet movement were honestly striving to spread its benefits to the whole population, said M. Kamenev, and many of them had gone over to the Soviet heart and soul and were working for it.

### POSITION OF LABOR

With the downfall of autocracy the number of labor unions increased with bewildering rapidity: in less than six months there arose more than 1,000 separate organizations with a membership of about 2,000,000. In the Kerensky era the unions used "direct action" to enforce their demands, but they did not obtain an eight-hour day and other reforms until the Bolshevik revolution in November, 1917. The workmen's committees, which brought to the management of national industries almost unlimited powers, soon proved their incompetence, owing to their lack of technical knowledge, and an ever larger proportion of these powers was transferred to the Central Government, through a Commissariat of Labor. At present the system of one-man control is in force in the factories, subject to the committees retained as a check on this executive.

With this taking over of the main functions of control the trade unions were transformed into subsidiary organizations of the Soviet Republic, and

thus lost their former principal weapon—the strike. President Melnichansky of the Moscow unions stated that any body of workers that would venture to walk out on strike would be considered as traitors to their Socialist fatherland, and would doubtless be shot as such. More than 80 per cent. of all Soviet employes, according to this authority, including members of the liberal professions, were unionized, totaling a membership covering 200 separate unions of about 3,000,000, as compared with 2,500,000 persons employed in all Russia's industries before the war.

Certain civic duties, such as registering the unemployed, reporting on sanitary conditions in houses and factories, &c., are imposed on these unions. Compulsory labor is decreed for all, with certain specific exceptions, embracing illness and maternity cases, for which a time exemption of six months, three before and three after childbirth, is provided. Workers enforcedly idle by lack of occupation receive a Government allowance until able to find work, the amount assigned being equal to what they would normally be able to earn if employed.

Moscow and Petrograd unions are magnificently housed at national expense. In Moscow they occupy the former Nobles' Assembly Hall, possessing clubrooms, a theatre and other attractions; in Petrograd they have a large labor palace, surrounded by twelve other imposing edifices. In the latter city there is a special clubhouse for labor delegates visiting Petrograd, provided with all the luxuries of a first-class hotel.

### SYSTEM OF JUSTICE

An important adjunct of the Extraordinary Commission is that of the revolutionary tribunals. These are not permanent courts, but are specially summoned to try particular cases. Most of the offenders brought before them at present are individuals charged with illicit speculation dangerous to the safety of the republic. Particular severity is shown toward Government functionaries who have used their official positions for their own profit. Appeal from the decision of one of these tribunals may be



carried before a supreme tribunal sitting as a judicial branch of the Central Executive Committee. Only important cases concerning the safety of the State are tried before these tribunals.

One such case was the trial of Count Samarin, former head of the Moscow nobility, and ten "popes" (priests) of the Russian Church, for treason against the Soviet Republic. This trial took place in Moscow toward the middle of January, in a spacious chamber that had been the grand hall of the Nobles' Assembly Building, now the headquarters of the municipal trades unions.

Thus Samarin was placed on trial for his life in the very room in which, as President of the most aristocratic organization in the Russian Empire, he had been the central figure in many magnificent assemblages, and he faced as his judges three young workingmen still dressed in their factory clothes, with hard but intelligent faces, who sat behind a broad table on a dais raised about a foot above the level of the floor. On their left was Krylenko, first Commander in Chief of the Red Guards, who acted as Public Prosecutor. On the right sat the prisoners in two rows, all of whom, except Samarin, were priests, wearing the round black hats and long black cassocks of their calling. Three lawyers acted as counsel for the defense. The witnesses for the defense, according to Mr. Eyre, who saw the trial, were given as much freedom of statement as those for the prosecution.

The result of this trial was that Samarin and one of the priests, charged with the establishment of a Church Soviet designed to wean the peasants from their allegiance to the republic, were sentenced to be shot. They were, however, reprieved by the general abolition of the death penalty, and were sent instead to an internment camp for an indeterminate period—a favorite sentence of the revolutionary tribunals. Political prisoners thus confined are forced to do hard labor, but may be released following a report to the Extraordinary Commission of their good conduct and pledge to abstain from counter-revolutionary agitation in the future.

## THE PEOPLE'S COURTS

Minor cases of "graft" and crime, as well as civil suits between individuals, are tried by the People's Courts, which first came into being on Nov. 30, 1918. In view of the incomplete ess of the Soviet Government code, the Judges are often obliged not only to apply but to create the law, in which they are to be governed by "a sense of Socialist conception of right." In formulating new provisions a Judge will call for opinions from persons connected with the case, or even from spectators in the courtroom. The manual laborer invariably receives more leniency than representatives of any other class. Bourgeois speculators and exponents of sabotage receive small consideration.

Civil actions have decreased by 12 per cent. since the first anniversary of the revolution, a change explained by the great reduction in private ownership of property. From November to November, 1918-19, only 47,120 persons were tried for crime in Petrograd, as against 160,000 in 1914. A reduction of 23 per cent. was reported in Moscow. Murder, burglary and highway robbery are said to be rare. The only form of larceny that has increased is theft of foodstuffs, explained by the actual starvation in the cities, and punished only by light sentences, unless it is proved that the food was stolen for purposes of speculation, in which case the maximum penalty is assigned. The general scarcity of serious crime is explained by the Bolshevik authorities as due to the iron order which they maintain and to the ban on vodka. A burglar caught in the act may expect to be shot down by the nearest militiaman. The fear of such immediate justice, says one writer, has made the streets of Petrograd and Moscow safer than the streets of New York at night.

## TREATMENT OF CONVICTS

Convictions show about the same percentage as under the rule of the Czar, and similar punishments are meted out, crimes against property, paradoxically enough, in a republic whose Government is seeking to destroy the ownership of property altogether, being most severely punished. Fines predominate in 70 per

cent. of all minor offenses. Violent and lawless criminals are condemned to prison or to hard labor in the internment camps.

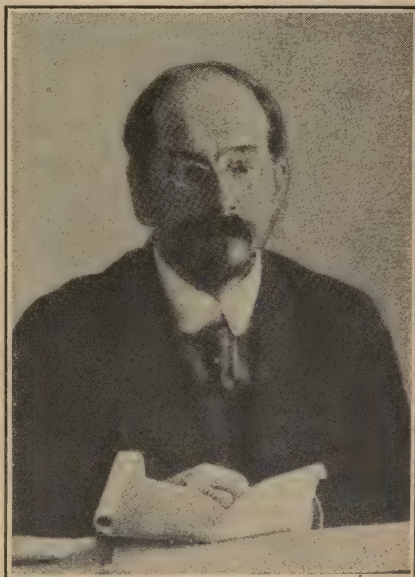
Prison life has undergone a great reform since May, 1918, when the Government proclaimed its intention of treating convicts "not like men cast out of society but as involuntary victims of a former social organization and as mental invalids who must be cured quickly and as wisely as possible." Prisoners, following this conception, are divided into categories based not on the nature of their crimes but on their individual characters. Special commissions composed of medical men and penal authorities were created to classify inmates according to these new lines. Sentence could be shortened or lengthened, depending on the demonstrated tendencies of the prisoner. Special institutions to separate amateur from professional criminals and to correct cases of diseased morality were established. The prisoners receive the food ration of heavy workers, and get union wages, two-thirds of the amount, however, being retained for food and lodging.

#### EDUCATIONAL MEASURES

M. Lunacharsky, well known in Russia before the revolution as an authority on education, and now Soviet Commissioner of Education, was interviewed in March, 1920, by Lincoln Eyre of The New York World. He laid special stress on the country-wide character of the Bolshevik system of education, pointing out that, though the maximum effort to establish schools was being made in thickly populated centres, the remoter districts were far from being forgotten. M. Lunacharsky gave official figures to show the enormous increase of schools, instructors and scholars in certain Governments. Even in far-off Turkestan, he stated, the number of children receiving a first-grade education had increased from 40,000 to 120,000, and the number of teachers had increased from 2,000 to 5,000. Despite paper shortage and the lack of printing facilities 2,500,000 pupils had been furnished with free books during 1919, and almost 10,000,000 pairs of shoes had been distributed. The educa-

tional budget for that year reached a total of 20,000,000,000 rubles.

One of the great difficulties was that of finding a sufficient number of suitable teachers. Many of those who had taught school under the Czar's régime were hostile to the Communist doctrine. This difficulty had been over-



M. LUNACHARSKY  
*Bolshevist Minister of Education in Russia*

come in the elementary schools, but the teachers in the high schools required a strong hand from the start and thoroughgoing Soviet supervision. "Such opposition as they now offer," said Lunacharsky, "is passive, and not vitally dangerous to us." New teachers were constantly being trained; the former Catherine Institute, one of Moscow's foremost institutions of learning, had been devoted altogether to preparing a rapidly growing class of Communist instructors, a number of whom, on graduation, were being sent throughout the country to spread the knowledge they had gained to less favored districts. A new institution, the Sverdlov University, had been opened on Feb. 1; it was primarily meant to give students from all over the country "a thorough insight into Com-



munist doctrines from the political, social and economic point of view \* \* \* and world revolution," but it was also expected that it would produce much good teaching material.

Another feature of the educational program was the creation of pedagogic courses to prepare a teaching personnel for abnormal and defective children, including a study of physical and psychological peculiarities and methods for overcoming such defects through instruction.

### DECREE AGAINST ILLITERACY

Regarding illiteracy among adults the Soviet Government had issued a special decree. Among the provisions of this decree were these:

The whole population of the Soviet Republic must be able to read and write. All Russians between the ages of 8 and 50 who are illiterate are bound hereby to learn to read and write in the Russian language or in their original tongue, as they please. All literate persons may be called upon to assist in teaching the illiterate. The period in which illiteracy is to be abolished shall be fixed by the municipal or Provincial Soviet in each district. For adult citizens undergoing instruction in reading and writing, the working day is abridged by two hours during the entire educational period. Citizens evading duties specified by this decree or in any way interfering with its provisions are subject to trial by the revolutionary tribunal.

The number of men in the Red Army who can read and write, according to M. Lunacharsky, has increased from 15 per cent. to 60 per cent.; in the navy, illiteracy has been virtually eliminated. He says that in Petrograd illiteracy has decreased from 30 per cent. to 8 per cent. in two years. M. Lunacharsky expects that illiteracy will be completely abolished within three years. Day and evening classes for adults are compulsory. It is a quaint sight to see bearded peasants being drilled in the rudiments of the alphabet. Refusal to attend these classes is punished first by withdrawal of the vote in Soviet elections, and continued refusal is punished by harsher methods. Workers in the city are generally eager to learn. Difficulty is encountered in the rural districts, because of the belief inculcated by the priests

that education is equivalent to trafficking with the evil one. Forceful measures are being taken to overcome these superstitions. "We are determined," said M. Lunacharsky, "to permit nothing to stand in the way of national enlightenment, because in that way only does salvation for the mass of the people lie."

### PROPAGANDA TRAINS

Details of the Soviet system of official propaganda by means of special propaganda trains were given to this interviewer by Angelica Balabanova, Secretary of the Third Internationale, who is said to be "one of the most remarkable women the revolution has produced." Five such trains were in existence, each with ten cars, equipped with libraries, cinematographs, a printing plant that publishes a daily paper, a wireless equipment and a telephone which at each station can be connected with the local exchange. A machine-gun detachment was not forgotten, to provide means of defense against the counter-revolution. The cars were painted luridly, like those of an American circus, with allegorical scenes depicting capitalistic serpents being slain by the Red Army, happy peasants exchanging fraternal greetings with equally happy workers, and so forth. Inscriptions, such as the now famous Soviet slogan, "Workers of the World, Unite!" and "All Power to the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies!" were painted in big letters across each car. Pamphlets were distributed at each station describing the benefits of the Communist Government, while for the illiterate there were posters and picture books dealing not only with political matter but with hygiene, agriculture, and other subjects especially interesting to the peasant. Among the hundreds composing the personnel of these trains there were always a dozen or more experienced speakers; to these a rustic audience will listen for hours at a time.

### SANITATION AND MEDICINE

Dr. Semashko, head of the Soviet Sanitary Department, declared to the correspondent of The Manchester Guardian that all the Soviet medical services

had been unified into one vast department. The blockade had cut off Germany as a means of obtaining medications, but some had been obtained from *Ukrainia* and some millions' worth had been brought in by contraband. The sanitary condition of the country was not bad. Since the 1918 typhus epidemic, workmen's committees, teachers and others had been organized to teach the necessity of cleanliness. The average number of cases in Moscow was only twenty-four, a small percentage in a city of 1,500,000 inhabitants. Some score of cholera cases existed in Petrograd and Kursk, and in Voronezh there were sporadic cases brought in by the Denikin Army, where it was widespread, as well as in the districts occupied by him. In Moscow there were also fourteen cases of Asiatic cholera, but the great care taken at the Moscow waterworks had made Moscow singularly free from epidemics.

Research was being constantly carried on; the typhus bacillus had been isolated and a serum found. On all committees organized to combat venereal diseases, prostitution, tuberculosis, &c., there were representatives of the trades unions and other professional alliances. Prostitution had practically disappeared from Moscow, owing to the Soviet view of the economic position of women. Some repressive measures, including segregation, had been introduced. All medical service was gratuitous, whether in hospital, dis-

pensary or home, and some 63 sectors with 120 assistants were at the disposal of the population of Moscow at a cost of 2,000,000 rubles. Extensive and thorough measures had been introduced by Mrs. Lebedev, head of the Maternity Department of the Commissariat of Social Maintenance, who established her staff in an immense building across the river, built by Catherine the Great as a founding asylum, to aid the present and future mothers of the republic and their offspring, by means of a chain of creches and maternity hospitals.

### MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Before the end of the year 1918 a completely new code on marriage and divorce had been created, which did away with all patriarchal obstacles to marriage, such as difference of faith, religious prohibitions, &c. It recognized complete equality before the law of both men and women, including an equal responsibility to support the other contracting party; it made all issue, even those born out of wedlock, equal with regard to support and recognition; it also nullified the old laws of inheritance, except to a limited degree during the transitional period, decreed that only civil marriages were legal, and made divorce dependent on the mutual desire of both, or on that of only one. Guardianship was provided for for those children deprived by divorce or otherwise of parental care.





# Italy's Part in the World War

By COLONEL DI BERNEZZO

[ITALIAN MILITARY ATTACHE AT WASHINGTON]

IT is my object in the present article to bring before the American public, on the basis of official data, the vast sum of lives, energies, treasure and personal sacrifice contributed by Italy in the gigantic struggle against Germany and her allies.

Out of a total population of about 38,000,000, inclusive of her colonies, Italy mobilized from her twenty-six year classes a total of 5,615,000 men. Italian colored troops were never used at the front; they served only at the rear, on the lines of communication.

The number of Italians killed in the war was officially fixed at 496,921, but, allowing for those reported as missing or taken prisoners, and subsequently proved to have been killed on the battlefield, this total will undoubtedly rise above a half-million. Considering only the official figures just given, the percentage of Italian dead is 1.3. If we include the colonial population of the countries concerned, Italy's percentage of loss is highest of all the allied nations, as seen in the following table:

	Approximate Population.	Men Killed in War.	P.C.
France & colonies..	87,000,000	1,071,300	1.2*
England & colonies..	430,000,000	689,246	0.16
United States .....	105,000,000	72,951	0.07
Italy & colonies.....	38,000,000	496,921	1.3

It should again be recalled that many of the British and French losses were borne by colonial troops, while the Italian losses fell wholly upon the population of the kingdom. It should furthermore be remembered that in these losses are not included those incurred by the Italian forces in Russia and Palestine.

The number of Italian wounded during

the war reached a total of 949,576, and the number of those crippled or permanently incapacitated amounted to 219,454. Some 570,000 men were discharged as unfit for further service, as a consequence of wounds or illness. Throughout the whole period of the war the hospitals of Italy cared for 5,000,000 wounded and sick soldiers.

These figures show clearly the greatness of the effort made by Italy during the war. It should not be forgotten that Italy entered the conflict only after a year of war had passed, that her losses were thus more concentrated in point of time, and that her mourning for her dead was hence crowded into shorter intervals, and exacted a heavier toll of suffering from the population.

In the following table are shown the losses of the Italian mercantile marine, as compared to those of France and Britain:

Nations.	Tonnage, Aug. 1, 1914.	Losses to Nov. 11, 1918.	Percentage.
England .....	18,356,000	7,825,598	42.63
France .....	2,300,000	908,068	39.44
Italy .....	1,534,738	905,393	58.93

From these figures it is apparent that, among all the nations of the Entente, Italy suffered the highest percentage of loss caused to the allied merchant marine by the war. It should further be noted that the ships lost by Italy were all of comparatively recent construction, which brings the relative percentage of loss even higher.

Italy's financial sacrifice also was comparatively greater, in view of her greater poverty, as contrasted with other nations. The vast amount of treasure which Italy expended may be seen by a simple comparison of the national debt before and after the war. This debt, on Aug. 1, 1914, amounted to 14,839,000,000 lire; on Feb. 28, 1919, it had reached 70,599,000,000 lire.

Italy defeated Austria, her eternal enemy, in fourteen memorable battles.

\*The French figures, quoted by M. Louis Marin before the French Chamber, and given in the April CURRENT HISTORY, are very different from these. M. Marin gave France's total sacrifice in men as 1,355,000, or 3.4 per cent. of the population of France, exclusive of colonies. The article just mentioned gave the British loss as 648,000 for the United Kingdom alone, or 1.4 per cent. of population.—EDITOR.

One of the gravest events of this long war was the battle of Caporetto, in October, 1917. In this battle Italy had to sustain, completely alone, the onslaught of the whole Austrian Army. By reason of the Russian defection, Austria had been able to free all her forces on the Eastern front, and to throw them in the balance against Italy, reinforced by German, Turkish and Bulgarian contingents. The Caporetto disaster and the Italian retreat to the Tagliamento and the Piave ensued. In its remarkable defensive fighting on the Piave in November and December of that year, the Italian Army could hope for no aid from the allied troops, which had come to co-operate, but which, for various reasons, could not be brought immediately into action. I say this, not to depreciate the help brought by the Allies, which was very great, especially morally, but so that all may know what the heroic virtues of the Italian soldier were able to accomplish without external aid.

It was only during the attacks carried out by Austria in June, 1918, after a whole Winter of intense preparation, that the allied troops fought beside the Italians. They had taken their place in the trenches during the Winter and Spring, and throughout the Austrian offensive of June they fought most bravely, and repulsed violent and repeated enemy attacks. The British and French forces which came into action at this time were as follows:

- 14th British Corps, with three divisions.
- 12th French Corps, with two divisions.

These troops were incorporated with the Sixth Italian Army, under General Montuori. After having broken the Austrian offensive of June, the allied troops in Italy were assigned a new location. In the offensive carried out by the Italian Army in October of that same year the Austrian Army was routed completely, and, after a desperate resistance, was compelled to sue for an armistice, which amounted practically to unconditional surrender. The allied troops, throughout this period, were reinforced by the American 332d Infantry Regiment, and by the 6th Czechoslovak Division. Their distribution was as follows:

Two British Divisions (7th and 23d) of the 14th British Corps, and the 332d United States Infantry Regiment, formed part of the Tenth Army: Position, Middle Piave.

One British Division (48th) in Sixth Army: Position, Asiago Plateau.

One French Division (23d) with Twelfth Army: Position, at the Piave's outlet to the plain.

One French Division (240th) with Sixth Army: Position, Asiago Plateau.

The number of Italian troops fighting on fronts outside the limits of Italy was certainly not inferior to that of the allied forces fighting on the Italo-Austrian front. The distribution of these troops was as follows:

2d Italian Army Corps: Two divisions, operating in France.

16th Italian Army Corps: Three divisions, operating in Albania.

35th Italian Division: Four brigades, operating in Macedonia.

It should be noted that the 35th Italian Division had the strength of 65,000 men, or one complete army corps, but for reasons connected with the command of the allied forces in Macedonia, bore the designation of division.

There were also Italian detachments operating in Palestine and Russia, and over 100,000 Italians fought bravely under the flag of the Stars and Stripes. In calculating the Italian war effort, also, one must not forget that over 100,000 Italians, in labor companies, worked in France for the upkeep and adjustment of the near lines of communication, and that several thousand others worked at the British and French bases in Italy.

The full measure of Italy's contribution to the war can be realized only in the light of economic considerations. Out of a total male population of 17,000,000, Italy, in view of the proportion of her immigrants, could count only on some 9,000,000 economically productive men. The mobilization reduced this number by more than one-half, and the economic capacity of the country suffered correspondingly. One may calculate that every 100 men who remained at home had to support 320 individuals under 15 years of age. Despite the reduction of man power and the comparatively undeveloped state of the nation's productive resources, a powerful organization of war



production was completed and maintained.

Food conditions resulting from the war imposed great sacrifices upon the people of Italy. For over three years there was only black bread to eat. Meat could be had only on coupons, and was distributed only two or three times a week. Butter, milk, sugar, bread, eggs, spaghetti and rice, all primary necessities, were distributed in greatly reduced rations. These conditions of rationing still exist in Italy for nearly all the staples enu-

merated, though more than a year has elapsed since the Allies completed their victory.

The facts and figures I have given will suffice to show the intensity and extent of the Italian sacrifice contributed to the winning of the war. Italy, in a word, marshaled all her energies, and welded all her nationals into one great national will, to overcome her traditional enemy, and to do her full, unstinted part in bringing about the triumph of the allied cause.

## With d'Annunzio at Fiume

By DR. ORESTES FERRARA

[TRANSLATED BY LEOPOLD GRAHAME]

*Dr. Orestes Ferrara, who is of Italian birth, is a well-known writer on international subjects and Professor of Public Law at the National University of Havana; for several years he was Speaker of the Cuban House of Representatives. He is proprietor and editor in chief of the Heraldo de Cuba, La Reforma Social, and other publications, and is the author of "Causes and Pretexts of the World War," "Lessons of the War and the Peace Conference," and other works.*

THE adventure of Gabriele d'Annunzio, exquisite poet and writer of incomparable prose, is approaching its end. It has called forth mingled approval and censure, but there is little doubt that the audacity of the enterprise will leave its mark in history. Because of his dramatic military seizure of Fiume, that comparatively small city on the Adriatic has been some months the Mecca of many Americans, British, French, Italians and others whose interests and sympathies have been excited by the demonstration that the world is not always better governed by the application of rigorous juridical principles. Inspired by this belief, and in order to create for myself in later years a souvenir of the past, I decided to cross to Fiume by way of Istria.

This section of the Istrian peninsula is mountainous and arid, lacking the natural beauty usually found in regions of that character. Mountain beyond mountain, small villages where the word hygiene is unknown, expressionless men and women with large, round eyes, looking vaguely about them; and, at every step, a figure

of the crucified Christ or a sea-green Madonna covered with the dust and mud of the road. That, in brief, is the famous Istria. Today the whole region is infested by highwaymen—remnants of the former Austrian Army. So terrifying have these robbers become that as I passed in my automobile on the narrow road from Trieste to Fiume I saw a group of them attack a village and carry away all that could be had.

This northern part of the peninsula is entirely Slav. It is not necessary to be either a linguist or an anthropologist to hear and see it. The inhabitants of these dead regions, whose principal occupation appears to be to chop wood and to hitch themselves up with their animals under heavily laden carts, have purer Slavic blood running in their veins than three-fourths of the subjects of Lenin. In this part of the former Austrian Empire, which must not be confused with the Trentino or Tyrol, the coast is Italian, the mountains Slav, and the valleys German. Yet, notwithstanding that the war ended with the armistice and that Austria has been changed from

a great military power into a mere geographic expression, this small region is practically in a state of war. Two armies stand face to face, watching each other, with their cannon ready, while two States are planning attack and defense. Constant military movements are to be seen on the Italian side, where all along the road great storehouses and numerous guards are gathered. On the other side, the troops of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, many of whom are Croats and Slavs who served under the Austrian flag during the war, are making similar preparations.

### LIFE IN THE CITY

On arrival at Fiume the authorities discovered a flaw in the passport of my chauffeur and wished to send me back to the opposite trenches, but, thanks to a soldier keener than the others and with less regard for technicalities, we were permitted to enter the isolated city. In a narrow street bordering on the open bay to the left, a large hotel appeared in sight. One could read the word "Hotel" in large letters, but the name which should have followed was blurred and made indistinct by partial erasure; in fact, it was covered with patches of mud. This phenomenon was explained by the fact that the hotel had previously borne the name of President Wilson, but in view of the decided change of opinion of the Fiumans as to the attitude and declarations of the President, the proprietor had thought it desirable to remove the name from view. On entering the establishment I was approached by an obese individual, evidently the proprietor, who informed me that only the restaurant was open, as the hotel was occupied by the volunteers of d'Annunzio. But I remained.

Beneath my room and in the adjoining streets there were strains of music and singing. They came from d'Annunzio's soldiers, who were spending the night in the brilliant moonlight shining over the city and bay. The songs were of mixed dialects from all parts of Italy and sung in plaintive tones. They seemed to breathe the soul of Fiume, facing an unknown fate and fearing the philosophy of the Paris Conference and the wisdom of its experts.

Fiume is organized today on a mediaeval pattern, due as much to circumstances as to the fancy of the poet who governs it in a way largely influenced by his long nights of previous study of the Middle Ages. The poet, perhaps, as a cherished memory, thought of making a division of military and civil functions; of the authority of the Gonfaloniero, Podestà (Mayor or Alcalde), or Comandante, and General Councils; and thus he organized a small State, himself assuming the title of "Comandante" or defender of the city and the city's rights. The council controls civic affairs, but the "Comandante" is in full command of every branch of the temporary Government. The Chief of Staff is Major Giuriati, a lawyer from Venice, later a good soldier many times wounded in the war, strong and amiable, serious and courtly, a model partisan in every way appropriate to the present atmosphere of mediaeval forms.

### MAJOR GIURIATI'S VIEWS

Dr. Antonio, who is a prominent personality in Fiume, which city he recently represented in an appeal before the United States Senate, escorted me on my visit to Major Giuriati in the beautiful palace overlooking the city. This palace, once occupied by the Hungarian representative, is now the home of d'Annunzio and his chief officials. At 7:30 A. M. Giuriati was already at work in a large room, through which the rays of the sun were reflected on the austere portraits of the ancient Hungarian Governors adorning the walls. Almost before I had time to speak, after the brief but cordial welcome extended to me, he gave me the whole history of Fiume's adventure. Without the action of d'Annunzio the city would have been subjected to the control of the new Yugoslav State. Judging from the plans of organization which he had found, including even lists of names of those who were to form part of the occupying government of the city, Giuriati had little doubt that the Yugoslavs had intended to make a complete coup in their own favor, as d'Annunzio had done in favor of Italy.

Giuriati does not understand why



President Wilson is so opposed to the self-government of Fiume; with the evident desire of spurring me on to argument, he poked fun at the Fourteen Points of the President. To d'Annunzio's political adviser the Entente attitude is part of an economic scheme by means of which the Anglo-Saxons wish to dominate the commerce of Central Europe, and, by a virtual occupation of Danzig, Fiume and Constantinople, to turn to their advantage the Germanic dream of *Mittel-europa*. My arguments to the contrary availed little, although I have the sad but positive belief that no combination will ever prevent Germany from ultimately carrying out her strongly ingrained economic policy in Central Europe.

Giuriati strongly criticised President Wilson and was equally unsparing in his attacks upon Nitti, as he was unaware of my sincere and intimate friendship with the head of the Italian Government. I therefore said nothing upon this point, but listened to his talk because of his intelligent, vigorous personality and of his earnest defense of a cause with which I confess myself to be in sympathy. "Nitti has broken the sacred union of the Italians," said Giuriati, "and that is why the Socialists have won so many votes in the last election." He added:

They wanted to force us out of the war, and we prevented it. Today we shall prevent their forcing us out of peace. This boast is justifiable, though it may appear inappropriate. These few thousands of volunteers shut up in Fiume are invincible. The Jugoslavs do not attack them because they in turn would be attacked by the whole Italian Army; the Italians do not drive them out because the soldiers would all join with d'Annunzio rather than oppose him; the United States does not cross the ocean for this bagatelle; the French have terrific problems on the Rhine, and the English do not put their hands in the fire to pull out the chestnuts for others.

#### POPULAR SENTIMENT

The day following a victorious revolution usually evokes popular enthusiasm, and for months Fiume has been stirred by that sentiment. It is enjoying a continual celebration of a great holiday. Two companies of Alpines recently

passed into d'Annunzio's small army, which consists of about 10,000 men. The two companies were being sent in detached bodies by the Italian Government to watch the poet's forces from the outskirts of the city. The officer in command, in league with the engineer of the train which carried them, took them right into Fiume instead of stopping two kilometers away. The Alpines were unaware of the plan, but were received with music and flags. The "Comandante" delivered an oration, and the other soldiers embraced them, with the result that when the commander of the two companies declared that those who wished could go back, all gave expression to their happiness at being able to incorporate themselves into the army of the city. It was a moving scene. Old men, children, women and younger men wept in evidence of the pathologic condition of the city, which every one would prefer to see destroyed rather than handed over to the Jugoslavs.

A still more exciting spectacle was that which I witnessed one night at the Verdi Theatre, where, in honor of the same two Alpine companies, there was a gala performance of the beautiful tragedy of "Fiaccola sotto il moggio," ("The Torch Under the Bushel"), an exquisite production by d'Annunzio himself. The theatre was crowded almost from the moment the doors were opened, and at the fall of the curtain on the first act d'Annunzio entered. From a box on the second tier above the stage there suddenly appeared the figure of a man who presented less the idea of a military hero than of one who had passed his mature life in the salon and in the library.

The applause was deafening. Women, wounded soldiers in great numbers, and the actors, who reappeared on the stage with the flags of Fiume and of Italy, all took part in the demonstration. By raising his right hand the poet indicated his desire to speak, and after silence was gained he exclaimed: "Let us discontinue this tedious tragedy, and sing our happy war hymns!"

For upward of an hour a unanimous chorus lifted its voice to heaven with a devotion that recalled the Sunday ec-

clesiastical functions of the smaller Italian cities. D'Annunzio joined with strong voice and lent greater expression to his song by suitable and vigorous gestures. The orchestra took up one hymn after another, and when there were no more hymns the songs of the past war began—those of the Alpinos, of the Arditi (Dare Devils), of the Grenadiers and others; and every now and then the cry of attack, "Eya! Eya! Eya!" The splendid tragedy was continued, and at 2 A. M. the spectators left, still singing their war hymns with the fervor of the initiated.

### D'ANNUNZIO AT WORK

At 10 o'clock the following morning I entered the spacious room from which d'Annunzio issues his instructions. Two attendants opened the door. I saluted two Generals, who had been conferring with him, and approached the "Commandante." He appeared more impressive in his bearing than when I had seen him at the theatre. Having accorded me a particularly courteous reception, he promptly entered into a most engaging conversation, confirming the view that the reputation he has gained for charm of manner and the abundant laurels he has garnered from his feminine admirers are justified by the fact that his entire personality at once radiates intelligence, superiority and sympathy.

"The rebels against the Paris Conference feel that they are ill judged, because misunderstood." Thus d'Annunzio explained to me the reasons for his act. He spoke as one absolutely convinced. What he has done is for the supreme good, inevitable, as final as destiny; and with tranquillity, without any posing or mental effort, he went on to say:

"You have seen these people, you have admired their enthusiasm, you know their determination; because of these qualities, whatever happens I shall not desert them; I shall leave the city only when the wishes of Fiume have been fulfilled."

D'Annunzio spoke well of Croatia. "We Italians," he said, "can live in perfect harmony with the Croats; we can give each other mutual help, and the mass of the Croats do not hate us, as is shown in these very days by the fact

that the Croatian schools have adopted the Italian language, which comes next to the official vernacular."

According to him, the Fiume question is the result not of the ethnical diversity of the population on the shores of the Adriatic, but of the wrong ideas of the Paris Conference, a body which, he thinks, did not measure up to the intellectual height of its predecessor of a century ago, the Congress of Vienna.

### ATTITUDE TOWARD WILSON

D'Annunzio is very much interested in President Wilson, whom he regards as an idealist; but he cannot understand why the President does not wish to apply his ideals to Fiume, a community that is trying literally to follow the doctrine of self-determination. It was very hard for me to impress upon him that President Wilson is not so much an idealist as a practical statesman and a very decided partisan. The poet did not understand me, because, throughout Europe, Wilson is regarded as a dreamer who, in homage to his theories, sacrifices the urgent needs of nations.

"The President's theories may be superficially idealistic," I said, "but at root they are profoundly practical."

"Why, then," replied d'Annunzio, "is he opposed to letting Fiume decide her own destinies? I think that the bad impression received at the commencement of the discussion of the matter, and a natural tendency to persist in carrying out the original thought, are the most plausible reasons one can give for the inexorable decision of the man whom we Italians had recently so much praised and admired."

I pointed out to him that few in the United States are interested in the Fiume question, and that if it were put to the people today, 99 per cent. of them, who hardly knew the name of Fiume before the war, would say that so far as they were concerned those who wished to have it could take it. On hearing this d'Annunzio used the identical words with which the Italian Premier, Francesco Nitti, had replied to me when discussing this matter:

"Yes, our American friends are constantly repeating that to us, but just



now the President's position and America's position are one and the same thing."

D'Annunzio and Nitti, once very intimate friends, are now implacable enemies. For this reason I thought it wise to make no comment on the similarity of the two opinions.

An hour's conversation with d'Annunzio convinced me that Fiume has in this man a full-armored defender. In departing I asked the poet: "What form of activity do you propose to assume in the future?"

"After four years of more or less armed conflict," he said. "I cannot return to my literary life; but as soon as our question is settled I shall direct the Rome-Tokio flight, and after that I shall probably see you in America."

Outside I found the streets of Fiume filled with soldiers on their way to a review in the outskirts of the city. The troops were well disciplined and well armed. "Who pays this army and supports this organization?" I asked. A prominent native of Fiume ironi-

cally replied, "The Italian Government." The fact is that no Government could rule in Italy that did not treat the question of Fiume from the Italian standpoint. Socialists and capitalists are agreed on that. The Italian army, en masse, does not occupy the city, because it is not necessary, but if it were necessary the Fiume Army and the Italian Army would be one and the same.

In a recent conversation with the ex-Empress Eugénie, the last surviving relic of the grandeur and misfortune of the reign of Napoleon III., that venerable lady said to me with a sparkle of wit that showed no signs of her 95 years: "Nitti will not do with d'Annunzio what Cavour did with Garibaldi." Cavour, who did not admire Garibaldi's audacity, turned it to his own advantage. The aged ex-Empress believed that Nitti would be unable to do the same with the "Comandante" of Fiume.

The adventure of d'Annunzio is not a disagreeable page in history; on the contrary, it causes us to reflect that, in the turmoil of the twentieth century, poetry and politics are not inimical forces.

## Death of Kaid Maclean

THE death of "Kaid" Sir Harry Maclean, announced at Tangier on Feb. 4, recalls one of the most picturesque personalities of Europe in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Baptized as Harry Aubrey de Maclean, of the Macleans of Drimmin, he was born 72 years ago. While serving with his regiment at Gibraltar in 1876, a chance visit to Tangier decided his whole future life. The Moorish Sultan, Mulai Hassan, whose army was badly in need of instruction, was struck by Maclean's personality, and offered him the post of instructor. The offer was accepted, and proved to be the beginning of an official association with Morocco which lasted for nearly thirty years.

Despite its famous parades at Tangier in slippers, the Moroccan Army had good stuff in it, and under Maclean's supervision was made into an effective body for collecting taxes. Many stories were told of the magnificence in which Kaid Maclean lived: his salary was \$35,-

000 monthly, and he owned palaces at Fez and Marrakesh, as well as in Tangier. A keen-eyed, elert man, with a decisive manner, he adopted a semi-Moorish dress and wore a white turban. Of great daring and a splendid shot, he was concerned in many adventures, especially in the days of Mulai Hassan.

In 1894 Mulai Hassan died while on his way to Fez. Maclean, who was with the Sultan's bodyguard, helped to conceal the ruler's death until the party had reached Fez and the new Sultan, Abd-el-Aziz, had been safely proclaimed. In 1904 Maclean narrowly escaped capture by tribesmen in the neighborhood of Arzila. Three years later (on July 1, 1907) he was kidnapped by the famous bandit, Raisuli, while conducting negotiations at the latter's camp on behalf of the Sultan. His captivity lasted seven months: military expeditions sent to effect his rescue failed, and finally the British Legation was compelled to pay Raisuli a large sum for his release.

# The Tangled Turkish Question

## Allied Occupation of Constantinople—Feisal's Ambitions in Syria—Armenian Mandate Goes Begging

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 15, 1920]

THE decision of the Allies to leave the Turks in Constantinople has aroused a storm of conflicting opinion, but no nation has shown any desire to assume the burdens involved in the contrary policy. The United States has definitely refused the proffered mandate for Armenia, as well as that for Turkey; even the League of Nations has given notice that it is unable to accept a mandate for Armenia because it lacks the machinery and the troops for administering such a charge. The best it could do was to offer to find a mandatary for Armenia if some one else would find the money. This was the situation at the middle of April, pending the completion of the Turkish Peace Treaty.

Earnest debate of the Turkish question continued in Great Britain and France during the month under review. Premier Lloyd George, replying to Mr. Asquith's criticisms in the House of Commons on March 25, blamed the United States for the long delay in reaching a decision on Turkey; it was only when America definitely refused the mandate, he said, that the Allies had determined to proceed without her. The Premier stated that the proposal to oust the Sultan had been rejected because it left the question of the Government of Constantinople undecided, and the Allies were anxious to avoid the expense and responsibility of its administration. It was quite impossible, he said, for England to send armies to keep order in Armenia and other parts of Asia Minor, though she would do her utmost to exert pressure in Constantinople to obtain the safety of Christians. France's burden in Cilicia was heavy. Thus far the Allies had received from the United States only requests to protect Armenia, without any offer to accept responsibility.

The determination of the Allies to con-

vince the Turks, by a military demonstration, that the massacres of Armenians must cease, was made concrete on March 16, when allied forces under General Sir George F. Milne occupied the Ministries of War and Marine and took control of the posts, telegraphs and telephones. Resistance was encountered only at the War Office, where several Indian soldiers and Turks fell in the fighting. The landing and occupation were carried out under the guns of the formidable allied fleet anchored in the Bosphorus; one dreadnought was moored at the Galata quay, her guns trained on Stamboul; another faced the arsenal in the Golden Horn, and all the other warships stood by with their decks cleared for action; 4,000 bluejackets and marines were landed from the British warships, with contingents from the forces of all the Allies stationed in Constantinople. Indian Moslem troops took part in the occupation. A proclamation printed in Greek, English and French was posted on the dead walls of the city, warning that hostile acts would be punished by death. Subsequently the British, French and Italian High Commissioners issued another proclamation, which read as follows:

First—Occupation is provisional.

Second—The Entente Powers have no intention to destroy the Sultan's authority. They wish rather to strengthen it in all places which shall remain under Ottoman administration.

Third—The Entente Powers persist in their purpose not to deprive the Turks of Constantinople. But if, God forbid, troubles develop and massacres occur, that decision probably will be modified.

Fourth—In this critical hour every one must attend to his own affairs and assist in maintaining general security without permitting himself to be deceived by those whose frenzy tends to destroy the last hope of building upon the ruins of the ancient Turkish Empire a new Turkey. In short, it is the duty of every person to obey orders issuing from the Sultan.





SINCE THE MARASH MASSACRE THE ALLIES HAVE CONTEMPLATED REDUCING TURKEY'S EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS TO THE LITTLE CORNER BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE SECOND PROPOSED BOUNDARY SHOWN IN THE MAP

Fifth—Certain persons implicated in threats, of which more will be told later, have been arrested in Constantinople. They naturally will be held responsible for these acts and for the consequent results.

This last clause referred to a number of Turkish Nationalist leaders and agitators, who had been seized on the night preceding the occupation. Among them were Djemal Pasha, former Minister of War; Djavid Pasha, his Chief of Staff, Senator Mahmud Pasha, Essad Pasha and Reouf Bey.

By nightfall the city was quiet. The French were patrolling Stamboul with Senegalese troops, the British were guarding Pera, the suburb northwest of the Golden Horn, and the Italians were in control of Scutari, the part of Constantinople that is on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.

The British Parliament was officially informed of the occupation of Constantinople on March 17 by Andrew Bonar Law, who stated that the Turkish Government had been warned that the occu-

pation would continue until the terms of the Peace Treaty were accepted and executed, and that further Armenian massacres would only make the conditions of this treaty more severe.

The Turkish Chamber adjourned temporarily on March 19, after passing a resolution condemning the Chairman of the Bar Association and President of the Chamber of Deputies for cowardice in leaving the city before its occupation in order to escape arrest. The Senate remained in session, but was unable to obtain a quorum. Few traces of the Turkish Government remained. About thirty of the Turkish Nationalists arrested were transferred to the British battleship Benbow, to be transported to Malta, where a court-martial awaited them.

#### SULTAN DISAVOWS NATIONALISTS

Mohammed VI., Sultan of Turkey, took his weekly ride in state from Yildiz Palace to Mejdieh Jami for his Selamlık, or official attendance at prayers, on

the same day. It was reported that he looked old and broken. Despite the allied proclamation that the Sultan's power would be upheld provisionally, the crowds which watched this unhappy old man emerge from his palace overlooking the picturesque minarets and towers of Stamboul and the sun-bathed waters of the Bosphorus showed by their attitude and comments that they realized that 800 years of Turkish rule in Constantinople had virtually ended. While a proclamation issued by the Sultan was being posted calling on the population to preserve order and pursue their usual vocations in spite of the occupation, the Benbow was steaming toward Malta carrying the Nationalist leaders who had been supporting Mustapha Kemal in his opposition to the dismemberment of Turkey.

The arrest of so many of their leaders was a heavy blow to the Nationalists in Constantinople, who fulminated against the Sultan, charging him with cowardice and lack of patriotism. The Sultan's Cabinet decided to remain in office, but fell on April 6, and a new Cabinet, headed by Damad Ferid Pasha, succeeded it.

Under pressure of an allied note, which called on the Turkish Government to disavow the activities of Mustapha Kemal and the Nationalists, official instructions were read to the new Grand Vizier when installed in office deploring the troubles produced by the Nationalists, and declaring that a prolongation of this "state of rebellion" might lead to grave dangers. Punishment of organizers and instigators of trouble was urged, so that "all faithful subjects may be more closely united with the Sultanate and the Caliphate, and former relations be established with the great powers in order to mitigate the peace terms and improve the economic situation."

#### SCHISM IN MOSLEM CHURCH

Events indicated that the Nationalists were attempting not only to create an entirely new Government, but also a new church organization, with a new Caliph as well as a new Sultan. Mustapha Kemal on April 10 designated the Chief of the Dervishes in Anatolia as his

Sheik ul Islam, representative of the Church in the Nationalist Cabinet.

This move was followed by decisive action on the part of the Sultan's Government. Mobilization of the regular troops was begun in the Black Sea region and other districts loyal to the Sultan. The Sheik ul Islam at Constantinople, Deurrizade Abdullah Effendi, appealed to all Moslems, urging them to a holy war upon the Nationalists. "Wrath of heaven and eternal torments of hell" were called down on the heads of all Moslems who did not support the Sultan. He excoriated the Nationalists, and declared "all Mussulmans who kill Nationalists will be blessed by Allah, and all who die fighting the rebels will earn eternal glory hereafter." Replying to this, the Nationalist Sheik ul Islam at Angora issued a religious decree denouncing the Sultan and discrediting the Constantinople appeal.

Turkish military officers on April 13 formally closed the Chamber of Deputies at Constantinople under an order from the Sultan which provided for the election of a new Chamber within four months. The Sultan's edict said: "Political reasons make the dissolution of Parliament necessary." The Chamber really dissolved itself, as it was largely Nationalist in character and most of the members were sitting in the Congress at Angora, the headquarters of Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

#### MEDIATION OFFER REFUSED

Colonel Rawlinson of the British Army went to Erzerum early in April to confer with Kiazim Pasha, the Nationalist leader there, and to offer his services to bring back harmony between the Constantinople Government and Kemal Pasha, head of the Nationalist movement. He was told, however, that there could be no negotiations until the allied forces were withdrawn from Turkish soil.

Meanwhile communication with virtually all Asiatic Turkey, especially with Anatolia, was broken off by the destruction of connecting bridges by British forces. At Angora (215 miles east-southeast of Constantinople) the Government of Mustapha Kemal continued to hold the destinies of Asia Minor at its



mercy, and to quell relentlessly all attempts of the plundered population to rebel against its authority. Great uneasiness was felt for welfare workers in Anatolia and Cilicia, for whom it had been impossible to afford protection.

Dispatches of April 7 stated that Turks had destroyed the village of Harouniyi, northeast of Adana, and burned the United States orphanage there. Two thousand Armenian orphans were removed under fire and taken to Adana in safety by William M. Gilbert, Jr., an American member of the Near East Relief Association. Turkish Nationalist forces were still cutting off from the outside world a considerable region north of Adana, and hundreds of refugees were arriving in that city daily. American relief workers were fired upon while journeying between Adana and Konia.

#### THE SITUATION IN SYRIA

The military situation in Cilicia continued after the Marash massacres to become more and more critical. Toward the end of March the Armenians were being armed by the French authorities. The French lines were thinly held and facing heavy odds. Forces of Mustapha Kemal and local Mohammedans were threatening the whole province. The entire Adana section was in a ferment, and the roads were infested with hill-men, co-operating with Turkish Nationalists. The town of Hadjin was being strongly besieged and was in danger of capture, with all the horrors of a new massacre of the Christian population, unless help came.

A relief force of French troops reached Aintab on March 28, opening a road blocked by bandits since the killing of two Americans at this point on Feb. 1. The relief column had to fight its way through 3,000 Turks, while the Aintab garrison, which met the relievers, was harassed by 800 more. The French found eighty-nine dead Turks and Kurds. Americans and Armenians had taken refuge in churches, in expectation of new massacres.

A sensation was aroused in both Paris and London by the news that Prince Feisal, son of King Hussein of the Hed-

jaz, had been chosen King of Greater Syria, including North Syria and Palestine, by the Syrian Congress at Damascus on March 8, when the Congress declared the independence of Syria. Simultaneously Feisal's brother, Emir Zaid, had been proclaimed King of Irak (Vilayet of Bagdad) and of Mesopotamia, now under a provisional British protectorate. The day was described as a memorable one for Syria. General joy prevailed throughout Damascus. The members of the Congress visited the palace early in the afternoon and offered the crown to the Emir, who accepted it. Feisal and his brother, accompanied by a number of Emirs and members of the Congress and the Princes' Guard, then drove to the Municipal Palace. Arab soldiers lined the route, crying "Long live the King!" while the crowds cheered and Arab women showered flowers.

The Congress dissolved the same day, after determining what the flag of the new Empire should be—a seven-pointed white star placed in the red field of the Hedjaz banner.

Though Prince Feisal, following the ceremony of his proclamation as King, announced that this would not affect his relations with the Allies, the Syrian Congress, before dissolving, signed a decree requesting the French to leave Syria, and a similar request was made of the British in the case of Palestine. Posters displayed at Damascus at this time read in part:

In spite of himself the Moslem is brother to the Christian and the Jew. The Arabs existed before Christ, Moses or Mohammed, and freedom and independence are rights of Syria. Religion is of God, and the fatherland belongs to His children.

#### FEISAL'S EXPLANATION

In an interview published in *Le Petit Parisien*, Emir Feisal explained his action as follows:

I believed for a long time that it was best to wait, but the incessant modifications which the Allies were making in the control of my country, disposing one day, for example, of Palestine to the Jews and the next day giving it to England, offering one day an ill-defined mandate to France in Syria, then letting it be understood that this mandate would become, in time, a protectorate; and, on the other

hand, the wishes of the Syrian people, who consistently proclaimed their desire for independence, have not permitted me to wait any longer and defer the solution which the country desires with such growing ardor. What can the allied powers wish, if it is not to assure to free peoples the determination of their own destinies and the accomplishment of their desires? Europe appears to hesitate and not to understand the aspirations of the Arabs. Our proclamation of independence was made in order to enlighten them on this point. Knowing today the legitimacy of our desires, Europe can do nothing but recognize us in accordance with the principles of justice and right which triumphed in the war.

In case they refuse this recognition, neither my people nor I will be responsible for the consequences. \* \* \* The Syrian people, by its delegates to the conference which proclaimed independence, have only indicated their desire to see the soil of their country freed from foreign troops. The wish is quite legitimate, but it has been left to the Government to choose the time and means to be employed to assure effective realization of this desire. The time has not come to demand of France the withdrawal of her troops. We hope the time will come soon when France will see the wisdom of withdrawing them. My intention is to establish a constitutional Government in Syria, but I am aware that the country, in some parts, is not especially ready for such a régime. We need advice and the aid of technical collaboration. France can ask anything except one thing—the compromising of our independence; that is unthinkable.

Feisal was summoned by the Allies on March 16 to come to Paris to explain his assumption of royal power.

News was received in London on March 13 that the Christian and Mohammedan inhabitants of Jerusalem had joined hands in an agitation against handing over Palestine to the Nationalist Party, which forms only a minority of the population, and had presented a petition to the British Governor against the separation of Palestine from Syria. The ground for this action was stated to be fear that extensive Jewish immigration from Russia would lead to dispossession of the non-Jewish inhabitants, most of whom are farmers.

Clashes between Jews and Mohammedans led to the declaration of martial law by the British authorities on April 5, and entrance to the city was forbidden. New conflicts occurred on April 6 and 7, re-

sulting in the death of several on each side and in the injury of about 200. Normal conditions were being re-established at this date, but the "state of war" remained in force. Martial law was maintained for several days.

### THE GREEKS IN TURKEY

It was tentatively decided by the Council of Ambassadors on March 29 that Smyrna and the hinterland along that section of the Turkish coast should be awarded to Greece. The relations between the Greeks and Italians on the coastland were very much improved by an amicable agreement over the vilayets of Smyrna and Adalia, the latter held by Italian forces. The Greeks are asking for a strip off the western end of Anatolia extending on both sides of Smyrna (already occupied by their forces), as well as Eastern Thrace. The Italians are asking for the southern coast of Anatolia, running from the Greek holdings eastward to the Gulf of Alexandretta and comprising about one-third of Anatolia on the south. The rest of Anatolia from Samsun to the Gulf of Alexandretta, under this arrangement, would be left to the Turks.

In view of the threatening situation created by the activities of Mustapha Kemal in the French zone and elsewhere in Syria, M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, offered to the Allied Council the use of a Greek force to protect the Christian populations, especially the Armenians, and on April 7 it was announced from Athens that the allied Ministers, acting through the Supreme Military Council, had authorized Greek troops to advance in anticipation of an attack by Mustapha Kemal. The Greeks at this time occupied a strategic position east of the Smyrna section to await developments. In Thrace, meanwhile, the Turkish commander had denounced the armistice, defied both Constantinople and the Allies, and proposed to establish a new Turkish Government in Adrianople.

### SITUATION IN ARMENIA

The situation in Armenia was depicted as deplorable by Archbishop Kholn, an Armenian from Erivan, who arrived in London toward the end of March to lay



his country's plea before the allied authorities. He declared that Tatars shortly before his departure had massacred 17,000 Armenians within the boundaries of the new Armenian State at the instigation of the Young Turk agitators in the Azerbaidjan Government. Three thousand persons were being herded in Tatar villages, and portions of the Armenian frontier were being held by Tatar forces, the Archbishop said. In December, 1919, he charged, 14,000 Armenians at Akoulis, in Azerbaidjan, had been murdered on the pretext that Tatars had been killed in Armenian territory. He attributed many of the recent massacres to the fact that the frontiers of the Caucasus republics had not been defined by the Peace Conference.

A report on a resolution introduced in September, 1916, was presented in the United States Senate by a sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 24. This report recommended that the American Government should provide arms and ammunition for an Armenian army sufficiently large to police the country and protect its people against the Turks and Kurds, but disapproved of authorizing the President of the United States to use the military and naval forces to preserve order in Armenia until that country's status had been fixed by the Turkish treaty.

#### PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE

The whole Turkish problem and the drafting of the treaty with Turkey presented such difficulties to the allied Ministers that only tentative decisions could be reached. A list of these decisions was transmitted to President Wilson in March through French diplomatic channels, with a request that he outline his views of these decisions. The President's reply was made public on March 30. Its essential feature was the view that the Turkish Government should be expelled from Constantinople and Europe, an opinion at direct variance with the tentative decision reached by the allied Governments.

The President took the position that there was no valid reason for fearing the outbreak of a Holy War, in view of the

fact that Moslems had not only witnessed the defeat of Turkish power without protest, but had even materially assisted in this defeat. Russian representation on the international council to administer Constantinople and the straits was approved. The note suggested that the future of Syria, Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia and the former Turkish islands be settled by the great powers, in whose hands these territories should be provisionally placed by Turkey. A solution of the Armenian question which would give the new State "easy and unincumbered access to the Black Sea" was recommended, and the hope was expressed that this would be secured by the granting of the port of Trebizond to Armenia.

The President approved the giving of Eastern Thrace to Greece, but declared that the cities of Adrianople and Kirk Kilisse in Northern Thrace, with surrounding territory, belonged to Bulgaria on ethnical and historical grounds, especially because of the great losses of Bulgarian population and territory to Jugoslavia in the formation of a strategic frontier. On Smyrna the President declined to pronounce for lack of information.

President Wilson's note came as a shock to all Turkish parties, as well as to the Greeks. Considerable uneasiness was expressed in Constantinople as to the effect it would have in Asiatic Turkey, where some 500 American relief workers were cut off. The Greeks, on their part, were much displeased at the President's unwillingness to approve their Smyrna claims and on his insistence that Adrianople be given to the Bulgarians. Up to the time when these pages went to press no reply to the President's note had been received from the allied Governments.

#### THE LEAGUE'S REFUSAL

Two important decisions were made known at a public session of the Executive Council of the League of Nations in Paris on April 11. Regarding the assumption of guardianship over racial minorities in Asia Minor the League had decided that it could accept such a duty, but that it could not commit itself as to ways and means until the Turkish



GREEK TROOPS ARE HOLDING THE REGION AROUND SMYRNA AND ITALIAN FORCES OCCUPY THE REGION NORTH OF THE GULF OF ADALIA. THE FRENCH SPHERE IN SYRIA IS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF ALEXANDRETTE BAY, AND THE BRITISH HOLD PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA

treaty had been fully drafted. As to the mandate for Armenia, however, the League declared itself unable to accept this, because it lacked the machinery for administering such a charge. The decision on Armenia, which was read by Herbert Fisher, the British Minister of Education, began by saying that on March 12 the Supreme Council had asked the League if it would accept the protection of the future independent State of Armenia. Here is the text of the Council's reply:

The Council of the League is of opinion that the best means to an end on all hands admitted to be desirable would be the acceptance of a mandate for Armenia by a civilized State under the League of Nations. Such a solution would, it is understood, be welcome to the Armenians, would offer the best earnest of efficient and prosperous administration, and would be in conformity with arrangements which have recently been planned under the League of Nations in other parts of Asia in which political conditions are not entirely dissimilar.

It may be asked, however, whether any State is likely to accept such a responsibility. The Council of the League is of

the opinion that the answer to this question will depend partly on the military measures which may be devised to liberate the territory and to protect the frontiers of the new State, and partly upon finance. \* \* \*

The new State will need credits to tide it over the first years of its existence, and credits imply financial guarantees. The Council of the League is prepared to submit to the Assembly of the League that its constituent members should consider provisions of collective guarantees.

Meanwhile, in view of the fact that the Assembly will not meet until Autumn, the Council of the League is entering into communication with the Supreme Council with a view to seeing what provisional financial arrangements can be made to facilitate that solution of the problem which commends itself to the general sense of the Council of the League as being likely to lead to the most satisfactory result.

With regard to the protection of racial minorities in Turkey the Council showed itself disposed to do what it could for their benefit. The decision on this point was read by Ambassador Gaiffier d'Hestroy for Belgium. It said in part:

The Council at once appreciated the



importance of the problem for which it was asked to find a solution. The fate of 2,000,000 non-Mussulmans was at stake.

The Council had unanimously decided that its mission and the expectations of the civilized world require it to accede to this request. It considers that it would be carrying out the great task for which it was constituted by contributing in every possible way to prevent the repetition of the abominable crimes which have so often been committed in the territory of the Ottoman Empire and thus prevent the recurrence of the war which these massacres may bring about.

It believes, however, that it may find itself confronted with responsibilities of which it is unable to measure the scope.

It could not find a practical solution until the clauses of the peace treaty to be concluded with Turkey have been definitely fixed. Therefore the Council of the League of Nations has decided to inform the Supreme Council of its keen sympathy with the recommendations it has submitted and to inform them that it is ready to enter into communication with them with a view to determining what measures are necessary to guarantee the execution of the clauses for the protection of minorities.

Meanwhile Turkey's fate was expected to be decided definitely at a session of the Supreme Council to be held at San Remo on April 19.

## General Harbord's Report on Armenia

### Mandate Question—Both Sides

PRESIDENT WILSON on April 3, 1920, sent to the Senate the report made to him in the Fall of 1919 by the Mission to Armenia, headed by Major Gen. James G. Harbord. This mission had been sent to gain information as to whether it would be advisable for the United States to accept a mandate for Armenia. Following his instructions strictly, General Harbord confined himself to setting forth the facts and conclusions reached after six weeks' travel and study of conditions in Armenia, Turkey, Anatolia, Roumelia and Transcaucasia. The report makes no attempt to recommend or to discountenance the undertaking of such a mandate by the United States, but gives estimates of how much time would be required to restore order and to set up a stable régime in Armenia, as well as of the cost in men and money of such a venture.

Arguments both for and against the acceptance of such a mandate are separately marshaled, and conditions considered indispensable for success in case the decision were favorable are set forth in full detail. Among these are complete control by the mandatary of the financial and diplomatic arrangements of Turkey, including guarantees from the powers

that this control shall be absolute, and that the Turks should be expelled from Europe. This conclusion is the one adopted by President Wilson in his recent note to the Allies on the Turkish question.

The report was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. It consisted of thirteen bound volumes, one devoted to the report and the others to findings of experts who accompanied General Harbord.

### TEXT OF REPORT

We would again point out that if America accepts a mandate for the region visited, it will undoubtedly do so from a strong sense of international duty and at the unanimous desire, so expressed at least, of its colleagues of the League of Nations. Accepting this difficult task without first securing the assurance of conditions would be fatal to success. The United States should make its own conditions as a preliminary to consideration of the subject—certainly before and not after acceptance, as there are a multitude of interests that could conflict with what any American would consider the proper administration of the country.

Every possible precaution against international complications should be taken in advance. In our opinion there should be specific pledges in terms of formal agreements with France and England and definite approval from Germany and Rus-

sia of the dispositions made of Turkey and Transcaucasia and a pledge to respect them.

Of particular importance are the following:

Absolute control of the foreign relations of the Turkish Empire, no Ambassador, envoy, Minister, or diplomatic agent to be accredited to Turkey and the latter to send none abroad.

Concessions involving exclusive privileges to be subject to review if shown contrary to the best interests of the State.

Concessions undesirable from the standpoint of a mandatary, upon which work has not been started, to be canceled. Compensation to be allowed to holders when necessary.

The system by which specified revenues are assigned for particular purposes to be discarded; all revenues to be controlled by the Treasury, and all creditors to look to the Treasury as the source of payment.

Foreign control of Turkish financial machinery to cease—meaning the dissolution of the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt, reserving the right to retain some individual members of the council as advisers because of their familiarity with Ottoman finances.

All foreign obligations of the Empire to be unified and refunded.

Those countries receiving territory of the Turkish Empire, that is Syria and Mesopotamia, to assume their reasonable share of the paper currency, of the foreign obligations, and of obligations for possible reparations payments.

Abrogation, on due notice, of existing commercial treaties with Turkey.

All foreign Governments and troops to vacate territorial limits of mandate at dates to be fixed by the mandatory power.

Consent to many of these measures would not easily be obtained. Many nations now have some sort of financial control within the Ottoman Empire and would not see it taken away without protest.

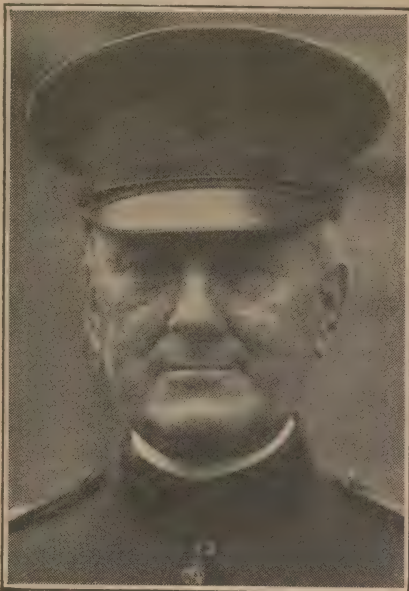
It needs no argument, however, to show that the United States could not submit to having her financial policies controlled from foreign capitals. The refunding of the debt, possibly with a reduction of the capital amounts, would raise a storm of protest, but it should be insisted upon. Otherwise American administration would be embarrassed and run the risk of being discredited.

The mission has not felt that it is expected to submit a recommendation as to the United States accepting a mandate in the Near East. It, therefore, simply submits the following summary of reasons for and against such action, based on information obtainable during six weeks' constant contact with the people of the region:

## REASONS FOR

1. As one of the chief contributors to the formation of a League of Nations the United States is morally bound to accept the obligation and responsibilities of a mandatary.

2. The insurance of world peace at the world's crossways, the focus of war in-



MAJOR GEN. JAMES G. HARBORD  
*Head of mission to the Near East and former  
Chief of Staff under General Pershing*

fection since the beginning of history. Better millions for a mandate than billions for future wars.

3. The Near East presents the greatest humanitarian opportunity of the age, a duty for which the United States is better fitted than any other, as witness Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Hawaii, Panama and our altruistic policy of developing peoples rather than material resources alone.

4. America is practically the unanimous choice and fervent hope of all the peoples involved.

5. America is already spending millions to save starving people in Turkey and Transcaucasia, and could do this with much more efficiency if in control. Whoever becomes mandatary for these regions we shall still be expected to finance their relief and will probably eventually furnish the capital for material development.

6. America is the only hope of the Armenians. They consider but one other



nation, Great Britain, which they fear would sacrifice their interests to Moslem public opinion as long as she controls hundreds of millions of that faith. Others fear Britain's imperialistic policy and habit of staying where she hoists her flag. For a mandatory, America is not only the first choice of all the people of the Near East, but of each of the great powers after itself. American power is adequate; its record clean, its motives above suspicion.

7. The mandatory would be self-supporting after an initial period of not to exceed five years. Building railroads would offer opportunities to our capital. There would be great trade advantages not only in the mandatory region but in the proximity to Russia, Rumania, &c. America would clean this hotbed of disease and filth as in Cuba and Panama.

8. Intervention would be a liberal education for our people in world politics, give outlet to a vast amount of spirit and energy, and would furnish a shining example.

9. It would stop further massacres of Armenians and other Christians, give justice to Turks, Kurds, Greeks and other peoples.

10. It would increase the strength and prestige of the United States abroad and inspire interest at home in the regeneration of the Far East.

11. America has strong sentimental interests in the region of our missions and colleges.

12. If the United States does not take responsibility in this region it is likely that international jealousies will result in a continuance of the unspeakable misrule of the Turk.

And the Lord said unto Cain: Where is Abel, thy brother? And he said, I know not; am I my brother's keeper?

## REASONS AGAINST

1. The United States has prior and nearer foreign obligations and ample responsibilities with domestic problems growing out of the war.

2. This region has been a battleground of militarism and imperialism for centuries. There is every likelihood that ambitious nations will still manoeuvre for its control. It would weaken our position relative to the Monroe Doctrine and probably eventually involve us with a reconstituted Russia. The taking of a mandate in this region would bring the United States into the politics of the Old World, contrary to our traditional policy of keeping free of affairs in the Eastern Hemisphere.

3. Humanitarianism should begin at home. There are a sufficient number of difficult situations which call for our action within the well-recognized spheres of American influence.

4. The United States has in no way contributed to and is not responsible for the conditions, political, social or economic, that prevail in this region. It will be entirely consistent to decline the invitation.

5. American philanthropy and charity are worldwide. Such a policy would commit us to a policy of meddling or draw upon our philanthropy to the point of exhaustion.

6. Other powers, particularly Great Britain and Russia, have shown continued interest in the welfare of Armenia. Great Britain is fitted by experience and government, has great resources in money and trained personnel, and though she might not be as sympathetic to Armenian aspirations, her rule would guarantee security and justice. The United States is not capable of sustaining a continuity of foreign policy. One Congress cannot bind another. Even treaties can be nullified by cutting off appropriations. Non-partisanship is difficult to obtain in our Government.

7. Our country would be put to great expense, involving probably an increase of the army and navy. Large numbers of Americans would serve in a country of loathsome and dangerous diseases. It is questionable if railroads could for many years pay interest on investments in their very difficult construction. Capital for railroads would not go there except on Government guarantees. The effort and money spent would get us more trade in nearer lands than we can hope for in Russia and Rumania. Proximity and competition would increase the possibility of our becoming involved in conflict with the policies and ambitions of States which, now our friends, would be made our rivals.

8. Our spirit and energy can find scope in domestic enterprises or in lands south and west of ours. Intervention in the Near East would rob us of the strategic advantage of the Atlantic which rolls between us and probable foes. Our reputation for fair dealing might be impaired.

9. Peace and justice would be equally assured under any other of the great powers.

10. It would weaken and dissipate our strength, which should be reserved for future responsibilities on the American continent and in the Far East. Our line of communication to Constantinople would be at the mercy of other naval powers and especially of Great Britain, with Gibraltar and Malta, &c., on the route.

11. These institutions have been respected even by the Turks throughout the war and the massacres, and sympathy and respect would be shown by any other mandatory.

12. The Peace Conference has definitely informed the Turkish Government that it may expect to go under a mandate. It is not conceivable that the League of

Nations would permit further uncontrolled rule by that thoroughly discredited Government.

13. The first duty of America is to its own people and its nearer neighbors. Our country would be involved in this adventure for at least a generation, and in counting the cost Congress must be prepared to advance such sums, less such amounts as the Turkish and Transcaucasian revenues could afford, for the first five years, as follows: First year, \$275,000,000; second year, \$174,000,000; third year, \$123,750,000; fourth year, \$96,750,000; fifth year, \$85,750,000. Grand total, \$756,014,000. \* \* \*

### MILITARY PROBLEM INVOLVED

Estimates of the number of mandatory troops vary greatly from 23,000 to 200,000. Conditions change so rapidly that plans made today for the use of troops might be obsolete in six months. Uncertainty as to the time the mandate will be tendered and accepted makes estimates merely approximate. Under conditions as they exist today the undersigned believes that a force of two American divisions with several hundred extra officers, or a total force of 59,000, would be ample.

Such force should be specially organized; one airplane squadron; a minimum of artillery, not to exceed one regiment of 75's motorized, a minimum of the special services; four times the usual number of sanitary troops, four regiments of cavalry with minor changes in organization, at the discretion of the senior general officer on duty with the mandatory Government. This force could be substantially reduced at the end of two years and by 50 per cent. at the end of the third year. After that some further reductions could be slowly effected, but the irreducible minimum would be reported at about the strength of one division.

The annual cost for the force of the army above stated would be, at the maximum, for the first year \$88,500,000, at the end of two years perhaps \$59,000,000, at the end of three years, \$44,250,000,

with, therefore, a continuing appropriation of that sum less such amount as local revenues could afford, probably a very substantial fraction of the cost. To offset our expenditures there would be available at least a part of the naval and military budget hitherto used for the support of the disbanded armies in the region. In Turkey, before the war, this totaled about \$61,000,000 annually for the army, including \$5,000,000 for the navy.

The naval establishment should consist of a station ship for the capital and probably one each for Smyrna, Messina, Batum and Baku to meet local needs in quick transportation of troops. A troopship of light draft, capable of carrying a complete regiment, should be permanently on station at the capital. Four to six destroyers would be needed for communication and moral effect. Collier, repair and hospital service afloat should be in support. Old ships of obsolete type would probably answer for all except the station ship at the capital and the destroyers. Some ships of the Turkish Navy, of which there are over thirty, could doubtless be used with American crews, soon to be replaced by natives. The naval establishment might not entail any additional Federal appropriations. Ships and personnel could probably be drawn from existing establishments; the only additional expense would probably be the difference in cost of maintenance in Near Eastern and home waters.

A power which should undertake a mandate for Armenia and Transcaucasia without control of the contiguous territory of Asia Minor, Anatolia and of Constantinople, with its hinterland of Roumelia, would undertake it under most unfavorable and trying conditions, so difficult as to make the cost almost prohibitive, the maintenance of law and order and the security of life and property uncertain, and ultimate success extremely doubtful. With the Turkish Empire still freely controlling Constantinople such a power would be practically emasculated as far as real power is concerned.





# Life in CONSTANTINOPLE Today



*The decision of the Council of Premiers to allow the Sultan to remain in Constantinople, on condition that the Turkish massacres of Armenians should cease, and the energetic action taken in occupying Constantinople by an interallied force following confirmation of the Marash outrages, lend a special interest to the following vivid article by the French publicist, Maurice Prax, which was published in the March issue of Lectures pour Tous, and which is here translated in part for CURRENT HISTORY:*

THE foreigner who has lived in Constantinople, if he is frank, must speak first of Pera, the European city. For it is in Pera that he lives, amuses himself, meets other foreigners of both sexes. Stamboul, the Turkish city, which is the only Constantinople, which is the Orient, which is Turkey, which is mystery, is for the foreigner only an object of curiosity, which he visits guidebook in hand. What stranger would consent to live in Stamboul, where there is not one hotel, where there are no gypsy restaurants, where there is not even a cinema?

Pera is the Constantinople of business and pleasure, of all races, of all countries, of all religions. It is neither beautiful nor clean. One large street, which might be called the spinal column of the city, dominates the rest; like ribs on either side, run malodorous little streets, which end no one knows where.

Pera is certainly not a pretty town. But it is the city of all cities, the cross-ways of all nationalities, the bazaar of all capitals. One may stand before the Tokatlian restaurant and see twenty

people pass, and one may be sure that those twenty people are of different nationalities, races and religions. All these conflicting languages and dialects, all these intermingling races, produce the effect of a perpetual carnival.

When the Allies entered Constantinople, all Governmental policy had disappeared. There was not even a political party, the only really organized party, Union and Progress, having disappeared like magic over night. Since then, the situation has not changed, for there is still no political party, still no politics. Only the party of Union and Progress has again come to the front.

## "UNION AND PROGRESS"

What Union and Progress represents is still rather vaguely known. They say that even our diplomats have not yet found out. It was originally an anonymous society whose object it was to exploit Turkey. By belonging to Union and Progress one became a stockholder and received dividends on the country. Or one obtained well-remunerated sinecures, became a State contractor, gained

control of war markets. Or else one acquired the right to swindle others, to smuggle, to make a fortune illegitimately. If one did not belong to the "society," one remained in the category of those exploited, was pillaged, ransomed, martyred and in many cases slain.

In these circumstances the Turks preferred to be stockholders and torturers rather than to belong to the exploited and tortured. Hence Union and Progress became a great political party, and hence Enver, Talaat and Djemal were able, during four years of war, to gain complete possession of Turkey. That is why Union and Progress still exists, in spite of two or three hangings and of all the eloquent speeches delivered in Paris. Must we conclude from this that the Turks are to be hated and are and will remain our enemies? Certainly not. But we must know them, nevertheless, before we like them.

Among the Turks we have strong friends. They are numerous, but they are weak, because we do not support them, and even often do not know them. And they are weak also because they are fatalistic.

I have known, I think, all the Governmental officials of Turkey, all those who remained in Constantinople to receive the Allies. I have known a tottering, senile old Grand Vizier. I have known Ministers who were amiable, obliging and weak. I ask forgiveness if I cannot recall their faces, their words, and sometimes even their names. They were to me like shadows. I remember only the fine-looking bronze servants in the Ministerial palaces, who brought me, with furtive gaze and deep bows, the little cup of fragrant Turkish coffee.

And yet I saw, one day, in Stamboul, some real and aggressive statesmen. They were strolling quietly in a pretty garden, surrounded by wonderful scenery. They might have been able to tell me very interesting things, but they were prisoners, and sentries who knew only this one word, cried out "Yok! Yok!" which meant that no one could gain access to those within. Some of the highest dignitaries of Union and Progress were imprisoned there. They were to be tried without delay, and to

be hanged, without exception, on the little square in front of the War Ministry reserved for the execution of prisoners of note. But if the Turks showed them clemency, the Allies showed them even



MUSTAPHA KEMAL

*Leader of the Turkish Nationalist movement*

(Photo International)

more. Yavash! Yavash! These high personages have not yet been hanged.

#### AHMED RIZA

One of the most notable figures of the whole world, a year ago, was undoubtedly Ahmed Riza, President of the Senate. He is a handsome old man, tall and thin, with an expressive face and wearing a carefully clipped white beard. Threatened with arrest under the abject rule of Abdul Hamid for treasonable utterances, he fled to Paris, where he remained for nineteen years. A personal friend of M. Clemenceau, his activities in Constantinople were much counted on. It was thought that he would be able to form a party devoted to a campaign of renovation, reparation and public safety. Why did he fail? Mystery—and "Union



and Progress!" He is, at all events, an amiable, intelligent man. How many times, in the fairy-like palace which he occupies as President of the Senate, and which is laved by the multicolored waters of the Bosphorus, have I heard him speak of France. \* \* \*

### THE CROWN PRINCE

Another figure which attracts attention in Turkey today is that of the Crown Prince. With his light, almost blonde hair, his delicate mustache, Prince Abdul-Medjid greatly resembles a European. He gave me a very clear analysis of his political opinions. In 1914, he said, he had made every possible effort to prevent Turkey from throwing herself into the abyss of war. But the reigning Sultan, Mehmed Reched, was a weak and worthless kind of ruler, who spent all his time drinking the national liquors. So Enver became supreme, and Enver wished literally to "annihilate England." As for France, she was considered as crushed in advance.

I remember a few sad words Prince Abdul-Medjid said to me, notably the following:

All our misfortunes date from the day when a little army Lieutenant, Enver, took the train for Berlin, where he had just been appointed as an assistant to the military attaché. This little Lieutenant soon returned to Turkey impregnated and poisoned with Teutonic ideas. \* \* \* How could we ever have entered this war? How could we have allowed ourselves to be influenced by barely a dozen scoundrelly men? What a misfortune! What a misfortune!

### MUSTAPHA KEMAL

I also knew a dried-up, queer little man, who was very interesting. He was my neighbor, at the Pera Palace Hotel. His face was clear-cut, hard and energetic, his eyes were like steel, his cheekbones high and projecting, he wore a drooping mustache almost red in hue. When I was tired of bargaining for carpets I would go and interview this strange little man. He had been a commander under Falkenhayn. "Falken-

hayn amounts to nothing," he said to me. He had seen Ludendorff at work. "Ludendorff is a personality," he declared. To this he added:

I loathe the Germans. They wished to treat us Turks like slaves. They wanted to teach us the science of war. We found it possible to teach them courage. Their officers, members of German missions, living continuously in Constantinople, crowded all the clubs and gambling houses, while our soldiers were being killed at Gallipoli or in Mesopotamia.

We were betrayed by the Unionists; Enver, Talaat, Djemal and all their accomplices deserve death. Why do the Allies delay to have these rascals hung? \* \* \* The alliance with Germany was an act of madness. We learned the true character of the Germans during the war. All of us Turks have felt that we detest the German race, and that we cannot ally ourselves with it.

But Turkey has now other aims than to make war. It must have a small army, composed of a few thousand men. And it must have gendarmes.

The strange, dried-up little man, who spoke in such a crisp and mordant way, left the Pera Palace Hotel one day. He was General Mustapha Kemal, who went to Anatolia to raise an insurgent army against the Allies. Draw your own conclusions.

I have spoken of Pera, the Constantinople of foreigners. Must I pass the bridge and enter Stamboul, the Constantinople of the Turks? Has not everything been said? It is the city of St. Sophia, a miracle of light, of bold and picturesque grace. It is the city of the vast and swarming bazaar, as richly colored as a Persian tale; it is the city of little wooden houses and little grated windows behind which the mystery of Islam has been concealed for many centuries. It is the city of minarets, of prayers, of pigeons, of bearded old men, furtive, imprisoned women, of little flower-grown cemeteries which await the living at the corner of almost every narrow street. One can say nothing more of Stamboul, seen from the Golden Horn, nor of the lovely shores of the Bosphorus: all words have been employed to evoke those marvels.

# The Problem of Thrace

By Dr. J. F. SCHELTEMA

WHEN the World War was in its first year, and old plans for the partition of Turkey were being revised with a view to the new grouping of the European Powers, the question "What will the Allies do with Thrace?" began to trouble thoughtful observers in both hemispheres, and in the intervening years it has steadily gained in significance.

From the pre-classic period to our day the name Thrace has at different times, to suit different purposes, been applied to areas of widely different extent. Bounded by the Haemus Mountains (Balkan Range), the Rhodope Mountains, the Aegean, the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) and the Euxine (Black Sea), the Roman Province of Thracia, south of Moesia Inferior, corresponded, roughly speaking, with the Bulgarian territory formerly known as Eastern Rumelia and the Turkish vilayets of Adrianople and Constantinople. [See map Page 340.] This region fell to Lysimachus after the death of Alexander the Great, and gave much trouble to that restless military chief. Under Vespasian's rule it lost the last vestige of autonomy.

When the Eastern Roman Empire slackened its grip, Thrace suffered successively from the inroads of the Goths, the Huns and the Bulgars. Then the Turks arrived on the scene, and Murad I, continuing the conquests of his father Orchan, who, in 1358, had gained a foothold on European soil at Gallipoli, established, in 1361, his Court at Adrianople. Passing again under Asiatic control, Thrace became a piece of the crazy-quilt known as the Ottoman Empire.

Thenceforward a dependency of the House of Othman, Thrace shared in its fortunes, in its rise as now in its decline. In the long period of manoeuvring for place against the demise of the "sick man" at Stambul, it was on Russia's cards, played out in the Treaty of San Stefano, 1878, but trumped at the Congress of Berlin, to weaken Turkish authority in Thrace, as in Macedonia and Albania, and so to bring about a change

in the Balkan equilibrium calculated to profit Bulgaria to the prejudice of Austria and incidentally of Greece. The Balkan Entente, which followed the Turkish revolution of 1908, resulted in agreements which, in 1912, provided for a division of Northern Macedonia between Bulgaria and Serbia, of Southern Macedonia between Bulgaria and Greece, with the fate of Saloniki reserved for later negotiations, while Montenegro was to be rewarded with a slice of the sanjak of Novi Bazar.

Montenegro commenced hostilities on Oct. 8 and Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia on Oct. 18, 1912. Details of the Bulgarian campaign in Thrace do not belong here; neither does an account of the co-ordinate exploits of the Greek armies in Macedonia and Epirus, or of the new war waged by the victors hotly at variance over the spoils according to their respective interpretations of the agreements just referred to. Enough to remember that the Turks, profiting by the occasion, reoccupied Adrianople, and that the Peace of Bucharest, Aug. 10, 1913, allowed Greece to advance her northeastern boundary to the mouth of the Mesta, far beyond Saloniki, while Bulgaria, badly beaten, had also to put up with a demarkation line of her Serbian frontier which was determined by the watershed between the Vardar and the Struma, with the cession to Rumania of a vast tract of land on the right bank of the Danube and the dismantling of the strongholds of Rustchuk and Chumla.

To make up for those losses, Bulgaria was promised by the Allies, as the price of her neutrality in 1914, the whole of Eastern Thrace down to the Enos-Midia line and a favorable rectification of her western border as defined by the Treaty of Bucharest. After a long period of hesitation and of dickerings impartially with London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburg and Constantinople, King Ferdinand thought that he could do better by throwing in his lot with the Central Powers and the Porte.

Ferdinand's mistake has prepared a



fine opportunity for the ultra-Hellenistic patriots who, raising their banner in the cause of *Grecia Irredenta*, demand the annexation of Thrace to Greece. The Greeks at the same time are trying to get Macedonia and Epirus, besides a slice of Asia Minor larger than the old Pontian Empire. The abdication of King Constantine and the entry of Greece into the war on the allied side have served as a further basis for these claims. Though the officially directed press at Athens expands on the theme that Turkey should be left sufficiently intact to meet the requirements of a stable and enduring peace, the Greeks are busy with armed activity which they endeavor to screen.

The unredeemed Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, estimated by some to number more than 2,000,000, are classified by M. Stephanopoli, editor of the *Messenger d'Athènes*, as belonging to four principal groups: Those of Thrace; those of Constantinople, its straits and the connecting stretch along the Sea of Marmora; those of the west coast of Asia Minor; and those of the south coast of the Black Sea. The two latter include Greek settlements in the interior, which, though not always of Hellenic speech, have preserved their ancestral customs, manners and traditions.

Confining ourselves to Thrace, and taking it in its most restricted sense as consisting of the vilayets of Adrianople and Constantinople, the Ottoman census of 1910 gave it 676,000 inhabitants of Greek extraction, against 113,500 Bulgars. The latest Greek information, dated 1919, makes these numbers respectively 730,822 and 112,174, adding that there are 957,425 Turks in a total population of 2,200,646. Bulgaria claims the Thracian Moslems of the Pirin and Rhodope Mountains, who speak a Bulgarian dialect and are known under the name of Pomaks. She also derives another and more valid argument in support of her rights to the disputed region from its geographical configuration and her own economic needs.

Thrace being the buffer between the European domains of the Othmanlies and the hordes which, crossing the Danube, had harassed the Byzantine Empire,

Murad I., Mohammed the Conqueror, and Solymán the Magnificent fortified Adrianople with the avowed object of keeping out the Bulgars, blocking their path to the south. Deprived for centuries of a door on the Aegean, Bulgaria made during the Balkan wars strong attempts to secure at least Dedeagatch and Kavala, the seaport of Strumnitza and other districts to the west, which, with the Maritza valley, she considers geographically her own. Countenanced and thwarted in turn, according to the changeable currents of Balkan politics, her title to Kavala was twice acknowledged, even by Greece, her bitterest enemy, which now wants the whole of Eastern with Western Thrace, Macedonia and Epirus up to Argorikastro and Goritza in Albania—and as much more as she can get.

"In Thrace," writes M. Constantine Stephanove, delegate of the Macedonian Central Committee of the United States to the Peace Conference (the New Europe, July 31, 1919), "as well as in Macedonia, Hellenization, no matter how intense its efforts, was unable to assimilate the Slavs and Bulgars settled there." If anywhere it is in those regions that abstract concepts of the terms "nation" and "nationality" are absolutely misleading. Reared on the substructure of an aboriginal Thracian population, with a Slavo-Grecian admixture, and fortified with Armenian and Syrian elements, owing to a wave of immigration fostered by the Byzantine Emperors,\* we find an Ottoman fabric composed of other incongruous ingredients. By and for the occupants of this ethnically and linguistically inharmonious edifice, a battle of religious hatreds is raging no less fierce than that of nationalistic differences.

Bulgaria at present is regarded as a negligible quantity, because King Ferdinand made the mistake of betting on the wrong horse. Nevertheless, Greece has not yet reached the Maritza, although a

\*In the tenth century alone some 200,000 Armenians settled at the imperial command in the neighborhood of Philippopoli and the old stock of a very mixed population was further diversified with colonists from the Sredna Gora and other parts. Cf. Jovan Cvijic, "La Péninsule Balkanique, Géographie Humaine."

resolution adopted by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate—which proposed that all Thracian territory surrendered to the Allies by Turkey and Bulgaria should be awarded to her, provided an outlet on the Aegean Sea were given to Bulgaria—was echoed in the provisional Turkish settlement adopted by the Peace Conference. Another arrangement recently propounded, which assumes the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, at any rate from what remained to them of that continent west of the Chatalja line, favors the foundation of an autonomous Thracian State.

As time goes on it seems increasingly

hard to find a generally acceptable answer to the Thracian question without sowing the seeds of new broils. While the allied Premiers deliberate, however, Premier Venizelos offers the military services of Greece to force the solution of a problem of wider scope in which the lesser issue is involved. He proposes to coerce the Turks, both in Asia and in Europe, to improve their tractability and assure their concurrence in whatever decisions may be proclaimed. Such an offer presumes payment, and the grant of Thrace to its furthest eastern limit would set a regenerated Hellas far on the road to a redeemed Byzantium.

## Bulgaria's New Frontiers

### Loss of Aegean Coast

THE Treaty of Neuilly changes Bulgaria's boundaries for the ninth time in less than half a century. By that treaty the Peasant Kingdom is deprived of its Aegean littoral, which goes to Greece; it still has commercial access to the Mediterranean, under certain conditions, through Dedeagatch, but that port has only a poor roadstead where all goods have to be landed or embarked in lighters.

The shaded areas on the accompanying map show the portions of territory lost by Bulgaria. The three strips on the west, which are assigned to Serbia, formed part of Bulgaria even under the Turkish administration, and are now taken from her for strategic rather than ethnological reasons. The same may be said of Strumnitza (now also allotted to Serbia), which brought the Bulgarian frontier uncomfortably near the railway running north from Saloniki.

The territories lost in the south had been predominantly Greek or Turkish; the proportion of Bulgarians in this area was never considerable, even after the departure of many coast-dwelling Greeks from 1913 on. To the northwest of Adrianople, a small strip of territory yielded by Turkey in 1915 is retained by Bulgaria; the remainder of her 1915 acquisitions are again lost.

The history of Bulgarian boundaries since the year 1878 was reviewed in *The London Times* on March 5; following is a summary of that article:

After the "Bulgarian atrocities" of May, 1876, which brought the effects of Turkish misrule strongly before Western Europe, a conference of Ambassadors formulated a plan for the autonomy of a Bulgaria (reaching from Nish to Burgas and from Kastoria to Tulcha, at the mouth of the Danube), which was a great deal larger than the old Turkish Province of Bulgaria. After the Russians defeated Turkey in 1878, an even larger Bulgaria was provided for by the Treaty of San Stefano (March 3, 1878), which embraced almost all Macedonia except Saloniki, and took in Lule Burgas in Thrace. This "San Stefano line" has represented a supreme Bulgarian ambition ever since.

By the Treaty of Berlin (ratified on Aug. 4, 1878) Bulgaria was confined within narrower limits, and Northern Thrace was made a separate autonomous province under the name of Eastern Rumelia; Aleko Pasha Vogorides was appointed Vali by the Sublime Porte on May 30, 1878. By a coup d'état in Philippopolis, the capital of the province, union with Bulgaria was proclaimed on Sept. 18, 1885.





side, promised to induce the Turks to modify the Treaty of Pera in favor of Bulgaria by a substantial cession of all Turkish territory west of the Maritza River, together with a small strip along the east bank. The main thought of Germany in making this offer was the possibility of thus securing direct communication with Turkey overland during the continuance of the war. Czar Nicholas

consented to abandon Bulgaria's neutrality on these terms, and entered the war on Oct. 14, 1915. The armistice sued for by Bulgaria was obtained on Sept. 29, 1918. Czar Nicholas was deposed on Oct. 4, 1918, and the Peasant Kingdom paid the price of its former ruler's mistake by the surrender of its Aegean coast lands, as dictated by the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly on Sept. 27, 1919.

## Palestine and the Zionist Project

### Survey of Present Conditions

THE arrangements under which the proposed Zionist State in Palestine is to be created under a British mandate, its boundaries reconciled with both French and Arab territorial claims, and its political position established, have not yet been completed, and the status quo is being maintained under a provisional British administration. A brief survey of the present status of the Zionist project and of the situation in Palestine cannot fail to be of interest.

It is not on the ground of representing a majority of the whole population of Palestine that the European and Asiatic Jews ask for Palestine as the home of the future Jewish Nation. Of the 600,000 or 700,000 inhabitants of the Promised Land only about 10 per cent. now are Jews. A smaller number are Christians and the rest are Moslems. About one-fourth of the Jews live in agricultural settlements or colonies founded in the last forty years; the remainder live in the towns and constitute either a majority or the largest single element in Jerusalem, Tiberias and Safed. A considerable number speak Arabic. Within recent years there has come a considerable influx of Jews from the Yemen, most of them skilled craftsmen, jewelry workers, masons and the like. A small number of peasant Russians, converted to Judaism in their home land, are also established in Palestine. According to a special correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*, whose articles are freely drawn upon in the following account, there are about a quarter of a million of these Russo-Judaists still in

Russia, mostly on the Volga, and it is expected that many of them will join their co-religionists in Palestine, with whom in the second generation they intermarry.

### THE OLD AND NEW YISHUB

In Palestine itself there are two distinct classes of Jews—those belonging to the old Yishub (settlement) and those of the new Yishub. The first are represented by those Jews who, from the early years of the nineteenth century, have been flowing into Palestine, moved chiefly by religious ideals, and by the first generation of Jewish settlers in the colonies. The former settled in the cities to study and pray, and depended upon public charity to maintain them. The war has broken up this system, and the transference of the headquarters of the Zionist Commission has concentrated attention upon the necessity of substituting productive work for charity, a project feasible, in the minds of the Zionists, when the present economic stagnation is broken by the influx of new Jewish labor and capital. The older settlement consists of small farmers and their families, representing a sober, conservative element of the population.

The new Yishub are of the last generation who settled in town and country—farmers, laborers, artisans, business men, professional men. Many of them have brought with them from abroad ideas of socialism and the creation of an ideal State. Many experiments in co-operative agriculture, co-operative banking and co-operative industry and com-



merce are due to them. They insist on the employment of Jewish rather than Arabic labor, wherever possible, in order to maintain the Jewish standard of labor, which is much higher than that of the Arab.

### EDUCATION IN PALESTINE

The Zionist organization alone is spending \$540,000 a year on education in Palestine. Hebrew is the language of instruction in nearly all the schools. Reformed religious schools and other schools of the three usual grades are maintained, all of which receive no public funds. College and university plans at Haifa and Jerusalem are in the making. The American Zionists for nearly two years have maintained a system of hospital, clinic and nursing schools. There are two Hebrew dailies in Jerusalem, and numerous weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies.

The representative in Palestine of both Palestinian Jewry and of world-Jewry is the Zionist Commission, which is appointed by the Zionist organization. It mediates with the British administration in Palestine as the Zionist executive does with the Home Government in London and with the allied Governments. It is a provincial organization. Its Chairman is Dr. Weissmann, its acting Chairman Mr. Ussishkin, a Russian Zionist. Dr. Eder of London has been a member from the beginning and I. M. Sieff of Manchester is General Secretary.

Of the other elements of the population, the Orthodox Christians have suffered most severely, owing to events in Russia. The Greek Patriarchate is so burdened by debt that it is planning to sell its lands near Jerusalem. Because of sectarian rivalries between the Greek and Roman Catholics, as well as the Protestants, who have developed much missionary activity, an ecclesiastical political assistant, Father Waggett, has been appointed by the administration.

One great source of trouble for Zion comes from the Palestine Moslems. The great majority of these occupy the land. The Moslem landowner is usually an absentee living in the city, who lets his land to a village of peasants for a rental ranging from one-fifth to one-third of

the gross produce. To evade the law of possession after a three years' continuous tenure, the landowner shifts his peasants repeatedly, and he is often not averse to ejecting a whole village. Much of the land is allowed to lie fallow because of lack of cultivation facilities. The Government takes one-tenth of the gross product. The high price of commodities and a better system of taxation have relieved the peasant somewhat, but his status remains substantially the same, while the autocratic attitude of the landed effendi has undergone little change since the disappearance of the Turkish régime. Although many Syrian Christians and some Jews are in Government offices, the Moslem is very influential: he purports to represent the Moslem masses, and to make demands or even threats in their name, and in many cases the British administration yields to him.

Both the British occupation and Zionism were construed by these effendi as a threat against their social and economic eminence. They are especially hostile to the Jews, and have told the ignorant fellahin and townsmen that the Jews are coming to drive them out of their land, to oppress their religion, destroy their holy places, and govern them with a rod of iron. The anti-British agitation was a natural development. During the troubles in Egypt, emissaries were at work in Palestine, and, according to The Manchester Guardian writer, agents from Mustapha Kemal are there now. Rifles and bombs were secreted and stored, and threats were made to murder Dr. Weissmann. Both Arabs and Moslems, however, are becoming more amenable to reason as they see that they themselves will profit by Jewish development of the country, and it is only a question of time when the régime of the effendi will disappear. It will then be for the Jews to strive to understand the Moslem and the Arab psychology, and to prove by concrete achievements that the growth of a national Jewish State is for the good of both.

Neither at the Peace Conference nor since have the Zionists asked that the government of Palestine be handed over to the Jews, who, they well realize, rep-

resent a minority of the population. What they ask is that a mandate should be given to Great Britain to govern Palestine, and that the fundamental principle of that Government should be the re-establishment of Palestine as the Jewish national home, representing 14,000,000 Jewish people now scattered over the world. In this they are in accord with the declared policy of the Allies.

The geographical frontiers for which the Zionists have been asking, and which have received the approval of the British authorities in Palestine after two years' study on the spot, may be summarized as follows:

The western frontier to be the Mediterranean, and the coastline to extend as far to the north as is required by the development and the security of Haifa. On the south the natural limit is the desert which is El Arish, but the political frontier of Egypt actually extends north of El Arish to Rapah. The Zionists ask that an adjustment should be made, if practicable, to bring the political into harmony with the economic frontier, but they agree that no such arrangement can or should be entered into without the free consent of Egypt. On the east the natural frontier is the desert, but the economic consideration runs counter to an important sentimental factor. The Hedjaz Railway lies to the west of the desert, and it was built by Moslem subscriptions. For that reason the Zionists have asked that the eastern frontier should run parallel with the Hedjaz Railway but a little to the west of it as far as Maan, and from Maan should run to Akaba, on the Red Sea. That would give to Palestine most of the land east of the Jordan which belongs properly to her, and make her self-sufficing in meat and corn. A port in the neighborhood of Akaba would give her an outlet on the sea east as well as west, and give her control of a through route through Asia and Europe which in the past rivaled that across the Isthmus of Suez, and which may become once again of considerable economic importance. It is asked that the northern frontier shall include the water which is vital to Palestine for irrigation and electric power. These sources are the headwaters of the Litany and the headwaters of the Jordan, with so much of the snows of Hermon as go to Palestine.

Against the assignment of this frontier to the new Palestine still militate two different sets of agreements concluded between the allied diplomats before General Allenby entered Palestine—the so-called Sykes-Picot pact, and the pact be-

tween Great Britain and the King of the Hedjaz. The first of these divided Palestine into three areas, England to have Haifa and the bay of Acre; France to have most of Galilee and the rest of the country to be placed under an international régime. This compact disregarded the whole question of Jewish nationalism. The agreement with the King of the Hedjaz envisaged Arab rule in some form over all Transjordan (the district lying to the east of the Jordan River). To protect themselves against Arab and Bedouin raiders, to whom the River Jordan has never been an obstacle, the Zionists ask their eastern frontier to be extended to the desert, which is their natural boundary.

The present diplomatic situation is as follows: France is pressing for strict observance of the Sykes-Picot line, and seeks to establish a quasi protectorate over the Arab State. But the Sykes-Picot Treaty is now practically obsolete, Russia no longer being a party to it, and France herself having approved the project of a national Jewish State. The Zionist objection to French control of the Arab State is that it would carry with it control over Transjordan and the Hedjaz Railway from Damascus. The British policy seeks to effect an arrangement mutually satisfactory to both the French and the Arabs, while preserving the interests of the Zionists.

In January of the present year, to conciliate the French, who complained that the British occupation of Syria was undermining their prestige, the British, against the advice of Lord Allenby, withdrew their military forces from Syria and all Transjordan, including Damascus, Deraa, Es Salt, Ammon, and excepting only at one point (opposite Semakh, south of Lake Tiberias) no longer have any armed forces east of the Jordan. Throughout this district the French forces have replaced the British. In the north the British hold a line roughly from Ras-el-Nakura to the north of Lake Tiberias, which cuts off one of the Jewish colonies in Palestine—Metulleh—and puts it under French control. It was around Metulleh that some of the worst of the recent fighting between French and Arabs took place.



# The Agrarian and Jewish Questions in Rumania

By NICHOLAS PETRESCU, PH. D.\*

A NEW order of things has been inaugurated in Rumania since the signing of the armistice. The introduction of agrarian and electoral reforms has thoroughly changed the social, economic, and political aspect of that country. The Rumanian peasants as well as the Rumanian Jews participated for the first time as direct voters in the general elections for the Rumanian Parliament last November.

Of all the problems which have agitated the social and political life of Rumania during the last forty years, the agrarian question and the Jewish question have been the most acute. The foreign press has generally regarded the last as an isolated case, as though there had been no connection whatever between it and the agrarian question. There was, however, an organic interdependence between the two questions. The Jewish question in Rumania was, as will be seen hereafter, merely the consequence of the agrarian question.

## SYSTEM OF LARGE ESTATES

The agrarian question in Rumania arose, as it did in many other European countries, from the mediaeval system of large estates. Before the middle of the nineteenth century this system held in bondage the Rumanian peasants. The land was mostly owned by a few persons, by monasteries, or by the State, only a very little portion being owned by peasants. In 1864, under the reign of and on the initiative of Prince Cuza, an act was passed by which the property of the monasteries was secularized and a portion of the land owned privately was expropriated by the State for the benefit

of the peasants, who thus became proprietors. In 1879 and in 1889 new measures were taken by the Parliament for allotting land to peasants. In spite of these reforms the agrarian question was far from being settled. The properties generally held by peasants (from seven to fifteen acres) were too small to maintain the owners independently in the long run. The growth of population made their maintenance value shrink to nothing. In many cases the small holders were obliged to sell their land and to become again dependent upon the landlord in order to improve their material situation.

All these conditions led to the peasant uprisings of 1907, when the necessity of a radical reform of land tenure made itself felt more than ever. A few half measures were subsequently passed till a national assembly was called to deal with the problem just before the outbreak of the world war. Finally, in 1917, the Rumanian Parliament, assembled at Jassy, voted unanimously for the expropriation of the large estates. According to the new Land act no estates should exceed 500 hectares. The land expropriated by the Government is allotted to the peasants on easy terms payable in annual installments.

## ELECTORAL REFORMS

Besides agrarian reforms, electoral reforms have been passed by the Rumanian Parliament. According to the new electoral law all inhabitants, irrespective of wealth, become direct voters. Before the war the electoral system in Rumania, like that in Prussia, was based upon property. Since the majority of peasants had no property, it followed that they had no right to vote directly. They had only the right to choose the electors who voted for the representatives in Parliament. The so-called third college, which was supposed to represent the peasant class, sent into Parliament gentlemen

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who lived in the cities and who cared little for the affairs of the rural population. For this reason it has aptly been called the "lie college."

We see, then, that the Rumanian peasants, who form the largest quota of population (nearly 80 per cent.), were, before the war, both economically and politically, unemancipated. Under such conditions their social status was inferior to that of any other class. They were practically unable to take a responsible rôle in the affairs of their community, or to resist those who sought to exploit them. In other words, the Rumanian peasant was a sort of grown-up child, unconscious of his social obligations and incapable of defending himself against the vicissitudes of society.

The Government, instead of trying to uplift him by fundamental reforms, preferred to assume the rôle of protector. The truth is that many of the members of the Government were landowners, who regarded the agrarian question from their own point of view. The attitude of the Rumanian Government was, in fact, based upon the same old conception which in former times made the English landlord look after his tenants: paternal protection in so far as it does not interfere with the right of feudal authority and property. It was from the same viewpoint that the Rumanian Government always deemed it a duty to protect the helpless peasantry from the economic supremacy of the Jews.

#### LARGE JEWISH POPULATION

The Jewish question in Rumania arose directly from the state of affairs just described. It was neither race prejudice nor religious intolerance, but simply the helpless situation of the peasants that determined the Rumanian Government to retard the political emancipation of the Jews. The following facts should be remembered in this connection: Rumania had before the war a greater percentage of Jewish population than any other country in the world. The number of Rumanian Jews was conservatively estimated at 400,000, or more than 5 per cent. of the total population of the old kingdom of Rumania (7,500,000). Even if we apply the same comparison to the

Russian Empire, the country with the greatest bulk of Jewish population before the war, we find a smaller proportion than in Rumania. Russia had about 6,000,000 Jews, which means less than 4 per cent. in proportion to her total population of 160,000,000. If we extend the comparison to a country like Belgium, which has the same population as Rumania, we find Rumania's quota seriously large. Belgium has a Jewish population of only 12,000, that is, thirty times less than Rumania.

But another fact more decisive than that of number was the prosperous economic condition of the Rumanian Jews. As a matter of fact, the trade and finances of the country were controlled by Jews. With their traditional gift for business and speculation, the Jews had a very easy field of development in Rumania; for both the rural and urban populations were economically backward or indifferent to the business demands of modern times. It is perhaps one of the most unfortunate characteristics of the average Rumanian to be deeply averse to business. While there were thousands of peasants literally poor, there were no really poor Jews in Rumania before the war. The Jews who emigrated to the United States had left Rumania more for political or personal reasons than for economic reasons. Many of them were disappointed to find the struggle for existence in this country harder than in Rumania.\*

#### ANTI-RUMANIAN AGITATION

Finally, another fact to be taken into account is the hostile attitude of the majority of the Rumanian Jews toward Rumanian institutions. About 40 per cent. of them hailed from foreign countries, especially from Russia and Austria-Hungary. The foreign Jews were wholly unassimilated and did not even care to learn the language of their country of adoption. Some retained their original citizenship as a matter of personal security, and, while engaged in

\*The moral disappointment and the physical discomfort of the Rumanian Jew in New York (east side) has been described by M. E. Ravage, an Americanized Rumanian Jew, in his book, "An American in the Making," New York, 1917.



profitable business in Rumania, conducted abroad a systematic propaganda against the Rumanian State. Encouraged by the clandestine conduct of the foreign element, the indigenous Jews adopted a similar attitude, so that in the end the whole Jewish population in Rumania seemed to be bent on destroying the authority and reputation of the Rumanian State.

One of the most decisive reasons of estrangement between Rumania and the United States before the war was the one-sided propaganda spread in this country by the Rumanian Jews. Unfortunately the Rumanian Government has always refused to contradict or counteract this propaganda, on the ground that the Jewish question was a purely domestic affair. If the Rumanian Government had taken the trouble to present to the international public the real conditions of the Jewish question, many misunderstandings which exist today between the great powers and Rumania would have been eliminated.

#### RUMANIA'S PLEDGES

The strongest argument advanced against Rumania by the foreign press is that she has not lived up to the pledge contained in Article 44 of the Berlin Congress (1878), whereby she is required to extend civil rights to all her inhabitants. As a matter of fact, Rumania accepted the terms of that treaty only under pressure of force. Just as she was obliged by them to renounce the Province of Bessarabia to Russia, she acquiesced in that article against her will and moral conviction. Pressed by the demands of the great powers, the Rumanian Parliament voted an amendment to the Constitution by which the execution of the civil rights clause was made possible. The Constitutional amendment, however, did not extend naturalization to the Jews en masse, but only individually. Thus every Jew desirous of acquiring citizenship was subject to the decision of the Parliament. This measure, of course, did not satisfy the majority of the Rumanian Jews, because it entailed conditions which not all could meet. These were of a moral and physical nature. In the first place it was de-

manded that the candidate show certain moral guarantees of his ability to become a Rumanian citizen in spirit. Then the candidate had to prove that he was born in Rumania, and that he did not hold citizenship in another country. In spite of these restrictions many Jews had been naturalized—many more than the foreign press acknowledged.

#### AMERICAN INTERVENTION

There have been several attempts on the part of the American Government to intervene on behalf of the Rumanian Jews. In 1891 President Benjamin Harrison, in 1902 Secretary Hay, and in 1913 Secretary Bryan, undertook to interest the signatory powers of the Treaty of Berlin in making Rumania live up to Article 44. It is not my object to enlarge on this subject, but I cannot refrain from quoting the following dialogue between two members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States House of Representatives, in December, 1913. Representative Henry D. Flood of Virginia, Chairman of the Committee, after hearing the recital of the Jewish question in Rumania made by Representative W. M. Chandler of New York, who had just declared that the total number of naturalized Jews in Rumania was only 176, asked the latter: "What evidence have you to show that more than 176 were entitled to have been naturalized during those thirty years?" Mr. Chandler: "Well, 176 Jews out of 100,000, if that statement is correct, is a small number, and is preposterous upon its face." Mr. Chairman: "Well, that is hardly evidence." (Sixty-third Congress, Second Session, House Resolutions Nos. 138 and 183.)

The gist of the whole question lies in the word "entitled." The majority of Rumanian Jews were not "entitled" to be naturalized en masse under the conditions given above, namely, as long as they were too many, too prosperous, and too hostile. All these three facts were a direct consequence of the agrarian problem. The Rumanian Jews were too many, because the Rumanian peasants counted too little in the affairs of the country. Again, the Rumanian Jews were too prosperous, because the Ru-

manian peasants were too poor. Finally, the Rumanian Jews were too hostile, because the Rumanian Government, in order to protect the helpless peasants, had to resort to political restrictions, which engendered resentment among the Jews.

### LOCATING THE BLAME

The point which I have tried to make clear is that the Jewish question in Rumania was the immediate consequence of the agrarian question, and that for this reason it was a purely domestic affair. The Rumanian Government was thus justified in brooking no foreign interference in a problem which had its reason and solution in the national conditions of the country. If I were to bring home the situation to the American public, I would state that there was a striking analogy between the Jewish question in Rumania and the Japanese question in California. The exclusion of a foreign element from certain civic rights was in both cases the necessary outcome of social and national conditions. The State has always the duty to look after the security of its own subjects. Proceeding upon this principle, the Government of Rumania, like that of California, carried out a policy of self-defense. In this it acted in accordance with the essential principles of statesmanship. But where its right ends, there begins its wrong.

It is in the agrarian question that the guilty factor is to be found. For forty years the Rumanian Government delayed to remedy a state of affairs which menaced the very foundation of the country. It kept the largest and soundest element of the nation in a state of feudalism in order to uphold the selfish rights of a minority. In short, the Rumanian Government protected the peasants from the economic supremacy of the Jews because such a course alone could prolong the existence of an obsolete system of

society which was gratifying the wishes of a privileged class.

### UNDER NEW CONDITIONS

After emancipating the peasants, the Rumanian Government could well afford to grant the Jews full political rights, for the danger of seeing the largest element of the population subject to the competition of the Jews was thereby removed. Neither the number nor the economic competition, nor the hostile attitude of the Jews could any more affect the vitality of the nation. Besides the economic and electoral emancipation of the peasantry a new factor intervened in the readjustment of the social and economic affairs of the country. Rumania was emerging from the war with both its territory and its population doubled in size. The national organism was thereby able to assimilate a foreign element much more easily than had been possible hitherto.

Although under the new order of things the Rumanian Jews have become en masse citizens, yet there is still a voice of protest to be heard on their behalf in foreign countries. The Peace Treaty with Austria required a super-guarantee for the protection of minor nationalities in the countries which had directly benefited from the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Rumanian Government signed the Austrian Treaty and the special minorities treaty only under the pressure of the great powers. What is required in the latter treaty amounts to an infringement of the principle of national sovereignty upon which the structure of every civilized State is based.

Under the new order of things Rumania will show good-will toward all minor nationalities. The economic and social reconstruction of the country depends upon the co-operation of all her inhabitants. The Jewish question is thus definitely settled.



# Diary of the German Captain Who Sank the Lusitania

THE sinking of the Lusitania off the Irish coast on May 7, 1915, with a loss of 1,195 lives, sent a thrill of horror through the civilized world and brought about a series of events which culminated in the entry of the United States into the war. The commander of the German submarine which sent the great passenger ship to the bottom was Lieutenant Captain Schwieger. The brief story of how he committed the terrible act, just as he wrote it down in his official log at the time, is reproduced in facsimile on the opposite page. It is a leaf torn from the running record of sinkings and of the general course of life in the submarine from day to day. The record for May 7, when the Lusitania was sighted, was inscribed on the eighth page of the log. The exact translation of the entries is as follows:

Right ahead appear four funnels and two masts of a steamer with course vertical to us. (She steered from S. S. W., coming toward Galley Head.) Ship is made out to be large passenger steamer.

2:05. Submerged to 11 meters and traveled with high speed on course converging toward steamer, hoping she would change course to starboard along Irish coast.

2:50. The steamer turns starboard, directs her course toward Queenstown, and makes possible an approach for a shot. Ran at high speed until 3 P. M. in order to gain position directly ahead.

3:10. Clean bow shot from 700 meters range, (G torpedo, 3 meters depth adjustment), cutting angle 90 degrees. Estimated speed twenty-two sea miles. Shot hits starboard side right behind bridge. An unusually heavy detonation follows with a very strong explosion cloud. (High in air over first smoke stack.) Added to the explosion of the torpedo, there must have been a second explosion. (Boiler or coal or powder.) The superstructure over point struck and the high bridge are rent asunder, fire breaks out and smoke envelops the high bridge. The ship stops immediately and quickly heels to starboard, at the same time diving deeper at the bow. She has the appearance of being about to capsize. Great confusion on board, boats being cleared and part being lowered to water. They must have lost their heads. Many boats crowded come down bow first or stern first in the water and immediately fill and sink. Fewer lifeboats can be

made clear on the port side owing to the slant of the boat. The ship blows off, in front appears the name Lusitania in



LIEUTENANT CAPTAIN SCHWIEGER  
*The V-Boat Commander who sank the Lusitania. He was afterward drowned.*

(© International)

gold letters. The stacks were painted black, no stern flag was up. She was running at a speed of twenty sea miles.

3:25. It seems as if the vessel will be afloat only a short time. Submerge to 24 meters and go to sea. I could not have fired a second torpedo into this throng of humanity attempting to save themselves.

4:15. Go to 11 meters and take look around. In the distance astern are drifting a number of lifeboats. Of the Lusitania nothing is to be seen. The wreck must lie off Old Head of Kinsale Lighthouse, in 358 degrees R. W., fourteen sea miles off in 90 meters of water, (27 miles from Queenstown), 51 degrees, 22.6 N. and 8.32 W. The shore and lighthouse are clearly seen.

The rest of the page is concerned with an attack on another boat, which failed.

## VIII

[2.30.24.  
2,0 pm.]Lusitania

2,5 pm.

2,5 pm.

3,10 pm.

Recht voraus werden 4 Schornsteine und 2 Masten eines Dampfers mit Kurs senkrecht zu uns (er steuerte von SSW kommend Galley Head an) sichtbar. Schiff wird als großer Passagierdampfer ausgemacht.

Auf 11 m gegangen und mit hoher Fahrt auf konvergierenden Kurs zum Dampfer gegangen, in der Hoffnung, daß er Kurs nach St.B. längs der irischen Küste, ändern wird. Der Dampfer dreht St.B. nimmt Kurs auf Queenstown und ermöglicht so eine Annäherung zum Schuß. Bis 3 h pm. Hohe Fahrt gelaufen, um eine vorliehe Stellung zu bekommen.

Reiner Bugschuß auf 700 m (G-Torpedo 3 m Tiefenstellung), Schneidungswinkel 90° geschätzte Fahrt 22 sm. Schuß trifft St.B. Seite dicht hinter der Brücke.

Es erfolgt eine ungewöhnliche große Detonation mit einer sehr starken Sprengwolke, weit über den vorderen Schornstein hinaus). Es kam zur Explosion des Torpedos noch eine zweite hinzugekommen sein (Kessel oder Kohle oder Pulver?) Die Aufbauten über dem Treffpunkt und die Brücke werden auseinander gerissen, es entsteht Feuer, der Qualm hüllt die hohe Brücke ein. Das Schiff stoppt sofort und bekommt sehr schnell große Schlagseite nach St.B., gleichzeitig vorn tiefer tauchend. Es hat den Anschein, als wollte es in kurzer Zeit kentern. Auf dem Schiff entsteht große Verwirrung; die Boote werden klar gemacht und zum Teil zu Wasser gelassen. Hierbei muß vielfach Kopflosigkeit geherrscht haben; manche Boote voll besetzt, rauschen von oben, kommen mit dem Bug oder mit dem Heck zuerst ins Wasser und schlagen sofort voll. An der B.B. Seite kommen wegen der Schräglage weniger Boote klar, als auf der St.B. Seite. Das Schiff bläst ab; vorn wird der Name „Lusitania“ in goldenen Buchstaben sichtbar. Die Schornsteine waren schwarz geölt, Heckflagge nicht gesetzt. Es lief 20 sm. Da es den Anschein hat, als wenn der Dampfer sich nur noch kurze Zeit über Wasser halten kann, auf 24 m gegangen und nach See zu gelaufen. Auch hätte ich einen zweiten Torpedo in dies Gedränge von sich rettenden Menschen nicht schlecken können.

3,25 pm.

4,15 pm.

Auf 11 m gegangen und Rundblick genommen. In der Ferne achteraus, treibt eine Anzahl v n Rettungsbooten; von der „Lusitania“ ist nichts mehr zu sehen. Das Wrack auf liegen Old Head of Kinsale Leuchtturm in 358° wp. 14 sm ab, auf 90° n wasser. (von Queenstown 27 sm ab)  $\gamma = 51^{\circ} 22' 6''$  und  $\lambda = 8^{\circ} 31' N$ .

4,20 pm.

Das Land und der Leuchtturm waren sehr klar zu sehen. ] Beim Rundblick, B.B. voraus ein großer Dampfer bin Sicht mit Kurs auf Fastnet Rock. Mit hoher Fahrt eine vorliehe Stellung erstrebt, um zum Heckschuß zu kommen. Heckschuß auf 900 m auf 500 m Abstand, geschützter Schneidungswinkel 90°. Schußbedingungen waren sehr ungünstig, Fehlschuß bei richtiger Lauf des Torpedos ausgeschlossen. Torpedo trifft nicht. Da das Schrohr nach d. Schuß für längere Zeit unterschneidet, leider nicht festgestellt, was für ein Versager vorlag. Der Torpedo verließ das Rohr richtig, und ist entweder gar nicht gelaufen, oder im falschen Winkel falsche Einstellungen an Rohr nicht möglich, da sich der Torpedoeffizi achteraus befand. Der Dampfer ein Frachtdampfer der Cunard-Li-

5,08 pm.



## German East Africa Divided Up

Belgium Gets Two Large Provinces, and Great Britain Takes the Rest, Renaming It Tanganyika Territory

A NEW country has taken its place on the African map. German East Africa has been divided up between Great Britain and Belgium, and the lion's share, which goes to the British, has been renamed Tanganyika Territory by the British Foreign Office. It comprises 366,000 of the 384,000 square miles formerly under German rule, and the remaining 18,000 square miles have been assigned to Belgium as an addition to the Belgian Congo. This decision of the Supreme Council was made public early

in March, 1920, when The London Times published the main outlines of the settlement, with a map.

Theoretically both Belgium and Britain are taking over the Governmental control of these vast regions as mandatories of the League of Nations; how far this arrangement shall ultimately differ from absolute ownership will depend upon the fortunes of the League, which thus far is too weak to have much real power in such matters.

Belgium gave substantial help in the



TANGANYIKA TERRITORY, THE NEW BRITISH DEPENDENCY, INCLUDES ALL OF FORMER GERMAN EAST AFRICA EXCEPT THE NORTHWEST CORNER, ASSIGNED TO BELGIUM

conquest of German East Africa, and as a reward for that help she receives the two large provinces of Ruanda and Urundi, with the exception of a strip on the east, which she concedes to Great Britain in order to facilitate the building of a railway from Tanganyika Territory northward to Uganda. This line is an indispensable link in the Cape to Cairo Railway, which Cecil Rhodes dreamed of, and which Great Britain is now planning to construct. In return for her consent to this connection between South Africa and Egypt, Belgium received important concessions at other points.

The British acceded to the Belgian desire for a free outlet from the central regions of the Belgian Congo by means of a railway running from Kigoma-Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, to Dar-es-Salaam, on the Indian Ocean; they agreed to grant concession areas for this purpose at Kigoma and Dar-es-Salaam, where goods could be stored; the Belgians also have the right to haul merchandise from the lake to the ocean in their own cars.

Some time must elapse before the new Anglo-Belgian frontier can be located

exactly, as it depends to a slight extent upon the route chosen for the British railway to Uganda; but as, under the agreement, it cannot vary more than ten miles from the boundary shown by the line of heavy crosses on the map, this marks the ultimate frontier for all practical purposes. The Germans, to develop the great possibilities of Ruanda, in 1913 surveyed a route for a railway from Tabora (on the Kigoma-Dar-es-Salaam line) to the Kagera River where it bends south from the British Uganda boundary. The British have adopted the German project and propose to continue the line into Western Uganda, where, in time, it will be connected with the system that is to run to Cairo.

While Great Britain thus adds to its colonial empire a region greater than the whole of Germany before the war, Belgium also acquires 18,000 square miles of territory of great actual and potential value. Ruanda is densely populated and of a healthy climate, owing to its altitude; it is one of the most important cattle regions in all Africa. Belgium, with this new acquisition, becomes supreme ruler over 1,000,000 square miles of tropical Africa.

## First Cairo-to-Cape Flight

Two South African Aviation Officers Complete the Dangerous Trip—  
The London Times Expedition

THE British Air Ministry sent an exploring party in 1919 to arrange a series of aerodromes across the tropical wilderness of Africa from Cairo to Cape Town; it entailed a year's hard work, but the route was completed by the beginning of 1920, as described in the March CURRENT HISTORY. On Jan. 24 The London Times sent into the air a Vickers-Vimy airplane with five men to be the first "to test the practical utility of the Cairo-to-Cape air route," and to determine "whether Africa can be traversed easily and safely from end to end by proper aircraft under ordinary conditions—a pioneer effort in exploration from the air."

The result was far from proving that the trip could be made "safely and easily," for it was attended by a series of mishaps and disasters, ending in honorable failure; no lives were lost. Meanwhile the British Air Ministry sent out two airplane expeditions of its own to attempt the same achievement, and a private concern sent a fourth. Of the four, the crew of one Government plane alone, consisting of two South African aviation officers—Ryneveld and Brand—succeeded in making the whole adventurous journey of 5,000 miles by air from Cairo to the Cape, though they had to use three machines to do it.





CLEARING THE WILDERNESS FOR THE AERODROME AT ULENDO, WHERE 25,000 TONS OF ANTHILLS ALSO HAD TO BE REMOVED BY NATIVE CARRIERS

The four rival expeditions were as follows:

The London Times, Vickers-Vimy, piloted by Captain S. Cockerell and F. C. Broome, with Sergeant Major James Wyatt as mechanic and C. Corby as rigger, and with Dr. Peter Chalmers Mitchell, a noted scientist and member of The Times staff, as scientific observer. It left Brooklands, near London, Jan. 24.

A Vickers-Vimy Rolls, piloted by Lieut. Col. van Ryneveld and Flight Lieutenant Brand, both from the Union of South Africa. This army machine, named the Silver Queen, left London Feb. 4 and flew 600 miles to Turin by the evening of the same day. Its crew were the only men to reach Cape Town by air.

A D. H. 14-Napier machine, flown by the Aircraft Manufacturing Company,

piloted and navigated by Flight Lieutenant Cotton and Lieutenant W. A. Townsend, both of the Royal Air Force. This machine left Hendon on Feb. 4.

A Handley-Page Rolls-Royce, piloted by Major H. G. Brackley and Lieutenant Symms. This machine, also starting from England, had reached Brindisi by Feb. 9.

The Times machine, a commercial airplane adapted from the Vimy bomber for peace service, and similar to that used by the late Sir John Alcock and Sir A. W. Brown for their transatlantic flight in June, took the air on Jan. 24 from Brooklands, near London, to fly to Heliopolis, the aerodrome station of Cairo, Egypt, where the flight to the Cape was to begin. The route it took across Europe



KEEPING AN AFRICAN LANDING GROUND LEVEL BY MEANS OF HOME-MADE ROLLER, NOTE NATIVE BIRD DECORATIONS ON SHELTER



ROUTE OF THE FLIGHT FROM LONDON  
TO CAIRO

and the Mediterranean is indicated in the small map on this page. This preliminary journey was accomplished without serious mishap, and the airplane landed at Cairo on Feb. 8.

The route across Africa is shown in the larger of the accompanying maps. The total distance from Cairo to Cape Town by this route is 5,206 miles. There are 24 landing grounds and 19 emergency landing grounds; of these, Abercorn and Broken Hill are 444 miles apart, with only one emergency station between, and Mongalla and Jinja on the Victoria Nyanza are 344 miles apart, with a similar scarcity of places to alight. The course for most of the way down this portion of tropical Africa is over regions infested by reptiles, lions, and cannibal tribes; there are swamps, dense forests, and occasional volcanoes, while the air above is subject to constant agitation and frequent storms of tropical violence. The danger from such storms had been illustrated in the recent London-to-Australia flight, when one machine was blown back by main force from Bangkok to Rangoon, more than 300 miles. Such were the perils faced by the African air pioneers.

The Times plane left Cairo on the morning of Feb. 6, and its adventures and ultimate fate were described from day to day by Dr. Chalmers Mitchell. After stopping at Luxor to mend a water leak it came down for the night at Assouan, 425 miles from Cairo. The air had been "bumpy," but traveling through it, said Dr. Mitchell's dispatch, "was no worse than in a fast train."

By Feb. 8 the machine had reached Khartum after two stops to mend leaking water-jackets. Deserts and volcanic mountains had been traversed, and one of the stops had been made in a wild desert, where the aviators had to wait for water to be brought by camels.

After the party left Khartum on Feb. 10 nothing more was heard from Dr. Mitchell until the 12th, when he reported its arrival at Jobelein, 1,252 miles from Cairo. Six leaks had developed since the beginning of the trip, and a night had been spent in a dried swamp amid thick



ROUTE FOLLOWED IN DARING ATTEMPTS  
TO FLY FROM CAIRO TO CAPE TOWN





AERODROME OFFICERS' QUARTERS IN TROPICAL AFRICA—A PERMANENT RESIDENCE. ON THE LEFT IS THE BUSINESS OFFICE ON STILTS

bush. Next, in trying to reach Mongalla, the aviators lost their way and spent another night in the open. The following day Captain Broome and Dr. Mitchell walked five miles through the bush to Mongalla, where the Governor offered them every service possible. On Feb. 20 they crossed the northern part of the Uganda Protectorate, reaching Jinja, at the source of the Nile, 2,133 miles out from Cairo. Their flight had taken them over mountains 4,000 feet high without mishap.

The Times airplane crossed the equator on Feb. 24 and landed at Kisumu, in British East Africa. It was suffering considerably from the heat and the "bumpy" air currents; engine defects and forced landings in dangerous areas, Dr. Mitchell reported, were requiring a good deal of philosophy. The attempt to reach Tabora on the 26th ended in swift and irreparable disaster. Owing to a water leak into the induction coils Captain Cockerell had switched off one engine and tried to effect a straight landing, but a hidden stump carried off the right wheels, throwing the plane nearly around; only the crashing of the emergency wheel through the nose of the machine prevented a complete overturn. The damage was beyond repair.

"The mechanics," says Dr. Mitchell, "solemnly shook hands immediately on getting out. The language of the pilot and myself was regrettable." The engines were dismantled with the help of railway workers, and the great adventure was at an end for The Times party. Its stranded members, looking into the sky on the morning of the 28th, had the cold comfort of seeing the rival South Africans passing over them. The South African Government had told its fliers by wireless to pick up the wrecked aviators, but the message had not been received, so they did not stop. Dr. Mitchell and his companions remained near their shattered plane, awaiting a good opportunity to return home.

When The Times aviators were at Khartum they had received word that the South African officers in the Silver Queen had crossed the Mediterranean in a continuous night flight from Italy lasting fourteen hours, the first time that this had ever been accomplished by day or night. On landing at Cairo Colonel van Ryneveld and Captain Brand had a thrilling story to tell of incessant struggling against furious winds in utter darkness, their lights having given out; often they were swept back for miles.

The Silver Queen took the air at Cairo

on Feb. 11 only to come to grief at Korosko in the first day's flight. Returning to their starting place Colonel Ryneveld and Captain Brand obtained a new machine of the same model as the first, and made a fresh start on Feb. 22. By the 26th they had reached Mongalla despite some trouble with leaking water-jackets. After leaving Mongalla they met, even at 7,000 and 8,000 feet, innumerable whirlwinds caused by heat. Passing unawares above the shipwrecked Times party at Tabora, they managed, despite engine trouble, to reach Livingstone, where they were met by officials of Northern Rhodesia. They were well on their way toward their goal, but on the flight to Pretoria their machine crashed at Bulawayo and was damaged beyond repair.

Undaunted, the South African aviators obtained a Vortrekker machine from the Union Government and completed the flight to Cape Town at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of March 20. Thus Colonel van Ryneveld and Captain Brand were the first to make the Cairo-to-Cape jour-

ney by air, though no single machine had won through.

The other machines that had attempted the flight came to grief at various points along the route. The DH-14 crashed in Calabria. The Handley-Page reached Heliopolis and set out from there on Feb. 23, but crashed seventy-six miles north of Atbara, on the way to Khartum. A Royal Air Force Vickers-Vimy, which left Cairo on Feb. 18 to report on the condition of the route, also met with a mishap near Assouan and abandoned the trip.

A French achievement of the same period calls for mention. Major Vuillemin and Lieutenant Chalus, French Army aviators, accomplished the remarkable feat of flying across the Sahara Desert, a distance of 3,500 miles. They left a point near Paris on Jan. 26, flew to Algiers and thence to Tamarasset, half way across the desert, arriving there on Feb. 17. At that place their plane was damaged, and it was a month later when they were able to finish the flight to Dakar, which they reached on April 2.

## The Status of Prohibition in Mexico

By CARLETON BEALS

[PRINCIPAL OF THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL OF MEXICO CITY]

THE worldwide trend toward prohibition has drawn Mexico in its wake.

This is indicated in the recently announced determination of the National Board of Health—Consejo Superior de Salubridad—to regulate the liquor traffic so stringently as to remove its worst evils, as this body is authorized to do by the Constitution of the land. It is also preparing to inaugurate a vigorous publicity campaign in schools, churches, theatres, clubs, labor unions, and the press, in an attempt to point out the dangers to the individual and to society inherent in the use of alcohol, and to crystallize public sentiment in favor of complete prohibition.

While the reversion last year of the State of Sonora from a dry State to a wet State might indicate that prohibition is losing ground in Mexico, on the whole,

the attitude of the press, the Government officials, and the vigorous pamphlet and cartooning campaign that has been conducted recently in various quarters, would show that the forces in favor of prohibition are alert and active. Indeed, prohibition is one of the main points in the program of the Constitutionalist group, or Government party. The first prohibition law of Mexico was issued as a decree by Señor Manuel Aguirre Berlanga, present Secretary of State, when he was Governor of the prosperous State of Jalisco. He then stated:

Considering that one of the ideals of the Constitutionalist Revolution is to insure the greatest possible welfare of the people, it is incumbent upon the Government to dictate laws that, like the present one, tend to promote the development of the life of the individual; cleansing the society in which he moves by radically at-



tacking the greatest and most pernicious of human evils—alcoholism.

A somewhat similar statement was made by General Calles, recent Secretary of Labor, when he issued a prohibition decree while acting as Governor of Sonora. All the laws in force in the Republic of Mexico, in fact, indicate in their preambles that they have been issued as a part of the program of the Constitutionalist Revolution. Probably the new masters of Mexico remembered vividly that, before the revolution, the most powerful force among the Cientificos was the Pulque Trust, which used its great financial power to corrupt the Government.

In any event, the Constitutional Convention held in Queretaro in 1917 considered at great length the question of alcoholism and possible prohibition, and the traces of that discussion may be discovered by a casual reading of the present Mexican Constitution, which has numerous provisions in regard to regulating the production and sale of intoxicants. However, owing to the feeling with regard to State rights, the main proposition—complete prohibition—was defeated in the convention by a small margin.

At present, either by law or by military decree, four States are nominally dry in Mexico: Jalisco, the California of Mexico; Chihuahua, Villa's paradise; Sinaloa, the most prosperous of the west coast States, and Yucatan, the land of the henequin grower. Other States have restricting legislation. These four States comprise about one-fifth of Mexico in area and about one-sixth in population. Although nowhere are the regulations adequately enforced, if enforced at all, the basis has been laid for future gains for prohibition.

At last year's session of the Camara de Diputados the Yucatan delegation introduced a prohibition law for the Federal district and territories, the latter being Quintana Roo and Baja California; but the President, in view of the precarious condition of Government finances,

introduced a substitute measure, imposing a 50 per cent. tax on pulque. After heated debate the President's wishes were followed, it being felt that such a high tax would diminish the amount of pulque consumed. Actually pulque consumption has increased at least 100 per cent. since the passage of the bill. A movement is now on foot to introduce a bill at the next session of Congress providing for complete prohibition.

Meanwhile the National Board of Health is at work. Its new regulations may be summarized as follows:

1. New establishments for the sale of intoxicants may not be opened.
2. Poisonous alcohols, such as those made from wormwood, may not be manufactured.
3. At the end of six months intoxicants must not be drunk on the premises or in the streets or plazas.
4. The manufacture of pulque must be in accordance with given regulations as to the cleanliness and purity of composition.
5. At the end of a year intoxicants made from cereals may not be manufactured or sold.

Another factor that must be taken into consideration, however, is that the existing brewery establishments of the United States may be transplanted in Mexico. A representative visited Mexico some months ago for the purpose of looking over the ground, sounding the Government, &c., and he made a public statement that a certain large corporation was planning to establish six breweries in as many different sections of the republic.

On the other hand, various prohibition organizations in the United States are looking for new worlds to conquer, and are planning to extend their propaganda to all Latin-American countries. This will intensify the public interest in the question of alcoholism in Mexico as in other Spanish-speaking countries. With prohibition as a part of the Constitutionalist program of reform, rather definite results favorable to the cause of prohibition should logically be obtained in Mexico.

# What Peace Has Done to Krupp's

## Transforming a Great War Factory

THE Krupp works at Essen, upon which the German armies depended for cannon during the European war, have practically ceased all further war production. The entire staff, numbering 85,000 men and women, were busily engaged in peaceful activities when the workmen's revolt that followed the Junker coup d'état threw all Essen into temporary confusion. The works of peace, however, were soon resumed. Big guns are being sent back to Krupp's to be dismantled and prepared for use in the manufacture of automobiles and agricultural machinery. Railway engines and trucks are being manufactured, instead of Big Berthas.\*

To adapt itself to this radical change the immense war factory was completely remodeled. The famous institution which forged Germany's most terrible weapons was transformed almost over night from a destructive agency to one of creation and reconstruction, and the purpose for which it was founded some seventy years ago by Alfred Krupp ceased suddenly to exist.

It was toward the end of the '50s of the last century, says a special correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*, that Alfred Krupp produced a cast-steel tube for a three-pounder gun, and laid the foundation of his vast fortune and of his sinister fame in Europe, which made his very name a nightmare both to the Socialists and pacifists of Germany and to the militarists of other European nations. Many of the heaviest financial burdens which troubled Europe during the last fifty years of the nineteenth century were due to the ever-changing views regarding quantity and system which the Krupp output compelled, depleting the national treasuries and enriching the manufacturers of arms.

At Krupp's the manufacture of big

guns soon surpassed in importance all other production. At the beginning of the '70s the number of gun shops had increased to four, and many of the older shops had been equipped for ordnance production and for the making of gun carriages. After meeting the increased demands made by Germany herself following on the Franco-Prussian war, the rapidly developing institution found its greatest customer in Russia. All these orders made necessary the equipment of the big gun-testing range at Meppen. To meet the wishes of the German Admiralty in 1890—three years after the death of Alfred Krupp—the armor-plate shops were started which turned out the famous Krupp armor plate, the manufacture of which became the leading undertaking of its kind.

The enormous growth of the Krupp arms industry following the outbreak of the war may be seen by the fact that in August, 1914, only 12,000 persons out of a total of 34,000 were engaged in war-production, whereas in July, 1918, 59,500 were so employed out of a total of 97,400, while the capital of the firm was increased from \$45,000,000 to \$57,250,000. This ever-increasing expansion was cut short by the armistice and the Peace Treaty, which reduced the German Army to little more than a police force, whose needs could be fully supplied by the State arsenals at Spandau and elsewhere, and which gave a monopoly in the trade of war production to the Entente factories. Krupp's bowed to the inevitable, scrapped what had been its pride and the source of its fortune, and adapted itself to an extensive peace program. The enormous furnaces for the manufacture of cast steel continued their activity, unconcerned by the new destination of the finished product. The largest of the shops formerly devoted to execution of the "Hindenburg Plan," instead of turning out big guns, was turned into a factory of railway engines.

When in full working order this shop is to turn out one complete engine and

\*So-called from Bertha Krupp, daughter of Friedrich Krupp, who succeeded her father as head of the works.



ten railway trucks every day, an undertaking of the highest importance in view of the fact that the lack of good engines has become one of the most difficult problems of German transport. To meet this situation Krupp's is also taking in locomotives for repair at the rate of about 150 at a time, lifting the engines bodily in and out by means of powerful traveling cranes. The shops formerly devoted to turning out armored turrets and giant cannon for the navy have been given over wholly to this new work, and only a few turning disks of former turrets and sections of the monster guns—cut neatly into vertical or horizontal lengths by means of oxygen burners—betray their former occupation. Only a few formidable squares of steel, breeches

of the famous 42-centimeter siege guns which pounded the forts of Liège to pieces, were waiting to be delivered to the melting furnaces when the Kapp revolt brought temporary disorganization and labor strife to Essen.

All other war munition shops have been stripped and dismantled, and many of the big machines which turned out powerful projectiles destined to burst over Calais and English soil have been sold all over Germany and converted to other purposes. An assurance given by one of Krupp's Directors that no war material of any kind was being manufactured was confirmed by trade union officials, labor leaders, Socialists and representatives of various other classes. Peace is taking its revenge at Krupp's.

## Humor at the Peace Conference

### An Interpreter's Stories

PROFESSOR PAUL MANTOUX, the talented French author and London University instructor, who acted as interpreter in the Supreme War Council at Paris and who is now director of the political section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, was entertained by the Foreign Press Association in London when the League held its first meeting there in February, 1920. In the course of an after-dinner speech Professor Mantoux threw some interesting sidelights on the "Big Four" at Paris. The interpreter's was a curious trade, he said; during the proceedings in Paris he frequently felt that his head served as a sieve through which other men's thoughts were passed. Amazing statements, for which he was in no way responsible, flowed from his mouth. He had in a sense acted as a fifth member of the Council of Four and had been present even at the intimate meetings in President Wilson's room, where the council really decided the main points.

There Mr. Lloyd George occupied a large, comfortable armchair; M. Clemenceau occupied another near President Wilson, and at the other end of the table, where he sat, was Signor Orlando, who

showed great eagerness to know everything that was going on. Conversation was very informal and very friendly. Sometimes, when some unknown locality was mentioned, such as Jerusalem or Constantinople, a large map was brought in, and then those great men might be seen crawling on the floor. He saw it once or twice with great delight. He had really a hard time. He had to rush to the Foreign Office at 9 o'clock in the morning, dictate notes of what he had heard during five hours of the day before, and present something as much like it as possible in about two hours. He had to dictate at full speed, like a man running for dear life. He afterward jumped into a motor car and went to President Wilson's house, where the sitting began a few moments afterward.

Sometimes the Council of Four had their moment of leisure, when documents were required, and the interval was passed in story-telling. President Wilson was good at short stories, and they were always much enjoyed. He told one about a Chinaman and the moon. He said there was a Chinaman who, when taking water out of a well and seeing the reflection of the moon, said to himself: "Oh, this is

very serious indeed. The moon has fallen into the well and it is my duty to try to take it out." Then he dropped his bucket and pulled as hard as he could—so hard that he fell on his back—and on looking up saw the moon in the sky. He then said to himself: "Well, that is good work!" That was typical of the small stories which President Wilson would give between two great discussions.

On another occasion, during an interval in the proceedings, Mr. Lloyd George asked M. Clemenceau his opinion of the great orators of the French Tribune, and M. Clemenceau gave a very vivid picture of his friends who had spoken in French assemblies during the last forty or fifty years. He placed M. Viviani in the forefront as the greatest living Frenchman, and considered that among the orators he had heard M. Gambetta and M. Jaurès were first by a long distance. Though he had quarreled very much with both, he did not mind expressing his warm admiration of their great powers in that line.

M. Clemenceau attended the gathering of great men, always wearing gray gloves, and never took them off. This gave rise to much speculation, but a simple explanation was eventually forthcoming. M. Clemenceau told him that his skin was constantly getting drier, so he kept it oiled or something of that sort. He therefore put on gloves, because he could not shake hands with people or write with hands in that condition. That was the key to the gloves mystery. M. Clemenceau was sometimes very angry with some one or other, but when he under-

stood the point of view upon which the difference arose he admitted there was something good in it.

On his last appearance M. Clemenceau delivered a long speech to a few delegates representing the Jugoslavs, in which he persuaded them, however difficult it might be, to accept the settlement. All present were deeply moved on that occasion. Before everything else the French statesman was a man of great courage. He saw it in a small way when M. Clemenceau, in crossing to England in a destroyer last December, broke a rib. When he reached London he was asked if he would not like to consult a doctor, and replied, "That is no good; I have been a doctor myself." It was only on his return to Paris that he had to get advice, and then it was discovered that a rib had been broken. As a consequence M. Clemenceau had to remain indoors for some days, and it was during that period that he (Mr. Mantoux) witnessed a most striking scene. There came to the house of this French citizen the Austrian plenipotentiary, a pathetic figure, begging for bread in the name of the country that was so great and important before the war. It was an occasion that he would always remember.

What had struck him in his position as interpreter at the Peace Council was the good-will and understanding that prevailed—the desire to understand and appreciate each other's point of view. This had been one of the great lessons of the last few years, and if it was a supreme task for an interpreter it was a glorious one.





# The Moral Crisis in France

## How the War Has Affected French Psychology—A Parallel With England

THERE is a good deal of talk, in England, the United States, and France herself, on the after-war psychology of the French people, and in some quarters a pessimistic view of the situation is taken. In the Anglo-Saxon Review for December, 1919, for instance, Albert Dauzat, in a remarkable study, painted a picture of considerable gloom. His general point of departure was summed up in his opening paragraph:

It has been said that the war has changed our characters; this is a superficial opinion. The war has simply produced new reactions, by the play of different forces, in the human beings whose world has been transformed. By the formidable shock which this has produced, by the destruction of the normal balance of social life, the war has produced a general moral crisis, more visible and deeper, undoubtedly, in the vanquished, but apparent also in the victors. The relaxation which has followed the armistice has served only to bring it out into clearer relief, if not to aggravate it.

At first, says M. Dauzat, there was the sentiment of the common danger, which evoked a magnificent impulse of solidarity, fraternity, self-sacrifice, and, at the front, innumerable acts of courage and heroism. With the diminution of the danger the fundamental egotism of the race again appeared; after the Marne, when the danger of the invasion had disappeared, the pre-war mentality again asserted itself, a change symbolized humorously by a writer in the *Figaro* who said: "On the day of mobilization I kissed my concierge. \* \* \* But six months later I had to move!" In the second year of the war the selfish attitude of the French people regarding economy and hoarding contributed to the high cost of living, which is still seen in France, as elsewhere, at the present time.

Examining the principal social elements of France, this writer complains that art and literature are becoming more

and more mercantiled. Politicians have become discredited by the many notorious scandals that have bespattered the whole fraternity. The nouveaux riches are rightly hated for their ostentation. The employer class is struggling against the claims of employees. Many service men were taken back only under the penalty of the law. Many fraudulent tax reports have been presented. Merchants in France, especially in the retail trade, have become exceedingly unpopular in ratio as they have enriched themselves at the expense of the public, though, as a matter of fact, it was the wholesale merchant who was the chief war profiteer. These abuses were courageously attacked by the *Eclair*, a well-known French newspaper.

The Governmental budget, according to M. Dauzat, has been plundered by officials, whose demand for salary raises has become more and more insatiable. Even the learned professions, teaching, medicine, law, formerly consecrated to an ideal, are regarded by the people as having an unquenchable thirst for profit. The result has been a loss of respect and moral authority. The unionized school teachers have unquestionably lost prestige with the farmers and other classes among whom they labored.

### ATTITUDE OF LABOR

This universal egotism has appeared in all its fierceness in the demands of labor unions. When the postal clerks last September demanded that all the Post Offices, telegraph, and telephone offices be closed, the objection was made that this step might deprive sick people of medical assistance. The answer was: "What is that to us? We wish to rest and go to the movies. They'll get along. They got along all right when there was neither telegraph nor telephone."

The workman has been incontestably spoiled by the war. He has earned

salaries transcending all his hopes, especially in munition factories and shipyards; usually he has had no rent to pay; all metal workers, from the first year of war, were brought back from the front and withdrawn from the dangers of war. The workman is then a real gainer by the war, but he does not realize it and goes on with his recriminations.

He asserts, first of all, that the rise in salaries does not cover the increase in the cost of living. This, declares M. Dauzat, is untrue. Waiving minor considerations, the obvious proof of the contrary is that since the war the workman has lived in a style which he never knew before; he bought, and still is buying, at the markets, regardless of price, chicken and fine fruits which the petit bourgeois can no longer afford. Wine has never been lacking to his table, nor brandy either. And yet, while he spends his high wages foolishly, for the coarse satisfactions of the appetite, he envies and hates the "bourgeois," though he himself, if he became less improvident and more economical, could become the master of all industries in a few decades. But for this he needs education. A reduction of his high wages in some factories reorganized on a peace basis has been resented by the workman of this class, and has been one of the contributing causes of his discontent.

### AVERSION FOR WORK

But the most serious symptom, according to this author, is the aversion for work, a tendency seen all over the world today, including Germany, which formerly boasted of her productive energy, and also Austria. In these countries the jobless demand allowances equal to the wages of the workers. Snow shovelers could not be had. Advanced Socialists like Kautsky exhort the proletariat to moderate their demands and to work more if they do not wish to drive their country to ruin. In England, similarly, miners demand a six-hour day, and the mine strikers in America adopt a program of a six-hour day and a thirty-hour week, though the eight-hour day, at the present time, represents the extreme limit of reduction possible.

The peasants, on their part, have gone through the ordeal of shot and shell, for they represented the large majority of the fighters. Those who remained in the fields suffered from lack of help. Yet in two or three years, thanks to the high prices, the peasants have paid their debts and acquired considerable savings. But often, to do this, they have abused the situation by speculating in prices, by hoarding, and in other ways. The desire for work, at least, the peasant has preserved, but he is drawn more and more by the high wages of the towns, and the desertion of the country districts remains one of the most disquieting problems which France must solve.

As for the civic spirit of both the peasant and the workman class, they evade in all ways possible the payment of all new taxes on their agricultural profits; no one declares his profits, and verification is almost impossible. The workman, more frank and brutal than the peasant, roundly refuses to pay, burns or sends back tax bills, and finds support for this conduct in his union. Despairing of remedying this situation, the Government by a decree of May 26, 1919, was compelled to suspend all prosecutions arising from tax infringements.

### ATTITUDE OF WOMEN

Frenchwomen, lastly, as studied in this analysis, could not escape the general crisis, the responsibility for which they share with the men, as they have been the ones to push the latter to expense and to higher wage demands. An impulsive being, moved by generous desires, the Frenchwoman practiced at the outbreak of the war the most disinterested devotion, especially in her work in the hospitals. But this altruistic impulse could not and did not endure. All voluntary nurses have now left the hospitals and been replaced by professionals. Luxury and selfishness have again appeared upon the surface. In Paris, during the first three months of war, the women eschewed fine dress; little by little, however, rich toilets have reappeared under various pretexts, with the result that, even before the armistice, luxury had attained unprecedented proportions. This has spread through all



classes and constitutes a grave social danger, for it arose in the promiscuity of the munition factories and the absence of husbands, one of the causes of the spread of vice, which has reached disquieting proportions; the number of divorces, almost all demanded by the husband, has increased by nearly 10 per cent. in the department of the Seine since the armistice.

Although they have suffered most, and precisely because they have suffered, says M. Dauzat, the demobilized soldiers are the least discontented, so greatly do they appreciate the joy of having escaped the supreme sacrifice and of being restored to normal life. Some of these are embittered, yet on the whole it is among the service men that the best elements for social renovation are to be found.

From this analysis two contradictory facts are deduced: never has France been better off financially; and never has there been such widespread discontent, such loud and incessant clamors for advantage. The only remedy is the moral reform advocated by Renan in 1871. The people must return to Pastor Wagner's simple life. The ideal of devotion and disinterestedness must return. The period now beginning is destined to be a hard one, and a great and protracted effort is necessary to repair the ruins of war. Only the laborious—individuals as well as peoples—will win again their places at the banquet of life.

#### VIEW OF M. TARDIEU

André Tardieu, one of the five French plenipotentiaries at the Peace Conference and Minister of the Liberated Districts, interprets the situation in France less pessimistically. In an interview reported by O. Philippe Millet for the *Observer* he summarizes the way France is attacking some urgent problems. Thrift in France, he points out, is now just as marked as it ever was. The small wage-earners, with the increase of their wages and in spite of the enormous rise in the cost of living, are now saving seven times more than before the war. No doubt, he admits, there is widespread discontent, for the exceedingly high cost of living, the scarcity of essential commod-

ities, such as coal, and many other hardships are beginning to tell upon a nation which has already undergone the great ordeal for five years. This discontent is found in a more acute degree among the inhabitants of the devastated regions, infuriated by every hitch in the work of reconstruction. Statistics cited by M. Tardieu prove that the attacks on the Government in this regard have been unjustified.

France, he observes, has to recover from a terrible crisis, and it is the economic situation that presents the greatest difficulty, now that peace is signed. We have heard, he says, some unexpected retorts when France has asked her friends to make it easier for her to recover her material balance. Some Americans accused the French of being lax in imposing additional taxation on themselves (a laxness which the article of M. Dauzat emphasizes) to relieve the financial burdens of the country. Commenting on this M. Tardieu says:

This misconception arises, I believe, from the fact that foreign observers only look at our income tax without realizing that this newly created tax only plays as yet a secondary part in French finance, while our main revenues are derived from indirect taxation. The aggregate taxes paid by the average Frenchman in 1913, including the local taxes, were 142.59 francs per head. They were 297.37 francs in 1918, and will be 598 francs in 1920. From 1913 till 1920 this amounts to an increase of 319.3 per cent. in taxation, and this in spite of the fact that more than one-fifth of the national wealth has been destroyed by the war. The result is so encouraging that it may be expected that after taxation has been extended to the devastated regions of the north and to Alsace-Lorraine the present taxes will yield something like fifteen billion francs. As our budget will require about twenty billion francs it will not be very difficult to raise the necessary revenue in order to make both ends meet.

#### PARALLEL WITH ENGLAND

An interesting parallel between France and England was drawn by the English Churchman Dean W. R. Inge in commenting on the article of M. Dauzat. In most points, Dean Inge says, the latter's description of France might serve

very well for England. In this regard he adds:

We, too, have our profiteers, our discontented officials, and our anti-social labor movements, acting by incessant "demands" and threats. In both countries alike there is the amazing phenomenon of apparent universal prosperity following on the most costly and destructive war ever recorded by history. We are only just beginning to realize that we are galloping along the road to ruin. Our factitious prosperity is the result partly of seizing for war purposes whatever could be realized of the accumulated wealth of the country, and partly by the issue of unlimited paper money, which is the modern equivalent of that time-honored expedient of governments in difficulties—the debasement of the coinage.

But there are one or two differences between the two countries. M. Dauzat finds that extreme poverty (*la misère*) has disappeared from France. With us, unfortunately, there is a great deal of real distress, amounting almost to starvation, among the middle class, who are ground between the upper and nether millstones of the profiteers and the trade unions. This class, believing that its

sufferings are incurred for the good of the country, has borne them with exemplary patience and self-sacrifice; but distress is extreme. Large numbers of the parochial clergy are almost in rags, and have not enough to eat. Refined gentlemen and ladies are reduced to accepting presents of cast-off clothing and old boots. The richer professional men, though they have enough left to keep the wolf from the door, have lost about fifteen shillings in the pound of their incomes before the war, 50 per cent. being taken from them by taxation and 50 per cent. of the remainder by increase in the cost of living.

This enormous transference of wealth, caused chiefly by the threats of organized labor, which while the country was fighting for its life it was impossible to resist, constitutes a social revolution such as this country has never seen before.

There is one other point in which our experience does not agree with that of the French. The women—those at least who belong to the upper and middle classes—have not shown any eagerness to throw up their war work. They are still showing themselves worthy of their new political privileges by admirable devotion to the service of the country.

## France and the Holy See

### Movement in the French Chamber to Renew Diplomatic Relations With the Vatican

THE question of a resumption of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican, which were broken off twenty years ago, when Church and State were separated, has again come to the fore. The subject has acquired new interest since France regained Alsace-Lorraine, where the concordat under German rule had been continuously in force.

The debate in the French Chamber of Deputies in the first week of February showed that the question was rapidly becoming an issue. The Government had to answer a number of interpellations on foreign policy, and in one of these the question of a resumption of relations with Rome was definitely raised. After M. Cornudet had asked for a clear declaration on foreign policy, M. Edouard Soulier, a Protestant pastor, addressed the Deputies on the subject of the Vati-

can. His address may be summarized as follows:

He was, he said, a convinced supporter of the separation of Church and State, but he was equally convinced that the continuance of such a régime should not work to the injury of any one in the country. The question of relations with the Holy See depended upon political motives, and, so judged, it was clear how it should be settled. The Vatican was a diplomatic centre of the first order, and France had suffered from being unrepresented there during the war. At the present time she had no right to refrain from availing herself of the means of strengthening her influence in the world, and of moral means least of all. Besides, French Catholics felt themselves placed in a position of inferiority, as compared with Protestants and Freethinkers, by the absence of such relations; and so France would never have a really lay or neutral régime, under which there should be mutual respect for consciences, until this wounding of the feelings of Catholics was ended. The regeneration of the



country should be based on international and social peace, but, a foundation of religious peace was precedent even to them.

The words of M. Soulier were enthusiastically received by the Deputies. M. Millerand, the new French Premier, replied as follows:

The national interests of France will ever be our guide. On the day when the national interest shall seem to require a resumption of relations with the Vatican, on that day, openly and publicly, the Government will lay the matter before Parliament, with whom the decision will rest.

Brief as this answer was, it was received with general applause, and secured a vote of confidence of 513 votes against 66.

In commenting upon this incident the *Tablet*, in its issue of Feb. 14, drew attention to the fact that a resumption of relations with the Vatican had been touched upon in the program of the Republicans of the Left, which had made the following declaration: "The Republicans of the Left desire that France should be officially present everywhere where she has rights and interests to defend." To a representative of *L'Echo de Paris*, M. Georges Noblemaire, Deputy for the Hautes-Alpes, who held the post of military attaché in Italy for two years during the war, and who was a member of the committee which drafted the program, emphasized the word "everywhere." Rome, he said, was the only place where France was not represented, and as all roads lead there, why should she not take them? That did not mean, he intimated, that there should be any disturbance of the régime of separation; but it did mean that the present unsatisfactory and provisory situation should be replaced by a stable and generous *modus vivendi*.

This could be effected, M. Noblemaire declared, without touching the principle of separation, or having recourse to a concordat similar to that which had been denounced. The time would come when it would be possible to estimate

what the cause of France had suffered by her official absence from the Vatican, and people would then understand the magnitude of the error committed by successive French Governments in leaving the field at Rome open to German enterprises and keeping it closed to themselves. Some points of contact had been kept up, but such unofficial diplomacy was unworthy of a country like France, and condemned it to ineffectiveness. What was needed at the Vatican for France was an officially accredited representative, who, without disrespect or exaggerated deference, would, in the fullest independence, serve the interests of the republic. M. Noblemaire stressed the importance of such representation in the following words:

There is our age-long influence in the East, and especially in Syria and the Holy Places to be restored and developed; the works of our missions scattered over the world to be encouraged and supported; and in Europe, especially in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the intervention of religious influence in political problems to be studied and watched. In Alsace and Lorraine, which are under a concordat, is there not some fresh adaptation and evolution to be effected, especially as the matter is one of the greatest delicacy, seeing that our brethren there are very sensitive on the matter? At Rome other powers, even those which are not Catholics, set us an example. The conclusion, then, is plain: France must be present there as everywhere else. Good sense and patriotism alike demand it.

The well-known writer, M. Anatole France, a strong opponent of this movement, holds that a resumption of relations would involve a fresh concordat and consequent interference by the Vatican in French affairs. To this argument the *Tablet* replies:

In this he is imitating the tactics of the defeated Radical-Socialists, who are always talking about the menace of the Right and its reactionary influences. The program that won the elections is one of tolerance and appeasement, which would adapt existing legislation to the needs of the present and the future in a spirit of conciliation, and with a view to the practical interests of the nation.

# CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS

CURRENT HISTORY undertakes in this department to publish such open letters as it considers of general interest. No letter will be used without the name and address of the writer. On controversial questions it will be the aim to give all sides an equal chance at representation; CURRENT HISTORY, however, aiming to record events as nearly as possible without comment or bias, disclaims responsibility for opinions contained in these letters.

## RUMANIA DEFENDED

To the Editor of Current History:

I have read with great interest and profit your excellent article on Rumania in the March number; I note, however, a few statements which my recent tour in that country enables me to rectify. The present *de facto* Government in Rumania is *not* Liberal; in fact, the great surprise of the November elections was the downfall of the Liberal Party, which had control of the electoral machinery. I was impressed with the fairness of the elections, and the order which prevailed. Not merely did the Liberals lose, but a large block of Peasants' Party candidates was returned, together with a score of Hungarians, still more Germans, a dozen Russians, six or seven Jews and several Bulgarians. I was present at the opening of this first Parliament of Greater Rumania, which I described in THE NEW YORK TIMES, and have never witnessed a more inspiring spectacle.

It is true that the Transylvanian Rumanians are in a backward condition; but that is the result of the economic, political and especially intellectual serfdom in which the Hungarians held them. A shortage of trained teachers for the new Rumanian schools is one of the chief problems confronting the Government; the heritage of Magyar tyranny will be long in disappearing. We must not forget that many prominent Hungarians, including their most famous King, were Transylvanian Rumanians; and now, that education is no longer denied them, their progress will be gratifying.

It is also hardly fair to speak of the "characteristic incompetence, politically and economically speaking, of the Rumanians." One forgets that, unlike Greece (which had the warm support of the West) and Serbia and Bulgaria (fostered by Russia), Rumania won her independence and made her remarkable economic progress almost unaided; and she had no reason to feel ashamed of her statesmen—Cuza, Kogalniceanu, the elder Bratiano, Maiorescu and others. The Rumanian State ran its railways admirably; trains were frequent, rates low, accommodations good, and the State netted an annual profit for many years of 100,000,000 francs or over. It ill becomes us, after our railroad and political exhibition of the past year or two, to cast a stone at the "incompetence" of others.

You quote Count Apponyi's statement that Hungary was left only twenty-seven locomo-

tives by the Rumanians. General Prezan, the Rumanian Commander in Chief, told me that he took the advice of British experts to find out how many locomotives the Hungarians needed for commercial purposes; he did not wish to cripple them industrially, being anxious merely to prevent another surprise attack on Rumania like that of Bela Kun. "They told me," he said, "that they thought Hungary could get along with 2,000 locomotives; so I left them 2,300." I saw many more than twenty-seven in Hungary myself.

I presume you went to press before the General Bandholtz interview, which you summarize, was officially disavowed. I was in Budapest at the end of October, and was astonished at what I saw, after the stories of Rumanian spoliation which had been telegraphed us so lavishly. One of Friedrich's Ministers actually told me, with tears in his voice, that the Rumanians had requisitioned *all* the cattle, horses, plows, &c., in occupied Hungary. And with my own eyes from the train window, as we passed through Hungary coming into Budapest, I had been admiring the sleek oxen, the handsome horses, the abundant poultry in every Hungarian farmyard—a striking contrast to the desolation wrought by the enemy in Rumania itself! I found the markets in Budapest abundantly supplied with everything but wheat, which it appears the peasantry were holding for higher prices; curiously enough, the Rumanian authorities were having to import grain from Transylvania to keep up the bread supply!

One of our Peace Commission in Paris had painted to me, from General Bandholtz's reports, a sad picture of the destitution of the city; I could hardly believe my eyes when I looked over the crowded tea room of the Ritz every afternoon, the well-provided restaurant and hotel menus, the throngs going to the races, the art exhibitions or the theatres, the well-stocked stores full of shoppers; our party bought many articles we could hardly find in Bucharest, including very handsome silk shirts costing about \$5 each in American money. For the benefit of my Paris friend I clipped the current market report from the Pester Lloyd (the great German daily), which stated, *inter alia*, that the poultry supply was "überreich" (overabundant), and that in spite of the affluence of buyers the prices of geese, turkeys and ducks had fallen some ten crowns a kilogram. I failed to persuade him. He wrote back that I could not be



right, and the allied military observers (who, by the way, were notoriously pro-Hungarian and anti-Rumanian) wrong!

General Prezan told me that the only requisitions of farm produce he had made were in the strip east of the Theiss, and were only 15 per cent., as against the 82 per cent. which Czernin boasted that he had taken, of the Rumanian cattle. As regards the conduct of the Rumanian troops, General Greenley, the British observer with them, is on record as testifying that "they behaved at least as well as a British Army of Occupation would have done." I talked with Dr. Kiss Arnold, the chief rabbi of Budapest. He said frankly that he thought the Magyar population had very little to complain of at the hands of the Rumanians, and he was plainly much worried over probable anti-Semitic reprisals after the Rumanians had left. These excesses at once came about. The recent petition to the Peace Conference, signed by 100,000 Jews of Budapest, begging that the Rumanians be ordered to re-occupy Budapest, is an eloquent testimony to his clear-sightedness and to General Bandholtz's partisanship.

You do a public service also in printing the special treaty with Rumania. It should, however, be mentioned that the chief reason why the Rumanians fought tooth and nail against signing it was that it originally contained a number of obnoxious provisions, which their opposition finally succeeded in striking out, and which, of course, do not appear in the final draft in your columns. I possess a copy of the original, in which the preamble states that Rumania's independence was only conditional, never having been altered since the Treaty of Berlin (and the United States, by the way, is grouped among the powers signatories of the Treaty of Berlin)! It is probable that we Americans would have protested if told by France and England that we must put into our fundamental law provisions like those of the original Article IX., which would force us to maintain only German elementary schools in Dutch Pennsylvania or some wards of Milwaukee, only French schools in some New England mill towns, only Spanish schools in much of the Southwest; those of the original Article X., which provided for Jewish confessional schools under local Jewish committees, at State expense; or of the original Article XI., which would prevent our holding law courts, registration or elections on a Saturday. And what should we think of the original Article XVI., which would virtually deprive us of the right of fixing tariffs over our railroads and rivers for business originating, e. g., in Canada and terminating in Mexico?

I did not know a single American or Englishman in Bucharest who did not feel strong sympathy for the Rumanians in their fight against signing the first draft of this extraordinary document—suitable rather to

a conquered foe than to a gallant and sorely tried ally, and I knew many Americans who were indignant that our Government should apply relentless pressure to force the Rumanians to sign without a change or a reservation.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

Yale Club, New York City, March 24, 1920.

## JAPAN'S ACTS COMPARED WITH JAPAN'S WORDS

*To the Editor of Current History:*

History belies the apologetic of the Marquis Okuma transcribed in *CURRENT HISTORY* for March, 1920, from the Japanese Magazine. If Japan is the Good Samaritan her statesmen would have us believe, she can very simply prove it by her actions. But as long as those actions proclaim her the Prussia of the Far East the world must question the sincerity of her apologists.

Let Japan remember that the world has not forgotten the story of Korea. The Korean independence movement of today and the stories of outrages perpetrated on defenseless peasants by Japanese soldiery and police keep it fresh in our minds. Japan entered Korea in 1904 because the Russian bear had placed one paw on Northern Korea and was eagerly eyeing the port of Fusan at Korea's southernmost tip, the possession of which would be a dagger pointed at Japan's back. The treaty with Korea under which Japan entered Korea to attack Russia guaranteed Korean independence and integrity. Russia, beaten, in 1906 signed the treaty of Portsmouth recognizing Japan's "paramount interests in Korea." Korea had nothing to say about the stipulations of that treaty, but her Emperor signed it because the Marquis Ito told him to and a Japanese army occupied Korea at the time. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea.

Now, most of the European powers whose peaceful intervention and consequent seizures of territory furnished Japan a model de luxe for her Korean episode have had the grace to take sufficient time about the operation of absorption to smooth some of the ruffled feelings. But Japan didn't even give the world a chance to forget that she had guaranteed Korean independence. She went ahead with the operation immediately after the Russian war and within six years broke her pledge, thereby giving the inevitable impression that she had never intended to keep it.

With this example fresh in our minds, what other conclusion can we draw from Japan's propaganda of today than that she desires to repeat the process on a much larger scale in China? Certainly her politico-economic expansion in Manchuria, Eastern Mongolia, Fukien and Shantung, and her blunt Twenty-one Demands of 1915 strengthen such a supposition.

In the face of such facts the Marquis Okuma blandly proclaims that "Japan certainly has no designs on any territory of

China. On the contrary, it is Japan's main desire and policy to preserve the territorial integrity of China." He admits that Japan does not "deem it improper to desire the economic and commercial development of China, which would mean mutual profit to all." It must be, then, that Japan presented the Twenty-one Demands believing that they were primarily for China's good. No one will claim, however, that China received them with open arms, nor even that she signed that agreement without protest.

Okuma complains that China got ahead of Japan at the Peace Conference. "China not only dispatched men of eloquence and learning to the Peace Conference, but backed them up with all the usual force of propaganda, while Japan was satisfied to send simply gentlemen." *C'est à rire*. The Chinese delegates—men of eloquence; the Japanese—merely gentlemen. Granted the former; but what would the Marquis Saionji, Baron Makino, Viscount Chinda and the Messrs. Matsui and Ijuin say to the inference that they were statesmen of inferior qualifications when compared with Messrs. Lou and Wang? Was it not these same "gentlemen" who pulled the wool over President Wilson's eyes—headmits it—until the secret treaties between Japan and certain allied powers came to light, showing that China had already been handed over to her kindly neighbor by mutual agreement of her persecutors? Yet the Marquis asks: "How can Japan, which is not as powerful as her rivals, be suspected of trying to get the lion's share of the profit out of China?" And, forgetting Korea, he continues: "And as for her attempting to play the tyrant in China, the idea is too absurd for honest consideration." Is her massacre of Christians in Korea "too absurd for honest consideration"? Only the Sultan, Kaiser, Czar and Soviet Dictator can share with the Mikado such honors.

The claim is made that we in the United States misunderstand Japan's policy in China. Let us admit that it is not easy at all times for Occidentals to understand Oriental ways. Still, it is a principle understood and accepted equally by both that actions speak louder than words. If Japan would justify herself before the world let her adopt a program more consistent with the policy she proclaims. The following steps are suggested:

1. Let her withdraw her military forces and officials from Korea, leaving a civil Government in which Japanese officials shall be gradually displaced by natives, and giving the Korean people a pledge, through the League of Nations, that in ten years they shall decide their own lot by plebiscite.

2. Let her, now that the Peace Conference has given her her own way in Shantung, voluntarily retire from the province, retaining no privileges whatever by force, but negotiating with China a new treaty to secure economic privileges such as China shall

feel it consistent with her sovereignty to allow.

3. Let her pool her interests in Mongolia and Manchuria in the proposed International Consortium formed for the purpose of financing China, giving to others the open door which she demands for herself.

4. Let her revise all treaties with China so as to eliminate the element of compulsion which has entered into practically all of them, so that the two countries may join in protecting Asia from European oppression and render to each other the economic assistance each needs.

5. Let her apologists take care not to harm her case before the world by arguments so openly false that they deceive no one acquainted with the facts.

HENRY C. FENN,

2,627 Boulevard, Jersey City, N. J., March 25, 1920.

## SOVIET RELIGIOUS POLICY

*To the Editor of Current History:*

May I be permitted to add a few facts to those given in my article in the April CURRENT HISTORY on "The Religious Revolution in Russia"?

In their efforts to emancipate the people from their religious superstitions, the Bolsheviks have attained quite unforeseen results. The London Morning Post communicates that Bolshevik soldiers now are singing everywhere with particular zest a song beginning: "We have sent God into retirement." The Soviet authorities understand that the soldiers becoming blasphemous to such an extent may easily get a notion to send "into retirement" any commissary who fails to please them. Hence Trotzky, the Bolshevik Minister of War, a reputed atheist, found it necessary to prohibit the singing of this and other ribald songs. The Morning Post says:

The immediate cause of Trotzky's pious admonition was a sound, practical cause. The conscripted muzhik Reds and the volunteer Lettish Reds stationed at Nijny-Ufinsk, just west of the Urals, fought a pitched battle (twenty-three dead) because the Letts defiled the local Orthodox Church. As a result, all over East Russia spread an anti-Lettish ferment, which seriously threatened the solidarity of the Red forces. Noteworthy, as showing the measure in which Bolshevism is obliged to rely upon non-Russian elements, is the fact that in this matter the Soviet press mostly took sides with the Letts, and strongly criticised the Moscow Government's policy, declaring that while State patronizing of superstition would never succeed in winning over the, at heart, counter-revolutionary muzhiks, it might dangerously incense those enlightened Lettish elements which are genuinely and stalwartly Bolshevik. The Government, as usual, got its way: a Lettish officer



was degraded; the central authorities began to discourage fanaticism; and even the local Soviet magnates, who are usually much less politic, set themselves to regulating instead of attacking their subjects' faith. And so out comes a decree from avowed atheists prescribing to pious citizens how they shall pray and adore, all in the best spirit of the late Constantin Pobiedonostseff, Procurator of the Holy Synod, who transformed Orthodoxy under the Romanoffs into a handful of dry bones.

Thus, on one side, the Bolshevik authorities are trying to "standardize" religion, compose their own hymns and prayers for the people, and deliver lectures on lay or scientific morality; on the other side they resort to the motion picture in their educational campaign against superstitions. The Morning Post says:

All over Soviet Russia are being shown filmed representations of the opening by Soviet officials of the coffins of reputed saints, the aim being to prove that the relics to which pious citizens ascribed healing virtues were inventions of priests and monks. The best-advertised films show the opening of the coffins of St. Serge of Radonezh in the Trinity-Sergieyev Monastery, north of Moscow, and of St. Tikhon of Zadonsk. In order to prove the impartiality of these inquiries, monks, doctors and archaeologists are forced to attend and be filmed. The exhumations represent the educational side of the anti-religious campaign, which is to continue until all Russians are converted into unbelievers. Meantime the believers are, according to the new principle, to be wisely regulated and guided, and occasionally, according to the old practice, to be beaten, tortured, or shot.

L'Humanité of Paris speaks of a new Soviet attitude toward religion in Russia:

At first the clergy were molested by the Soviet Government, but the time of persecution has passed. The Bolsheviks, who have to do with an extremely credulous populace, are not foolish enough to persevere in an anti-religious policy, which would make them most unpopular. They are content to pursue a strictly lay policy. They are keeping up their harsh treatment of the parish priests, who are generally hated by the muzhik, but they respect freedom of worship, and Moscow remains as ever the City of Churches.

There is some analogy between the present religious revolution in Russia and that of the great French Revolution. French radicals, too, sent their Catholic God "into retirement," and persecuted and executed Catholic priests. But the French authorities, like the Russian Reds, soon realized that the people needed some religion, and so they invented the Goddess of Reason, who, in the form of a beautiful woman, was adored in

the great cathedral, Notre Dame of Paris. But the goddess, too, was soon sent "into retirement," together with her inventors, and a new mystic God appeared with new rulers. Then came Napoleon, who could live and rule freely along with the old Catholic religion. It remains to be seen what the Russian Napoleon will do; for, according to historic precedents, he must come sooner or later.

P. J. POPOFF.

121 Jamaica Avenue, Flushing, N. Y., March 28, 1920.

## D'ANNUNZIO DEFENDED

To the Editor of Current History:

My patriotic fervor forces me to make a few statements regarding Mr. Jerich's article on "d'Annunzio's Claims" in your February issue. Mr. Jerich says, "The Peace Conference assigned the city of Danzig to Poland because Poland needed a seaport." To this I answer that Danzig was Polish from its founding, which was about 1519, until the partition of Poland in 1772. Therefore, the action of the Peace Conference was fitting and proper. Danzig was given to Poland, not because Poland needed a seaport, but because it was hers.

I admit that Italy has no right to steal Yugoslavia's mercury, and that it would not be just for d'Annunzio to come and seize a coal district in the United States on the plea that Italy has no coal. But is it right for Yugoslavia to attempt to take that which is not hers? Is it right for Yugoslavia to claim Fiume? If it is not right for d'Annunzio to come and seize coal districts on the plea that Italy has no coal mines, why is it right for the Yugoslav Generals to attempt to claim the seaport of Fiume on the ground that Yugoslavia has no seaport? Fiume is as Italian as Danzig is Polish. Why did not the Peace Conference justify itself by giving to Italy the land which was unjustly taken away from her? The land which the Yugoslavs want has been Italy's for centuries. Can Mr. Jerich or any one else prove that Fiume is not Italian?

As for the plea that "every State needs a seaport for commerce, just as a human body needs lungs," I should like to remind Mr. Jerich that the prosperous, industrious and peaceful Switzerland has no seaport. Many nations just formed or forming from the great Russian Empire will have no seaports. What about them? According to Mr. Jerich's statement they will die for lack of lungs—a seaport.

D'Annunzio said, "Fiume is Italian, and it is not a question of transferring the port to Yugoslavia; it is a question of freedom or slavery for the Italians who inhabit Fiume. \* \* \* Fiume shall exist as an Italian city or it shall cease to exist." That is the determination of a true patriot and of the millions who sympathize with him.

SALVATORE C. MANTONE.

182 East Railroad Street, Pittston, Pa., Feb. 24, 1920.

# CURRENT HISTORY

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE KNOX RESOLUTION . . . . By George W. Wickersham	367
MAKING PEACE WITHOUT A TREATY: The Senate Debate . .	372
THE SAN REMO CONFERENCE . . . . .	379
AN INSIDE VIEW OF ITALY'S AFFAIRS . By Dr. Orestes Ferrara	385
AMERICAN DEVELOPMENTS . . . . .	390
THE SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION . . . . .	395
A HISTORIC ACT OF FRIENDSHIP FOR FRANCE By John B. Kennedy	396
DEATH OF TWO PROMINENT AMERICANS . . . . .	398
THE RUSSO-ESTHONIAN TREATY: FULL TEXT . . . . .	400*
AMONG THE NATIONS: A WORLDWIDE SURVEY:	
Overthrow of the Carranza Government (Map) . . . . .	407
Race for South American Trade . . . . .	414
The British Empire and Its Problems . . . . .	418
The Latin Nations of Europe . . . . .	426
Radicalism Defeated in Denmark . . . . .	430
Belgium's New Prosperity . . . . .	432
Critical Period for Germany . . . . .	433
Nations of the Former Austrian Empire . . . . .	438
States of the Balkan Peninsula . . . . .	441
Dismemberment of the Turkish Empire (Map) . . . . .	445
Poland's New War on Soviet Russia (Map) . . . . .	454
Russia and the New Baltic States . . . . .	457
The Caucasus Republics . . . . .	460
Status of the Japan-China Dispute . . . . .	463

*Contents Continued on Next Page*

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## Table of Contents—Continued

### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NATIONS TREATED:

	PAGE		PAGE
ALBANIA .....	441	JAPAN .....	463
ARGENTINA .....	445	JUGOSLAVIA .....	442
ARMENIA .....	448	KURDISTAN .....	452
AUSTRALIA .....	423	MEXICO .....	407
AUSTRIA .....	438	MESOPOTAMIA .....	453
AZERBAIJAN .....	460	NEW ZEALAND .....	424
BELGIUM .....	432	PALESTINE .....	448
BOLIVIA .....	416	PERSIA .....	453
BRAZIL .....	416	POLAND .....	454
BULGARIA .....	442	PORTUGAL .....	428
CANADA .....	422	RUMANIA .....	444
CHILE .....	416	RUSSIA .....	457
CHINA .....	463	SCOTLAND .....	422
CZECHOSLOVAKIA .....	439	SOUTH AFRICA .....	425
DENMARK .....	430	SMYRNA .....	450
EGYPT .....	425	SPAIN .....	427
ENGLAND .....	418	SWEDEN .....	431
FRANCE .....	426	SWITZERLAND .....	430
GERMANY .....	433	SYRIA .....	451
GREECE .....	443	TURKEY .....	445
GUATEMALA .....	413	UNITED STATES .....	390
HOLLAND .....	432	URUGUAY .....	417
HUNGARY .....	440	THE VATICAN .....	429
IRELAND .....	419	WEST INDIES .....	413
ITALY .....	428		

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF . . . . . 465

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH FROM MANY NATIONS . . . . . 465

PIGEONS IN THE WAR: What Bird Messengers Did . . . . . 490

#### THE MARCH OF SCIENCE:

The Einstein Theory and Its Revolutionary Effects . . . . . 495

Listening for Martian Signals . . . . . 499

Talking Through the Ground by Geophone . . . . . 500

An Aerial Sextant and Other Aeronautic Aids . . . . . 500

Airmen's Problems in Tropical Africa . . . . . 501

The Photostat: A Revolutionary Aid to Research . . . . . 502

SOME FACTS ABOUT ARMENIA. (Map) . By Benjamin Burges Moore 504

GREAT BRITAIN'S SHARE IN THE VICTORY . . . . . 512

COSTS OF THE WORLD WAR . . . . . 514

JAPAN'S NAVAL EFFORT (Map) . . . . . 518

JAPANESE EMIGRATION . . . . . 521

RUSSIA'S PART IN THE ALLIED VICTORY . . . . . 522

RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS IN RUSSIA . . . By Constantin Fraboni 529

THE SOVIET MARRIAGE CODE . . . . . 533

LIGHT ON AUSTRIA'S WAR GUILT . . By Louise E. Matthaei 535

#### THE CANADIAN FARMER ENTERS POLITICS

By Charles W. Stokes 540

Canadian Minister to the United States . . . . . 544

THE JUGOSLAV MINORITIES TREATY . . . . . 545

TEXT OF BULGARIA'S MINORITY GUARANTEES . . . . . 548

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS . . . . . 550

# THE KNOX RESOLUTION

## Merits and Defects of the Senate Measure for Ending the State of War With Germany

By GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM

[FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES]

THE adoption by the United States Senate, on Saturday last (May 15, 1920), of the Knox substitute for the House joint resolution proposing to establish peace between the United States and Germany and the United States and Austria gives rise to many interesting questions. Admittedly the action is without precedent in our history; but the situation of affairs in which the country finds itself is also without precedent. That hard cases make bad law is an old proverb, whose complement is the saying that necessity is the mother of invention. The *impasse* between the President and the Senate over the Treaty of Versailles has resulted in a most embarrassing situation in our relations with foreign countries, attended also with inconveniences and anomalies at home. The President has shown an absolute unwillingness to yield to the views of the Senate; the Senate, with the aid of the House, now proposes a way out of the dilemma which it is hoped may appeal to the people as reasonable, and thus put upon the President the onus of responsibility for continuing the existing unsettled state.

What is the validity and effect of this proposed action? Why is there such difficulty in removing the present state of uncertainty?

War is not merely armed conflict between two nations; it is a legal status, involving legal consequences, not only to the belligerent countries and their inhabitants, but to other powers. The Constitution of the United States has vested in the Congress the power to declare war. In modern times hostilities usually have occurred without preliminary declarations on either side. The customary formality has been, after one or more acts of aggression on the part

of one of the disputants, to adopt resolutions recognizing and declaring the existence of a state of war.

### OUR OBJECT IN THE WAR

President Wilson, in his address to the Congress on April 2, 1917, asked that body to declare that the recent course of the Imperial German Government was in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States, to formally accept the status of belligerency thus created, and to exert all the power of the nation to bring the Government of Germany to terms and to end the war. The object of the war on our part, he said, would be

to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world against selfish and autocratic power and to set up among the early free and self-governing peoples of the world such a concert, purpose and action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.

We shall fight [the address concluded] for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

Thereupon, on April 6, 1917, the Congress, by joint resolution, after reciting that the German Government had committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States, formally declared the existence of the state of war "which has thus been thrust upon the United States," and authorized and directed the President to employ the entire military and naval forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry



on the war and bring the conflict to a successful termination.

How the strength of this nation was put forth in that effort, and with what success, is familiar history. On Nov. 11, 1918, an armistice or agreement to suspend hostilities, dictated by the allied and associated powers, was accepted by Germany, which was to continue for thirty days, with option to extend, and with the right to be denounced by any one of the contracting parties on forty-eight hours' previous notice. This act terminated further hostilities, but it did not make peace. An armistice does not establish peace,

because the condition of war remains between the belligerents and neutrals on all points beyond the mere cessation of hostilities.

#### PRECEDENT OF SPANISH WAR

Attorney General Griggs, in August, 1898, advised that, notwithstanding the armistice signed with Spain and the cessation of hostilities, a state of war still existed between this country and Spain,

as peace can only be declared pursuant to the negotiations of the authorized peace commissioners.

The Supreme Court, in ruling on some questions which arose during the war with Spain, said, in 1904:

A state of war did not in law cease until the ratification in April, 1899, of the treaty of peace. "A truce or suspension of arms," says Kent, "does not terminate the war, but it is one of the *commercium belli* which suspends its operations. \* \* \* At the expiration of the truce hostilities may recommence without any further declaration of war."

Both the President and the Congress have recognized this fact by a series of official acts since the date of the German armistice. Some of these were enumerated by the Supreme Court in a recent decision upholding the validity of the War Prohibition act, which was approved ten days after the armistice with Germany was signed. Among the examples cited were: the passage by Congress on Oct. 28, 1919, over the President's veto, of the National Prohibition act, which, in making further provisions for the administration of the Wartime Prohibition act, treated the war as continuing and demobilization as incom-

plete; the refusal of the Senate on Nov. 19, 1919, to ratify the Peace Treaty with Germany; the resumption by the President on Oct. 30, 1919, of the control of the fuel supply under the Lever act; the continued operation by the President of the railroads, control of which had been taken as a war measure, until the approval of the Transportation act of 1920 on Feb. 28, 1920; the veto by the President on Nov. 18, 1919, of a Senate bill because it diminished that control; the continued control by means of the Food Administration Grain Corporation of the supply of grain and wheat flour throughout the United States, &c. These and many other acts all constitute a recognition of the continuance of a legal state of war long after actual hostilities have ceased. How, then, may this state of war be terminated?

#### METHODS OF ENDING WARS

Generally speaking, a war may be brought to an end only by one of the following three methods:

(1) By the complete collapse of one of the belligerents.

(2) By the mere cessation of hostilities and a continued state of technical war, until an agreement, express or implied, is arrived at between the contestants. Such a condition arose after the war between Charles XII. of Sweden and Frederick Augustus, King of Poland. An armistice was concluded between them, whereby the actual fighting was suspended, but the state of war between the two countries remained and continued for nearly ten years, neither side being disposed to resume military operations against the other. Finally, a state of peace was declared and legalized by means of letters exchanged between the monarchs.

Similar conditions arose at the time of the revolt of the American colonies of Spain against the mother country. A number of years elapsed after the suspension of hostilities before treaties of peace were made. In 1868, the State Department of the United States had brought to its attention a question as to the status between Spain and Chile and

Spain and Peru. Mr. Seward, in a note to the Spanish Minister, said:

What period of suspension of war is necessary to justify the presumption of the restoration of peace has never yet been settled and must in every case be determined with reference to the collateral facts and circumstances. \* \* \* Whenever the United States shall find itself obliged to decide the question whether the war still exists between Spain and Peru or whether that war has come to an end, it will make that decision only after having carefully examined all the pertinent facts which shall be within its reach and after having given due consideration to such representations as shall have been made by the several parties interested.

The United States was a neutral with respect to the controversies there discussed, and it was because of its obligations as a neutral that it became necessary to suggest to the Government of Spain that it might have to consider and itself determine whether or not as a fact war still existed between Spain and Chile or Peru.

### THE THIRD METHOD

Generally speaking, therefore, not only the relations between the belligerent parties, but with respect of neutral countries, demand the definite ascertainment of a legal state of peace by means of an agreement or treaty between the combatants.

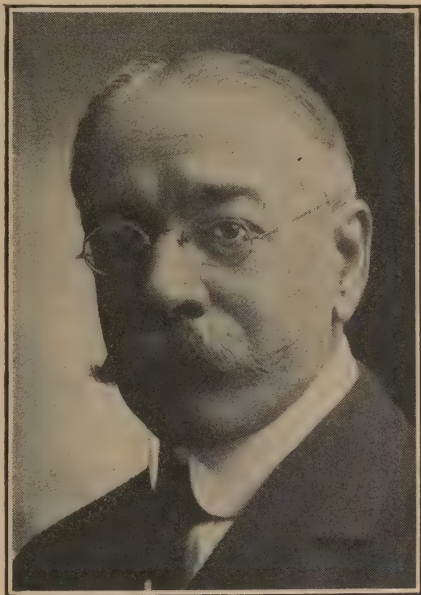
I have yet to learn [wrote Br. Bayard, Secretary of State, to the Spanish Minister, in 1886] that a war in which the belligerents, as was the case with the late civil war, are persistent and determined, can be said to have closed until peace is conclusively established, either by treaty when the war is foreign, or when civil by proclamation of the termination of hostilities on one side and the acceptance of such proclamation on the other.

The Supreme Court, in discussing the question when the rebellion should be considered as having been completely suppressed within the meaning of certain acts of Congress, said:

In a foreign war a treaty of peace would be the evidence of the time when it closed, but in a domestic war, like the late one, some public proclamation or legislation would seem to be required to inform those whose private rights were affected by it of the time when it terminated.

(3) Therefore, as a matter of practical necessity, the customary method of restoring peace is by agreement or treaty

between the belligerents. By the Constitution of the United States, the President is empowered to make treaties, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. It was proposed in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 to give the power to make peace to the



GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM

*Former Attorney General of the United States—in the Cabinet of President Taft*

Congress—the same body which had authority to make war. Mr. Ellsworth, afterward Chief Justice, said:

There is a material difference between the cases of making war and making peace. It should be more easy to get out of war than into it. War also is a simple and overt declaration, peace attended with intricate and secret negotiations.

After brief discussion, the suggestion was unanimously rejected, and the peace-making power, as a part of the power to make treaties, was left with the President and Senate. We have Alexander Hamilton's statement that it was understood by all who framed the Constitution that the intent of the provision was to give to that power the most ample latitude—to render it competent to all the



stipulations which the exigencies of national affairs might require; competent to the making of treaties of alliance, treaties of commerce, treaties of peace, and every other species of convention usual among nations; and competent in the course of its exercise for these purposes to control and bind the legislative power of Congress.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS AND LIMITATIONS

Throughout the history of our Government it has been recognized that the power to initiate treaties was vested in the President, but that a treaty negotiated by him, or under his authority, was only tentative until approved by the Senate by vote of two-thirds of the members present. The Senate constantly has exercised its right to withhold approval of treaties negotiated by the President until they should be modified and amended to meet its views.

President Wilson, therefore, in the negotiations which preceded his concurrence in the Treaty of Versailles, should have taken into account the constitutional necessity of securing the approval of the requisite majority in the Senate to the instrument which he should submit for its consideration. An attitude of stubborn unwillingness to yield in the slightest degree his judgment as to the treaty provisions was as unreasonable and as unconstitutional as the attitude on the part of certain members of the Senate to insist upon loading the treaty with conditions merely for the purpose of depriving the President of the credit of achievement.

The final rejection of the treaty by the Senate left the country in the same technical state of war with Germany and Austria which existed the day after the armistice was signed, a state which can only be satisfactorily terminated by an agreement between the President and the Senate respecting the Treaty of Versailles, or the negotiation and submission to the Senate for its approval of a new treaty. But the state of mind which has developed in both the President and the majority of the Senate has precluded, for the present, at least, the adoption of either alternative, and has led to the novel expedient on the part of the Congress to attempt the creation

of a fourth method of ending the state of war. The Knox resolution proposes to repeal the joint resolution of April 6, 1917, which declared the existence of a state of war with Germany, and to declare that state of war to be at an end.

#### FLAW IN KNOX RESOLUTION

Had the resolution stopped there, it would be difficult to successfully challenge its effectiveness so far as merely restoring a peace status is concerned. A repeal of the declaration of war by the same power which made it—Congress and the President—would seem to be within the power conferred by the Constitution, even if it did leave unsettled the many questions which in the interest of both parties should be settled.

But this resolution, recognizing what the fact is, that no *satisfactory* peace between belligerent powers can be attained, save by agreement between them, that is, by a treaty, proceeds to qualify its declaration by a *proviso*, first, that the United States shall retain possession of all the property of the German Government and its subjects now in its possession, until a treaty shall be made and ratified between the two countries containing suitable provisions for the satisfaction of claims growing out of the war by the United States or its citizens against the German Government, or until the latter has made treaty provision granting to subjects of the United States most favored nation treatment in matters of residence, business, profession, trade, navigation, commerce and industrial property rights, and confirming to the United States all fines, forfeitures, penalties and seizures imposed or made by its during the war in respect of property of the German Government and its nationals, and waiving any pecuniary claim based on offenses which occurred at any time before such treaty came into effect, anything in any existing treaty to the contrary notwithstanding; and, second, that until by treaty or act or joint resolution of the Congress it shall be otherwise determined, the United States, although it has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles, does not waive any of the rights, privileges, &c., to which it or its citizens have become entitled under

the terms of the armistice, or any extensions of it, or which are secured to it under the Treaty of Versailles as one of the principal associated and allied powers.

The proposed establishment of peace seems to be conditioned—for that is the probable effect of the *proviso*, upon all German property, both public and private, which has been taken possession of by the United States, or under its authority during the war, remaining in its possession, until a treaty shall have been made between the two countries. But the resolution either does or it does not establish peace. If it does establish peace, in the absence of a treaty to the contrary, under the well-settled principles of international law, as well as by force of existing treaties, the private property of German citizens may not be confiscated by the United States Government.

#### WOULD CREATE LIABILITY TO DAMAGE SUITS

The regulations respecting the laws and customs of war on land, adopted by The Hague Conference of 1907, and ratified by the United States Senate on March 10, 1908, specifically provide *that private property of an enemy cannot be confiscated*. This is in accordance with the principles formulated by Dr. Francis Lieber, and adopted in 1863, during the civil war, as a part of the instructions for the government of the armies of the United States in the field. Even with respect to the occupied territory of the enemy, these instructions declared:

The United States acknowledge and protect in hostile countries occupied by them religion and morality; *strictly private property*; the persons of the inhabitants, especially those of women, and the sacredness of domestic relations. \* \* \* Private property, unless forfeited by crimes or by offenses of the owner, can be seized only by way of military necessity for the safety or other benefit of the army or of the United States. If the owner has not fled, the commanding officer will cause receipts to be given which may serve the spoliated owner to obtain indemnity.

If, therefore, the Knox resolution should establish peace, without any agreement on the part of Germany to

accept the conditions suggested in the proviso, the United States and its citizens will at once become liable—at least in international law—to Germany and her citizens for all the private property of German subjects seized by the United States during the war, and it would be a serious question how far the resolution would be available as a defense to citizens of the United States in suits by German subjects with respect to their property. It certainly would give rise to claims against the United States enforceable in any court of international justice, such as The Hague tribunal.

The effect of the resolution upon neutral States is also a matter of grave question.

#### A DISCREDITABLE FEATURE

The implication arising from the attempt in the last paragraph but one of the proviso, to secure to the United States, as against Germany, the benefits which it might derive under the Treaty of Versailles, a treaty which the Senate has refused to ratify, is an effort as discreditable as it is futile. At best, it constitutes a notification to Germany that the public property belonging to her Government within our power, and the private property of her citizens, will be retained by the United States, in violation of principles of international law and the provisions of treaties, unless and until she shall come into an agreement whereby she shall secure to the United States all the advantages which it would derive as a party to the Treaty of Versailles, which it has repudiated.

The exigencies of party politics often induce action on the part of the representatives of one political body or another which in cooler moments are viewed with regret. I venture to suggest that popular opinion in this country will not sanction such an attempt as this to secure for ourselves the advantages of a bargain whose obligations we have rejected, as a condition to bringing about a definite peace with a defeated enemy, where the failure to reach an intelligent, legal, conventional and satisfactory peace is chargeable, not to the enemy, but to political complexities and mutual jealousies of branches of our own Gov-



ernment. It can hardly be said that the resolution is not within the constitutional powers of Congress, although it does embody a flagrant violation of the principles of civilized warfare, for which the United States has striven from the days of Franklin to the present time.

The Senate and, indeed, a large number of our people seem to have forgotten that we entered the war against Germany not merely to resist the aggression of the Imperial Government, but "to set up among the really free and "self-governing peoples of the world "such a concert of purpose and action "

as will henceforth secure the observance of principles of peace and justice in the life of the world against selfish and autocratic power. The existence of a state of war with Germany may be terminated by one method or another, but we shall have failed to accomplish the things for which so much blood and treasure have been devoted unless we become parties to an intelligent and genuine effort to establish "such a concert of free peoples "as shall bring peace and safety to all "nations and make the world itself at "last free."

*New York, May 18, 1920.*

## Making Peace Without a Treaty

### Debate and Passage of the Knox Resolution Aiming to End Our State of War With Germany

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 20, 1920]

THE Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, on April 30, by a strict party vote, reported favorably a resolution drafted by Senator Knox of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State in the Roosevelt Administration and former United States Attorney General, repealing the declarations of war against Germany and Austria. The Knox resolution was offered as a substitute for a resolution on the same subject adopted by the House of Representatives on April 9 by a vote of 242 to 150.

#### THE KNOX RESOLUTION

The text of the Senate measure was as follows:

*Joint resolution repealing the joint resolution of April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany, and the joint resolution of Dec. 7, 1917, declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Government.*

RESOLVED, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the joint resolution of Congress passed April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provisions to prosecute the same, be, and the same is hereby, re-

pealed, and said state of war is hereby declared at an end;

Section 1—Provided, however, that all property of the Imperial German Government or its successor or successors, and of all German nationals which was on April 6, 1917, in or has since that date come into the possession or under control of the Government of the United States or of any of its officers, agents or employees, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, shall be retained by the United States and no disposition thereof made, except as shall specifically be hereafter provided by Congress, until such time as the German Government has by treaty with the United States, ratification whereof is to be made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, made suitable provisions for the satisfaction of all claims against the German Government of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States, whether such persons have suffered through the acts of the German Government or its agents since July 31, 1914, loss, damage or injury to persons or property, directly or indirectly, through the ownership of shares of stock in German, American or other corporations, or otherwise, and until the German Government has given further undertakings and made provisions by treaty, to be ratified by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for granting to persons owing permanent allegiance to the United States, most-favored nation treatment, whether the same be national or otherwise, in all matters affecting residence, business,

profession, trade, navigation, commerce and industrial property rights, and confirming to the United States all fines, forfeitures, penalties and seizures imposed or made by the United States during the war, whether in respect to the property of the German Government or German nationals, and waiving any pecuniary claim based on events which occurred at any time before the coming into force of such treaty, any existing treaty between the United States and Germany to the contrary notwithstanding.

To these ends, and for the purpose of establishing fully friendly relations and commercial intercourse between the United States and Germany, the President is hereby requested immediately to open negotiations with the Government of Germany.

**Section 2**—That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the present war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress, joint resolutions or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, the date when this resolution becomes effective, shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present war or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

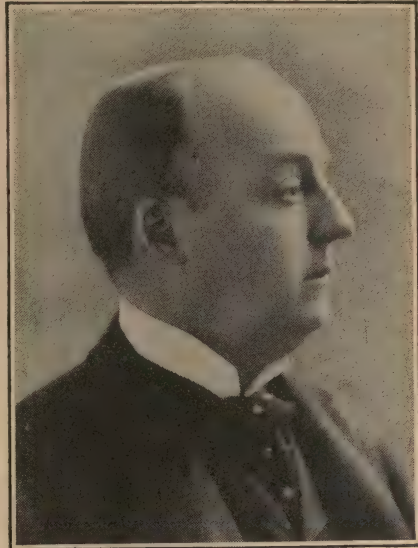
**Section 3**—That until by treaty or act or joint resolution of Congress it shall be determined otherwise, the United States, although it has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles, does not waive any of the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages to which it and its nationals have become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed Nov. 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof or which under the Treaty of Versailles have been stipulated for its benefit as one of the principal allied and associated powers and to which it is entitled.

**Section 4**—That the joint resolution of Congress, approved Dec. 7, 1917, declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same, be and the same is hereby repealed and said state of war is hereby declared at an end, and the President is hereby requested immediately to open negotiations with the successor or successors of said Government for the purpose of establishing fully friendly relations and commercial intercourse between the United States and the Governments and peoples of Austria and Hungary.

#### SENATOR KNOX'S ADDRESS

Senator Knox addressed the Senate on May 5 in support of the resolution.

After referring to the necessity of a state of peace in order to compose the revolutionary turmoil with which the world was seething he charged that President Wilson had maintained an "alleged state of war in order to coerce the Senate into accepting the Versailles Treaty, now "almost universally discredited in all of its parts," when as a matter of fact the declared enemy of the United States, the Imperial German Government, had disappeared. By this course, he said, the President had created a situation so "fraught with the possi-



PHILANDER C. KNOX

*Senator from Pennsylvania and Author of peace resolution*

(© Harris & Ewing)

bility of disaster that one cannot reconcile it with the operations of sane statesmanship."

Senator Knox recalled that wars may be terminated in one of three ways. These are, first, abstention by both parties from further acts of war; second, a special treaty of peace; third, one of the belligerents may completely subjugate his adversary. The speaker cited the commonly named instances of the ending of war by the cessation of hostilities, including the war between Sweden and Poland, terminating in 1716;



between Spain and France, ending in 1720; between Russia and Persia, ending in 1801; between France and Mexico, ending in 1867. To these the Senator added the war between Spain and the Allied South American States in the late sixties. In that instance, actual hostilities having ceased in 1866, Mr. Seward in 1868 instructed our representative in Spain to say that as the technical continuance of war inconvenienced all neutral States, especially the United States, a formal armistice was desirable. In a discussion with the Spanish Minister which followed Mr. Seward said:

It is certain that a condition of war can be raised without an authoritative declaration of war, and on the other hand the situation of peace may be restored by the long suspension of hostilities without a treaty of peace being made. History is full of such occurrences.

"Thus," Senator Knox observed, "our Government is committed to the principle that war may come to an end by the silent cessation of hostilities."

#### SAYS ARMISTICE BROUGHT PEACE

He next proceeded to recall the main events of the World War, saying that the conditions under which we entered it are useful to a proper understanding of the present international situation. He quoted liberally from the addresses of President Wilson, with special reference to our being at war not with the German people but with the German Government. Examination of the armistice, in view of the definitions of that word by The Hague conventions, Halleck and others, convinced the Senator that "it is an armistice in name only; that in reality it is a surrender, a capitulation by a nation defeated beyond all hope of immediate recuperation." He continued:

From the moment in which hostilities did end there has been no real patriotic purpose served by continuing to consider the United States at war, in so far as her domestic affairs were concerned. Actual fighting over the condition to meet which the war powers are given and for which Congress had exercised them was terminated. A wise statesmanship, an unselfish estimate of patriotic duty, required the President immediately to place this country domestically upon a basis of peace. Such, however, was not the course followed.

#### SAYS TREATY AUTOMATICALLY ENDED WAR

The treaty itself, negotiated and signed by the President, Mr. Knox pointed out, specifically provided for the act which would terminate the war. The first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratification was to be drawn up as soon as the treaty had been ratified by Germany and by three of the principal allied and associated powers. It was the intention to terminate the war at that time.

Thus [the Senator went on] by the terms of the treaty itself, which treaty is now with our consent and by virtue of our stipulation come, in that respect, into full force and effect, the war has terminated; and in this connection I venture to observe that if, as the minority report to the House resolution contends, the making of peace is an Executive function, then the Executive has already acted. If it is not an Executive function, then Congress may, as to appropriate matters, act in a manner to bring peace.

It has resulted furthermore from the deposit of ratifications as above outlined that Germany and the other powers concerned are observing and carrying out the terms of the treaty in full detail. So far as I am advised, committees and organizations provided for by the treaty have been organized and are functioning. The various measures of Germany's disarmament, demobilization and evacuation of territory, of the holding of plebiscites, of the surrender of territory, of the adjustment of territorial rights are being carried out to the letter save as they are modified by the mutual consent of the parties.

The privileges and advantages stipulated in the treaty for nationals of the allied and associated powers in respect of trade, commerce, residence, business and professions are being carried out and enjoyed by the nationals of all the powers, including our own, save only where our own citizens are being injuriously curbed by the restrictions imposed by our own Government as the result of the contention of the Executive that a state of war continues between ourselves and Germany. There is everywhere outside of the United States itself, with all the great powers, including ourselves (save only Russia), peace from the recent conflict. The powers say it, the Germans say it.

Internationally, therefore, we are at peace. Our late allies and associates say we are at peace. Our erstwhile enemies say we are at peace. All are going forward on a peacetime basis under terms and conditions of a treaty negotiated by our associates and us and ratified by them and the enemy.

Our national Executive, with a stubborn ir-

responsibility, continues to declare we are at war. But as a practical matter the only war which he wages is against American citizens and American industry. With Germany he wages no war. Not a single shot has been fired for more than eighteen months. He co-operates in the measures of those who are at peace with Germany and who are conducting relations under a treaty of peace. The situation is so anomalous and so iniquitous, is so fraught with injustice and with possibility of disaster, that one cannot reconcile it with the operations of a sane statesmanship.

### SCOPE OF WAR POWER

Senator Knox next turned to the domestic condition in respect to war. The framers of the Constitution, he said, regarded the term war as having the meaning of violent struggle through the application of armed force—actual hostilities. He quoted from early decisions of the Supreme Court to show that it held the same view. The essence of war, as defined by all the authorities, he said, is armed conflict, and war *de facto* ceases when the armed contention stops.

He quoted the observations of Hamilton and Madison regarding the character, extent and purpose of the war powers, and continued:

Now, as war power is bestowed in order that war may be successfully carried on, it necessarily follows, and this is vital, that such powers exist only in time of war—that is, actual hostilities. Moreover, the extent to which the people are to be deprived of their liberties is dependent entirely on the nature and extent of the war exigency. The exclusive right to determine how great the need, to what extent these liberties shall be restrained and which of them shall be touched, is in the Congress.

The speaker contended that the ending of hostilities likewise caused the statutes conferring war powers to cease to be operative.

### SUMMARY OF ARGUMENTS

Summing up, he gave these four reasons why the war is ended:

1. The war is at an end by virtue of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, and of the amendments and renewals thereof, such armistice being in fact a capitulation ending hostilities by the virtual surrender of the enemy.

2. The war is at an end by the silent cessation of hostilities, which concluded the war in fact.

3. The war is at an end because the Gov-

ernment against which we specifically declared war has ceased to exist and the President avowed we had no quarrel with the people behind it. Since our declared enemy is non-existent we have no one with whom to fight, hence no war.

4. The war is at an end because we, together with our associates in the hostilities, negotiated with the people whom we had been fighting, now living under a new form of government, a treaty of peace which provided in terms that the war should terminate and diplomatic relations be resumed when the treaty came into force; and because the treaty, pursuant to its provisions, did come into force in January last when it was ratified by Germany on the one hand and three of the allied and associated powers on the other hand. By virtue of the treaty and these provisions of it, the whole world, including the United States, is at peace in fact and in law.

Thus, so far as our international relations are concerned, we are legally and in fact at peace.

In so far as the domestic situation is concerned, Senator Knox said he had shown that:

1. War is a state or condition of Governments contending by force, a violent struggle through the application of armed force—in other words, war is actual hostilities.

2. That it was so understood by our constitutional fathers, by the great Chief Justice and by our War Department.

3. That the power to declare war was exclusively in Congress, which created the status of war by a law which, like any other law, could be amended, modified or repealed.

4. That the purpose of the war powers of the Constitution was to give to the National Government the legal power and practical ability to conduct a successful war—that is, actual hostilities.

5. That, war powers being given to enable the Government successfully to wage actual hostilities, the powers could not be exercised before a war was legally declared or *de facto* existing, nor after actual hostilities had ceased, and that the very fact of ending hostilities ended the war powers without any action whatever by Congress.

6. That the powers of the President come from two sources—that of the Chief Executive and that of the Commander in Chief; that these two capacities were separate and distinct, wholly independent one from the other; that the powers of neither capacity could be invoked to augment the other; that he possessed no extraordinary powers as Chief Executive, save only and to the extent such powers were conferred by statute, which, to authorize action by him, must be duly and legally in operation.



## SEPARATE TREATY NEEDED

Senator Knox maintained that we were already at peace both internationally and domestically without any further act by either the executive or legislative branches of the Government. He ended his speech as follows:

To what end has all this juggling with obvious facts and universally recognized principles been maintained? The answer is easy and known to all. The purpose has been to coerce the Senate to approve the Treaty of Versailles—a treaty that is almost universally discredited in all its parts. The majority of its negotiators concede this. Its economic terms are impossible; its League of Nations is an aggravated imitation of the worst features of the ill-fated and foolish Holy Alliance of a century ago. It promises little but mischief unless recast on such radical lines as will entirely obliterate its identity.

The Parisian peacemakers should have confined their activities to making peace, and then, as soon as world conditions permitted participation therein by all peoples, initiated an international conference to formulate for submission to the nations of the world, with a view to adoption by them, an arrangement providing for the codification of international law, the establishment of a court of international justice and the outlawry of war. This arrangement to be as complete, comprehensive and compelling as shall be consistent with human rights and human liberty, with the progress of civilization, with the preservation and fostering of free institutions, and with the inherent right of every people to be secure, to enjoy peace, and to work out unhampered its own destiny, subject only to like equal rights of all other peoples.

It remains open to us, so long as we are unbound by the proposed discredited covenant, to initiate such an agreement among the nations.

## DEBATE IN THE SENATE

Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, the Administration leader, on May 12 replied to the address of Senator Knox. The whole case built up by Senator Knox on the theory that a state of peace actually existed tumbled to the ground, Senator Hitchcock said, under the force of the Supreme Court's decision in the war-time prohibition case that a technical state of war continued. In reviewing Republican efforts to hit upon a suitable peace resolution he said: "The mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse." He said that first the Republicans got behind the Lodge resolution of Nov. 19, which in a dozen words declared

the war at an end. That was abandoned for the Knox resolution of Dec. 12, which declared that peace existed, and which was given up in favor of a different Knox resolution which "neither declared the war at an end nor proclaimed the advent of peace." That, in turn, was set aside, Mr. Hitchcock said, for the Porter resolution, which the House passed, and which has now been superseded by the fifth attempt in the form of the present Knox resolution. He continued:

Altogether, the five desperate attempts to defy the Constitution and substitute a resolution for a treaty make a fine display of legislative experimentation. Resolved that the war has ended; resolved that peace exists; resolved that we force Germany to grant us what we might get if we signed the treaty; resolved that the President be requested to negotiate a separate peace; resolved that we will not give up German property; resolved that we will not waive any rights under the treaty—one and all of them foolish and futile attempts to invade the constitutional way of securing peace by ratifying the treaty negotiated in a constitutional way. All of them hopeless. All of them doomed to defeat. All of them attempted simply as a desperate means of getting out of a bad situation which certain statesmen find themselves in.

Senator Hitchcock read from a magazine article written by Senator Lodge which was printed in December, 1918, in which Mr. Lodge said that "it would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make a separate peace."

Republicans, the Senator said, refused to compromise and bring about treaty ratification.

Senator Thomas, Democrat, of Colorado followed with a speech in which he criticised the President for the latter's telegram to Mr. Hamaker of Portland, Ore., condemning the Lodge reservations to the treaty as inconsistent with the nation's honor.

## THE PRESIDENT'S TELEGRAM

The telegram in question was made public on May 9. It was addressed to G. E. Hamaker, Chairman of the Democratic Central Committee, Portland, Ore., and read as follows:

I think it imperative that the party should at once proclaim itself the uncompromising champion of the nation's honor and the advocate of everything that the United States

can do in the service of humanity; that it should therefore indorse and support the Versailles Treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations as utterly inconsistent with the nation's honor and destructive of the world leadership which it had established, and which all the free peoples of the world, including the great powers themselves, had shown themselves ready to welcome.

It is time that the party should proudly avow that it means to try, without flinching or turning at any time away from the path for reasons of expediency, to apply moral and Christian principles to the problems of the world. It is trying to accomplish social, political and international reforms, and is not daunted by any of the difficulties it has to contend with. Let us prove to our late associates in the war that at any rate the great majority party of the nation, the party which expresses the true hopes and purposes of the people of the country, intends to keep faith with them in peace as well as in war. They gave their treasure, their best blood and everything that they valued in order not merely to beat Germany but to effect a settlement and bring about arrangements of peace which they have now tried to formulate in the Treaty of Versailles. They are entitled to our support in this settlement and in the arrangements for which they have striven.

The League of Nations is the hope of the world. As a basis for the armistice I was authorized by all the great fighting nations to say to the enemy that it was our object in proposing peace to establish a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike, and the covenant of the League of Nations is the deliberate embodiment of that purpose in the treaty of peace.

The chief motives which led us to enter the war will be defeated unless that covenant is ratified and acted upon with vigor. We cannot in honor whittle it down or weaken it as the Republican leaders of the Senate have proposed to do. If we are to exercise the kind of leadership to which the founders of the Republic looked forward and which they depended upon their successors to establish, we must do this thing with courage and unalterable determination. They expected the United States to be always the leader in the defense of liberty and ordered peace throughout the world, and we are unworthy to call ourselves their successors unless we fulfill the great purpose which they entertained and proclaimed.

The true Americanism, the only true Americanism, is that which puts America at the front of free nations and redeems the great promises which we made the world when we entered the war, which was fought not for the advantage of any single nation or group of nations, but for the salvation of

all. It is in this way we shall redeem the sacred blood that was shed and make America the force she should be in the counsels of mankind. She cannot afford to sink into the place that nations have usually occupied and become merely one of those who scramble and look about for selfish advantage. The Democratic Party has now a great opportunity, to which it must measure up. The honor of the nation is in its hands.

WOODROW WILSON.

## ADDRESS OF SENATOR McCUMBER

Senator McCumber, Republican, of North Dakota, in a Senate speech on May 11 declared that, while he was opposed to the Knox resolution, he felt that President Wilson had made a colossal blunder by injecting the treaty and the League of Nations into a political campaign. He said:

The thought of the people of this country is engrossed with the perplexities that surround us. We are this moment surrounded by a thousand imminent dangers demanding our immediate attention and solution. We stand almost helpless while debts, State, national, municipal and industrial, are piling mountain high. We behold the hours of idleness of our people ever increasing, production dangerously decreasing, currency becoming more and more inflated, the yoke of taxation ever growing greater and more galling, the prices of all necessities of life ever advancing.

We are now living in the midst of strikes and threats of strikes. We are living in imminent danger of having our industries paralyzed and the distribution of commodities on which our very lives depend stopped at any moment by lawless hands.

The very atmosphere is poisoned by the infectious breath of socialism, while anarchy, fevered by hate and envy, waits only the opportunity to work a reign of hell such as today is consuming agonized Russia.

Search as you will for excuses, the American people know where to lay the blame for this dire condition. The war is not the cause of this threatening situation. The American people are the victims of the new system of purchasing political support by enacting purely class legislation.

They are the victims of a policy of surrendering the interests of the unorganized and ineffective many to serve the demands of the organized and effective few. They are the victims of a policy of utilizing the Federal Treasury to meet the demands of organized classes, no matter how exorbitant or inequitable such demands.

The whole policy of the present Administration has been one of surrender to those demands. That course has been followed



from the day the Executive forced the Adamson bill down the throats of a reluctant Congress.

That course followed during the war entailed upon us a cost at least five times what the war should have cost us. A few months of the application of that policy to the operation of railways under Government control bankrupted every railroad in the United States. That policy manifested itself in the vast number of Socialists and theorists with whom nearly every official place has been filled during the last four unhappy years. That policy is manifest today in nearly every appointment that comes to the Senate for confirmation.

Senator McCumber, in discussing the question of making peace, said that Congress undoubtedly had power to terminate the war which it had power to begin, but declared that settlement of peace questions must be through the medium of a treaty.

#### MR. REED'S BITTER ATTACK

Senator Reed, Democrat, of Missouri, bitterly assailed the attitude of the President in an address on May 14. Taking up the President's statement that the Democrats must "keep faith" and safeguard the nation's honor, he asked:

Keep faith with whom and what? The President says in his telegram that he was authorized by the great fighting nations to inform the enemy—Germany, in other words—that the League of Nations had been decided on. Our pledge then is to Germany. On his speaking tour the President called the opponents of the League pro-German. Now we are told we must accept the League because we promised it to Germany.

No sane man believes it possible that the Peace Treaty can be ratified before March 4, 1921. If the Democratic Party writes into its platform a declaration for unconditional acceptance of the treaty there cannot be such a change made in the complexion of the Senate as would prevent its rejection. Nobody outside of a lunatic asylum believes unqualified ratification possible.

I wonder what will become of Democratic candidates for re-election to the Senate with the treaty a party issue. Does not the position taken by the President insure their defeat?

Taking up the President's telegram in detail, Mr. Reed said that Democrats would be called upon to support "indefensible things." He enumerated the plural votes allowed the British Empire in the League Assembly, the question of the Monroe Doctrine and the article relating to disarmament.

We are asked to defend before the American people [he said] the proposal that when this nation is engaged in war, and defending itself against an invader, we cannot raise a single soldier nor call into being a single ship without the consent, the unanimous consent, of a council composed exclusively of foreigners, sitting on the top of a mountain in Switzerland, in the new capital of the world. We are asked to sanction giving up what no nation or no man ever should give up—the right of self-defense.

#### THE FINAL DEBATE

The resolution was amended on May 13 on motion of Senator Lodge, and was agreed to without debate by eliminating the request to the President that he negotiate a separate treaty with Germany.

The Senate voted on the Knox resolution May 15, and passed it by a vote of 43 to 38; three Democrats, Senators Reed, Shields and Walsh of Massachusetts, voted aye; one Republican, Senator Nelson, voted no, and one Republican, Senator McCumber, was paired in the negative; two Democratic Senators, Gore and Smith of Georgia, and Newberry (Rep.) of Michigan were not paired and did not vote.

The debate before the final vote was brief. Senator Underwood, the Democratic leader, opposed the resolution on the ground that it meant a separate peace treaty with Germany. This Senator Knox denied, asserting that it did not mean a separate peace treaty, but a treaty of commercial relations. Senator Underwood asserted that the President could not accept it and would refuse to sanction it. Senator Pomerene (Dem.) of Ohio asserted that the resolution was an attempt to make a treaty by legislation. Senator Walsh of Montana, who had voted for the Lodge reservations, opposed the Knox resolution on the ground that it opened our markets to be flooded with German goods without safeguarding our commercial interests. Senator Hitchcock, the former Democratic leader, assailed the resolution as prompted by partisanship and charged that it was an attempt to usurp the powers of the Executive.

The resolution was reported to the House on May 19 as a substitute for the one passed by that body, and was referred to a conference committee of the two houses.



BEAUTIFUL SAN REMO, IN THE ITALIAN RIVIERA, OVERLOOKING THE MEDITERRANEAN AND IN SIGHT OF THE ALPS

## The San Remo Conference

### How the Allied Premiers Reached Full Agreement With Regard to Germany—Solution of the Turkish Problem

**I**N beautiful San Remo, amid the hills of North Italy, overlooking the Mediterranean, the British, French and Italian Premiers met on April 18, 1920, and began their historic conferences regarding Germany, in the hope of settling all differences which had arisen between the Allies themselves—notably between Great Britain and France—and of reaching a solution of the vexed question of German fulfillment of the Peace Treaty. Amid cacti and carnations, palm trees and pink roses, the Villa Devachan, where their sessions were held, sends down its white gleam to the wayfarer passing on the roads leading through the hamlet of red-roofed houses far below. On the south the Mediterranean glittered silverly. From whatever window the allied states-

men gazed, their eyes beheld scenes of peace and tranquillity.

But when Messrs. Lloyd George, Millerand and Nitti met around the council table there was little harmony at first. The action of France in occupying German towns to the east of Mayence, as a guarantee of the withdrawal of the German troops from the Ruhr district, had brought a rift in the Entente, which had barely been healed after a rapid-fire exchange of diplomatic notes between Paris and London. Great Britain, on her part, had assured France of her intention to compel Germany to disarm and fulfill strictly the neglected provisions of the Versailles Treaty. France, on the other hand, had pledged herself to evacuate the occupied German towns as soon as the Germans reduced



their forces in the Ruhr district to the prescribed limitation, and had further agreed that she would not again take independent action without full consultation with her allies.

But many matters still remained unsettled, and the British and French Premiers met at San Remo in a tense, combative mood, based largely on mutual misunderstandings which the coming discussions were destined to clarify and finally resolve.

Mr. Lloyd George, supported by Signor Nitti, was resolved not to yield to any extreme demands on Germany which France might make; M. Millerand, as spokesman for all his countrymen, was equally determined to maintain France's insistence that Germany disarm, that she yield the coal supplies which she had promised and not delivered, and that she pay the full indemnity and make the full reparations which the Versailles Treaty stipulated. Against the alleged British and French sentiment for treaty revision, M. Millerand was ready to fight "to the death."

### SOLUTION OF GERMAN PROBLEM

The rapidity with which these grave differences and misunderstandings were composed at San Remo is one of the wonders of European diplomacy. In barely a week's time the allied Council of Premiers accomplished more than the Paris Peace Conference had accomplished in weeks, even months, of disputation and debate. While Germany and the world awaited the outcome with the keenest interest; while Signor Nitti was evolving, for the benefit of the swarm of correspondents, his philosophy of smiling, now that the war was over, and while many reports were disseminated of bitter quarrels among the assembled Premiers, the three allied statesmen were reaching harmony on all questions before them, and notably the question of what should be done in the case of Germany.

That decision may be summed up as follows: M. Millerand gained reassurance from Lloyd George that no revision of the Versailles Treaty was planned by Great Britain, and that both

Great Britain and Italy would stand firmly behind France in her demand for strict fulfillment of the treaty. Complete solidarity was achieved by the drafting and dispatch of a stern note to Germany, in which the Allies accused Germany of bad faith and served notice on her that they were prepared to use all methods, including military force, to compel the fulfillment of the treaty. In



SKETCH MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF SAN REMO, NEAR THE FRENCH BORDER, IN NORTHERN ITALY

this note Germany was reminded that she had not fulfilled the terms in respect to the surrender of war material, the reduction of her armed forces, the delivery of coal and the payment of the costs of the army of occupation. Germany was also rebuked for not having made proposals for a definite settlement of the amount of indemnity, as provided in the treaty. Two requests received shortly before from Germany, both of them re-forwarded from Paris, that she be allowed to retain an army of 200,000, instead of the 100,000 men provided for in the treaty, were met with a curt refusal. Regarding the French occupation of the German towns, it was expressly stated that France disclaimed any intention of permanent occupation of Rhine territory, and would withdraw her forces as soon as Germany withdrew the supplementary forces sent by her to suppress the Ruhr insurrection in the prohibited area. [Both withdrawals were effected by May 19.]



VILLA DEVACHAN, IN A BEAUTIFUL PARK AT SAN REMO, WHERE THE PEACE CONFERENCE WAS HELD IN APRIL

The second part of this note, considered as a victory for the policy of Lloyd George, admitted frankly the difficulties with which Germany was faced, and invited her to send her representatives to Spa, Belgium, to meet allied delegates on May 25, bearing with them concrete proposals for fulfilling the financial and other conditions of the treaty.

The contingency of the establishment at Berlin of a Government hostile to the execution of the Versailles Treaty had been already provided for in an identical note from the allied powers received by Germany from Paris on April 20. The seizure of power by such a Government was threatened with the establishment of an economic blockade.

So the rift in Entente harmony was closed, and Germany was disillusioned of her last hope of treaty revision through allied dissension.

#### RUSSIA AND TURKEY

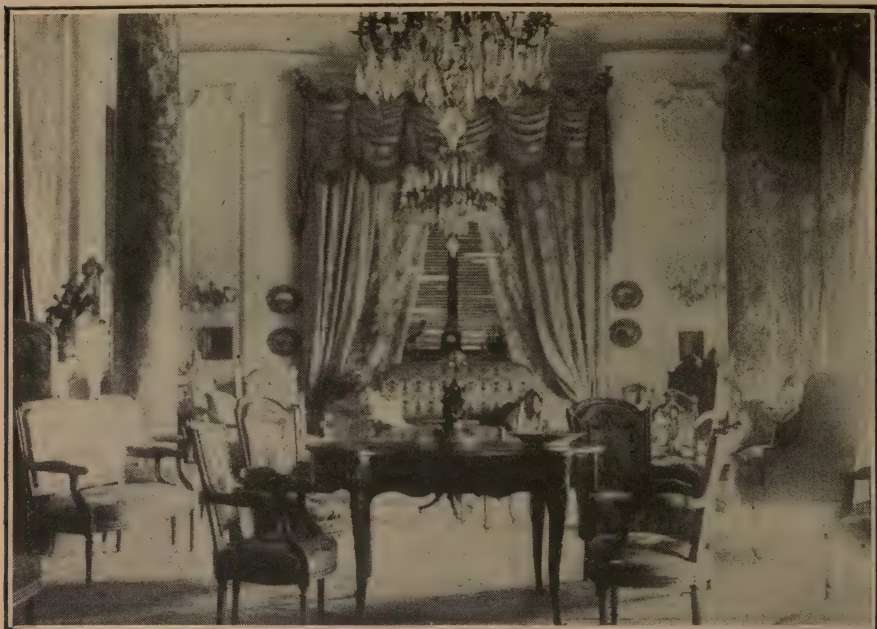
The Russian problem was only provisionally and tentatively settled. Signor Nitti's advocacy of the policy of reopening trade relations with Soviet Russia without formal recognition, though he admitted that such a resumption would lead eventually to recognition, was generally approved by the allied Premiers, though each country was left free to

bring about such trade reopening in the manner which it considered best. It was stated from Italian and other sources that in urging this step Signor Nitti was influenced by the strong radical sentiment prevailing in Italy. In a public statement issued at San Remo the Italian Premier declared that he believed this step was the surest and most effective method of exposing to the world the economic and moral bankruptcy of the Bolshevik régime. The general statement approved by the Premiers along these lines was considered by Nitti as a personal triumph.

The remaining details of the Turkish settlement were also agreed upon. [For a full account of this settlement, see article on Turkey.] As previously agreed in London, the Sultan was to be left in Constantinople and the Turkish straits internationalized. Turkey was shorn of all military, naval and political power, and her boundaries were reduced to a mere fraction of what they had been.

The Supreme Council on April 25 decided to send to the United States Government, through the President, a formal offer of the mandate for Armenia, which the League of Nations had found itself unable to accept, owing to lack of funds and the military equipment requis-





ROOM IN VILLA DEVACHAN, SAN REMO, WHERE THE ALLIED MINISTERS MET

ite to protect the new Armenian boundaries. Great Britain was made the mandatary for Mesopotamia and Palestine, and France the mandatary for Syria. Pledges were given to the Zionist delegation at San Remo that the military administration of Palestine, which has proved irksome to the Jews, would be changed to a sympathetic civil rule.

Zionists all over the world rejoiced at Great Britain's acceptance of the Palestine mandate. The Zionist Organization of America received hundreds of jubilant telegrams. Telegrams from many Zionist associations were sent to the British Government expressing gratitude for its willingness to accept the mandate.

The San Remo Conference broke up amid general satisfaction. Signor Nitti was pleased with the council's general approval of his scheme for continuing the negotiations with Soviet Russia for a resumption of trade relations. Mr. Lloyd George, on the other hand, had won his point in bringing about direct negotiations with the Germans, and had healed the breach threatened between Great Britain and France. M. Millerand

considered the results of the conference as an absolute vindication of France, both in respect to the Rhineland occupation and the strict insistence on treaty fulfillment. Even the Germans had their cause for contentment in gaining at last their long-requested opportunity for oral discussions. The Premiers left the Villa Devachan and San Remo smiling. The return of M. Millerand and General Foch, who accompanied him, was like a triumphal procession; large crowds and enthusiastic ovations welcomed them at every large railway station in Italy and France.

On the following day M. Millerand, appearing before the French Chamber, announced that the Allies had reached complete agreement on the strict fulfillment of the Versailles Treaty. His statement was greeted with a storm of applause that shook the house. On April 29 Lloyd George appeared before the British Parliament to render an account of the San Remo accomplishment. In a long and sustained speech, delivered in keen and trenchant style, and absolutely free from any apologetic spirit, he de-

scribed the disharmony and misunderstanding that had prevailed and traced the course of the discussions which had brought accord.

### QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT

Among the lucid explanations in Mr. Lloyd George's speech were the following:

This is the position with regard to disarmament: Guns we will get; airplanes we will get. We cannot allow these terrific weapons or war to be left lying about in Germany, with nobody in authority to see to them. It is too danger-

eration. They must come there as a people who mean business on the basis of the acceptance of the treaty.

They must show that they are grappling with the problem. That is all we ask at the present moment. Upon all these German questions that have arisen out of the German treaty I am glad to be able to tell the House that we have established most complete accord among the Allies. The strain had disappeared and there was the same old gladness of comradeship that carried us through the trials of the great war.

Hundreds of uninvited delegates from every corner of the world had come to



PROOF THAT THE PEACE TREATY HAS NOT WHOLLY DEPRIVED THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT OF ARTILLERY. THIS ARMORED TRAIN WAS PHOTOGRAPHED IN BERLIN AT THE TIME OF THE KAPP REVOLT

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

ous; you never can tell what that may happen. Therefore, they have got to be cleared up. Rifles have been infinitely difficult to get, but rifles without big guns and machine guns are not very formidable, although they are dangerous as weapons of disorder, and we shall do our best to secure them. \* \* \*

We must ask Germany to make some proposal to pay. I have been on various sides in regard to this indemnity, but, as a matter of fact, I have proposed nothing new with regard to it. Our complaint is that Germany has taken no steps; our complaint is that she is not taking steps as if she really meant to pay, and she must do it. I want to make it particularly clear before we meet at Spa that we are not going there to discuss abstract questions. Germany must come there with something definite, some proposal with regard to the sum she can pay and with regard to the method by which she proposes to pay, or any other liquidation of their liabilities. They will be guaranteed very fair, impartial and just consid-

San Remo to wring special concessions for their respective countries. Assyro-Chaldeans, Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Turks, Caucasians, and other races too numerous to mention were in consternation when the conference broke up without having granted them a hearing. Some of these uninvited "walking delegates" had been living in San Remo at a cost of 3,000 kroner a day. They departed sadly, bewailing their unhappy fate, and meditating how they should break the news to their expectant Governments.

### THE HYTHE CONFERENCE

A second conference, also of the greatest importance, was held at Hythe, England, on May 15. This conference was arranged by Premier Millerand with Mr. Lloyd George at the close of the San



Remo Conference for the purpose of discussing the program for the Spa meeting, which the German Chancellor had been invited to attend. M. Millerand had made it clear to the British Premier that he did not intend to allow any loophole for proposals to revise the treaty, and Lloyd George had suggested a preliminary conference in England. Premier Millerand was accompanied by the British Ambassador in Paris and by the Minister of Finance and Coal Controller, François Marsal. In the country home of Sir Philip Sassoon at Hythe, finely situated on a green and flowery hillside overlooking the Channel and Romney Marsh, the French statesmen met Lloyd George and his advisers.

The Hythe discussions lasted two days. Important agreements were reached. Special concessions were granted France following the exposition of her financial proposals. France's claims as a preferential creditor in the distribution of the German indemnity payments were admitted. Lloyd George, however, countered M. Millerand's contention that the devastated French districts should have first claim with the observation that M. Clemenceau had already waived this priority. The French Premier agreed provisionally that the total amount of reparation to be exacted from Germany should be fixed in a lump sum—a proposal to which he had opposed serious objections in San Remo. A French victory was won by the eventual raising of the sum proposed by the British delegates—100,000,000,000 francs—to 120,000,000,000 francs. M. Millerand then set forth his country's imperative need of immediate cash, and urged that Germany be allowed to issue bonds to cover her first and subsequent annual payments, on which pledges France could realize forthwith. The British delegates demurred to guaranteeing such a bond issue, but the French were insistent that German bonds would

find a ready market in the United States.

In these and other respects the program for the Spa discussions was definitely agreed upon. Treaty revision was resolutely excluded. Germany's immediate disarmament was to be insisted on. It was finally decided to postpone the conference at Spa until after the German general elections. June 21 was the new date fixed.

One question affecting the Allies only was discussed at Hythe, namely, the method of liquidation of the debts of the Allies to one another. The rate and time of such liquidation was made contingent on the arrangements ultimately concluded with Germany. The United States was to be consulted on the granting of a moratorium on all allied debts. The British delegates received favorably the French request that France's debt to Great Britain, amounting to 30,000,000,000 francs, be made subordinate to Germany's payments to France, but reserved final decision until after consultation with her own principal creditor, the United States.

The French feeling regarding the discussions at Hythe was summed up by an article in the *Matin* on May 18. The *Matin* article said in part:

Before the conference at Hythe the Allies had no financial system. Since this meeting they have one. That it is perfect and definite neither Millerand nor Lloyd George pretends. At least the two Premiers can feel that they have entered together and almost *pari passu* upon the ground of realities.

In so far as the Hythe Conference decided upon the total amount of the German indemnity it usurped one of the most important functions that had been assigned to the Reparations Commission by the treaty. An immediate result was the resignation of M. Poincaré from the Presidency of that body on the ground that his presence would no longer be of much use.



# An Inside View of Italy's Affairs

By DR. ORESTES FERRARA

[TRANSLATED BY LEOPOLD GRAHAME]

THE fall of the Nitti Cabinet in Italy was rather due to the complicated parliamentary situation created by the last general elections than to any organized attack by the opposing parties for the purpose of succeeding to power. The Italian Constitution establishes the Chamber of Deputies as the embodiment of national sovereignty in that its members are elected by popular vote, while the Senate is an appointive body selected by the Crown. Thus, the retention of office by any Government is entirely dependent on the will of the majority in the lower house.

The present Chamber of Deputies consists of three groups, neither of which constitutes a majority separately, while reciprocally they exclude each other. The strongest of the three is the Constitutional group, with nearly 250 members, divided into various factions not always in general accord; the second is the Socialist group, with 156 members, who, though differing in thought upon many subjects, are united by the strictest discipline in imitation of German Socialism, of which the Italian species is the legitimate offspring; and the third is the Catholic Party of 100 members, which has for the first time made a vigorous entrance into politics. Without direct reliance on the Vatican, it follows the inspiration of the high prelates, though with a lofty conception of patriotic duty it has abandoned one of its most cherished aspirations—that of securing temporal power for the Papacy, to which no one in Italy today gives a thought, not even Pope Benedict XV. himself. The constitution of Parliament by these three groups is the great difficulty before Italy, now that the Adriatic question has become a matter of secondary importance, and that the labor agitation is diminishing and the financial problems of the State are being solved by the general acceptance of new and very onerous taxation. The diffi-

culties created by the unequal distribution of parties in the Chamber cannot be removed except by dissolution of Parliament and new elections; and the moment is not yet opportune for the adoption of that method of constitutional procedure.

## ITALIAN POLITICAL LEADERS

At the present time of universal neurasthenia, the usual stimulant of elections would doubtless fail to bring about such a reorganization of parties as would provide any Government with a clear majority on definite party lines. Two-thirds of the Constitutionals have generally voted with the two Nitti Ministries, and the Catholics, much against their will (until the last vote) followed the same course, some of them probably acting in obedience to the indications of a greater power whose highest interest is the maintenance of order. This small combination majority is headed by a Constitutional group directed by Antonio Salandra, President of the Council of Ministers which declared war against Germany. It was Salandra who delivered from the Capitol the splendid oration universally recognized as one of the finest examples of wartime oratory.

It was, however, largely the will and audacity of Premier Nitti that succeeded, for one year, in obtaining the support of these conflicting factions, to whom, when opposed to him, he seemed to say in all his speeches, "Define the future policy of your opposition and I will give you power with the greatest joy." These characteristics of Nitti made it exceedingly difficult for any other leader to assume the task of forming a new Cabinet.\* The only outstanding figure who, like Nitti, is a parliamentarian as well as a statesman, was Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, the "unsuccessful nego-

\*The King invited Nitti to form a new Cabinet on May 17, as this article was going to press.—Editor.



tiator of Paris," now President of the Chamber. Orlando is a man of exceptional intelligence and keen perceptive power, though lacking firmness of attitude and the necessary force to carry his rapidly conceived solutions of the most difficult problems into execution. Other eligible former Presidents of the Council were too tenacious of their personal views to reconcile all parties to their policies, and for this reason Giovanni Giolitti and Antonio Salandra did not appear best fitted to direct the affairs of the nation at this juncture.

### GIOLITTI AND SALANDRA

Giolitti, who is about 80 years old, is a born leader of men, still remarkably vigorous, with a clear grasp of affairs. He has been President of the Council of Ministers (Premier) several times, and occasionally for long periods, being always able, in former times, to manipulate popular elections to suit his own views. Personally incorruptible, he has frequently betrayed an aptitude for the questionable employment of national resources for party purposes; but with the changed atmosphere of the Chamber of Deputies and the present temper of the people, a repetition of such practices would be unlikely to meet with success. Giolitti was so decidedly opposed to the war that on many occasions, owing to hostile demonstrations in the streets and public demands for his head, he was prevented from going to Parliament, and there can be little doubt that, if these events had occurred in France instead of in Italy, he would have had to face the ordeal to which Caillaux was subjected before the bar of justice.

Salandra is a Conservative faithful to parliamentary law and traditions, and might find support in the Catholic Party; but its members are so opposed to being generally regarded as conservative, although a majority of them in reality are, that they would not enter any Cabinet under that banner. The Catholic Party in Italy presents curious contrasts. It fights against Socialism on its own ground, yet offers agrarian and industrial reforms that would be acceptable to many Socialists; it organizes labor unions in just the same way as the

Socialist Party, and, in its very midst, there are to be found those who, like Deputy Miglioli, accept the Soviet rule.

In its foreign policy the Catholic Party supports the views of Nitti, being equally opposed to those of the anti-German Salandra and the decidedly pro-German Giolitti. No Government that is possible could secure the co-operation, in internal policies, of this disciplined group of a hundred votes. Primarily, the Catholics demand the Portfolio of Public Instruction, with the obvious purpose of largely restoring the hold they had for centuries on education. They also ask the Government to bind itself not to renew the proposal to adopt the divorce law, which nearly went through Parliament successfully a few years ago; and lastly, through a sense of rivalry, they are trying to destroy the political and labor organizations of the Socialists so as to build up like organizations of their own.

The difficulty of governing under such conditions, with a Chamber composed of so many antagonistic elements, would merely be increased by a dissolution of Parliament. The present is a time when statesmen should be judged less by what they have accomplished than by the difficulties they have overcome.

### WHAT NITTI ACCOMPLISHED

Nitti has been invaluable to Italy during the past year, in which he has had almost individual control of the country. He has avoided bloodshed of the fiercest kind among the contending parties; he has given a different aspect to the Fiume question, eliminating the morbid and sentimental from what should be the purely patriotic view; he has dispelled the hatred between Germany and Italy, and, by extending the hand of friendship to Austria, has also effected a reconciliation with that country as a result of the recent visit of Chancellor Renner to Rome, which has sealed a friendship that still seems incredible. He has put into execution a financial policy which carries its severity to the brink of expropriation without a single protest, and he has collected 20,000,000,000 lire in subscriptions to the last national loan, which was a supreme

effort, looking at the available financial resources of Italy.

The achievement, however, which most fully revealed his power and influence was the change he created in foreign political feeling toward Italy, particularly in British and French opinion. At the time of his rise to power the Anglo-French-American "combine" had taken a definite line of action in the Adriatic. His diplomacy separated these interests and caused England and France, by an unexpected reconsideration of their stand, to line up in favor of Italy, much to the surprise of President Wilson as expressed in his last note on the subject. Nitti had never before been active in international politics, which, among the European nations, are invariably handled by technical experts; but caught by the tide of circumstances he was forced to take a prominent place in world affairs, which has resulted in an increased recognition both at home and abroad of his qualities of statesmanship.

#### NITTI ON IMPERIALISM

Nitti's realistic policy springs from the purest traditional school of Italian politics, while his optimism is shared today by a majority of Italians. What this policy and optimism signify is of such wide interest that I took advantage of my many recent meetings with him in London and Rome to submit a number of arguments and questions to him in order to gain, at first hand, some very useful information. In reply to my remark that conquered Germany, like many others in history, was conquering her conquerors and inoculating them with those very principles of hegemony which were the cause of her downfall, Signor Nitti replied:

It is impossible, immediately after a war, to restrain certain ambitious hopes, but it is the way of human nature to give place to reason, sometimes spontaneously and often through sheer necessity. For instance, England, who comes out of the heavy conflict most powerful of all, needs the close friendship of the United States, the help of France, the economic development of Germany, and the unwritten traditional alliance with Italy. The United States is in danger of an economic catastrophe if it does not safeguard its chief market, Europe, and if it refuses to

assist her in the work of reconstruction. France must bring about comfortable relations with Germany if she is not to revive a deadly conflict with a powerful neighbor. Italy must see to it that the Mediterranean shall again become the economic centre of the world if she wishes to retain her ancient grandeur; and this cannot be secured unless through peace with Russia, through close economic relations with England and the United States, and through intimate co-operation with France and Yugoslavia.

Imperialism is not a social tendency; it is rather a disease, a morbid exaggeration of patriotism and a form of concentrated blind ambition. For all these reasons I refuse to fight for territorial compensations in the East; and that is why I am opposed to the dismemberment of age-old empires whose difficulty lies not in distribution but in substitution. Force, which is still the guiding rule for securing the people's rights, may cause destruction, especially after a victorious war; but force cannot create new systems and régimes based on foreign ambitions, or even on ethical principles which are not in harmony with existing conditions.

These declarations express briefly the three important points which Nitti maintained at the San Remo conference: (1) Peace with Germany sincerely and morally conceived, so that the nation may resume its place as an efficient factor in the world's progress; (2) peace with Russia in order that she may be freed from the fear and danger of foreign attack on her institutions and wealth, and may give herself unrestrainedly to the re-establishment of internal order; (3) the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, if possible, exacting from its authorities a guarantee of freedom of commerce and of respect toward the nations who form it. This attitude considerably influenced the other Premiers at the conference, notably Lloyd George.

#### ITALY'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS

Night after night, in the small salon of his Roman house, usually after fifteen hours of arduous work, Nitti discussed with me the most important of Italy's domestic problems. On one of these occasions he said:

We have three political factors to consider—Nationalism, Socialism and Catholicism. Nationalism is a fictitious movement which will disappear the day the masses understand that, the war being won, we have secured our natural geographical limits, or, at least, what has



been the legitimate aspiration of many generations in Italy. Fiume is the last page of our patriotic history, which, if we are patient enough, we shall inscribe with the same pride as all the rest.

Socialism will not constitute a menace. Most of those who profess it are statesmen, or, rather, men of practical possibilities, who will before long separate from those agitators who have no practical end in view, while the latter will stand discredited in the eyes of the Italian public, which is supremely realistic.

Political Catholicism is a force of social conservation which is especially useful in Italy at this time. The question of temporal power exists only in form, and even in this respect will soon disappear. There will be no need for a great declaration, nor for pompous renunciation, nor for revisions of the past; it will fall like all decaying things. One fine day, without knowing how, we shall come to an understanding. Cardinals will enter our Senate, the Pope will send us a Nuncio, and we will reply by sending an Ambassador to the Pope. To the head of this great organization, which is the Catholic Church, we give all due respect and extend to him all the rights and privileges to which history entitles him; and with the fulfillment of that duty he will have no desire to dispute with us the right of having our own country. The Cavournian formula of a Free Church in a Free State will be adopted for mutual convenience.

### STRIKES NOT REVOLUTIONARY

At a distance the Italian strikes would appear to be revolutionary movements, a circumstance due to their theatrical demonstration and to the nervous character of the Italian temperament. I was in the City of Milan at the time of the recent general strike, which lasted a few days, and I was greatly surprised to find that it was described in the press of England, France and the United States as "a revolution in Milan." As a matter of fact there were imposing processions in the streets, with cries and revolutionary songs and red flags; but it was a smiling public and smiling strikers who greeted each other, as if it had been a day of celebration rather than a day of terror. Only in the suburbs and in the Piazza del Duomo one night did any fighting take place, when two or three among the rough element were wounded.

Strikes have not been more frequent in latter years in Italy than they are in

France and the United States. This is shown by the increase in industrial production during January and February last, when the difference between imports and exports amounted to 1,000,000,000 lire, or less than one-half of the inequality for the entire year of 1919 and less than one-quarter of the difference in the months of January and February, 1918. Still, labor agitation in Italy has assumed a more political tendency than in other countries. The Socialist Party and the labor unions are controlled by the same groups and respond to the same influences in a more accentuated form than before the war, and the Socialist Party has taken advantage of this coalition to extend its power in the country and in Parliament.

### ITALY'S CHIEF GRIEVANCE

The reason is chiefly to be found in a firm belief among all Italian Socialists that the benefits received by Italy from the war have been wholly disproportionate to the sacrifices resulting from the tremendous efforts she put forth. Their argument is this:

We have suffered more and given more of our wealth than any other nation. We had to face alone an Austrian army which was hardly less than one-third of the entire Austro-German armies; and while England has secured practically all the German colonies, France the important provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, with the Sarre to exploit, in addition to a big share of the German indemnity; and while the United States, as a happy outcome of the conflict, has actually doubled its national wealth, we, on the other hand, have received, with the addition of only a few square kilometers, the actual territory offered to us by Austria as a concession for not entering the war.

This erroneous belief that Italy has been "left" is the source of all the difficulty, and has derived added strength from the arguments of those who had opposed the war, and who now claim to have had clear vision in being against Italy's participation; also from the arguments of the Nationalists—who favored the war—because their imperialistic aspirations have not been satisfied. The feeling against war since the Paris Conference has become so intense that army officers who had always enjoyed popu-

larity, even among the lower classes, are now obliged to avoid populous districts. Salandra himself was forced to cease addressing his constituents, owing to the cries of "Down with those who caused the war!" which, lately, have invariably greeted his appearance before the electors of his own district.

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The masses, overwrought by three years of suffering, through hunger, through the loss of 500,000 dead and 1,500,000 wounded, finding themselves with what they consider to be a fruitless victory, have given themselves over to the Socialist agitators more as an expression of protest than from actual conviction. To this state of mind, coincident with the extension of universal suffrage and proportional representation dating only a few years back, may be attributed the large vote given to Socialist candidates for the Chamber of Deputies at the last elections in Italy.

This situation, however, is ephemeral, and that impression is felt by the new adherents of the party and in the councils of the party itself. In fact, the Socialist Party is more held together by energetic disciplinary measures than by the identity of the opinions of its members. A small group recently defeated in the Socialist Congress at Bologna advocates revolution; a larger group seeks to conquer the public authorities by means of parliamentary action; and a third, the intellectuals of the party, aim at co-operation with the *bourgeoisie* for the good of the proletariat. The latter group comprises many distinguished men, including such writers as Deputies Turati, Treves and Modigliani. The cohesion of these conflicting sections is naturally weak and has often been near collapse; but with the electoral victory of the past six months, those not entirely in accord with the majority do not appear inclined at the moment to desert. There is little doubt, however, that in the not distant future the "co-operationists" will take a definite step toward power, putting back the irreconcilable Socialists in Parliament into an insignificant minority.

### THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The Italian Government has sought in every way to stabilize its finances, so greatly disorganized by the war; and this is being gradually accomplished by methods based on heavy encroachment on the pockets of the people. Yet the Senate, which is representative of the wealthy classes, has criticised the fiscal measures introduced as being too mild in the degree of taxation provided for. The new laws create a tax of from 1 per cent. to 25 per cent. on capital, according to amount; normal and super-taxes on income ranging from 1 to 30 per cent.; and a tax on wealth derived from war profits, which in some cases reaches 80 per cent., without giving immunity from the other forms of taxation mentioned above.

With the revenue to be obtained from these additions to existing taxes the Government expects not only to balance its budgets, but also to provide for other responsibilities imposed on the country by the war. Neither the industrialists nor the agriculturists appear to be alarmed at these measures. The latter have benefited greatly through the war, because, being now free from the competition of Southern Russia and Asia Minor, they are selling their own products at very high prices in spite of the restrictive legislation enacted to prevent profiteering. In some regions land has increased four-fold in value, and this has caused much Italian emigration to countries where heavy investments in land have been made on a basis of cost suitable to the capital possessed.

The industrialists, through immense profits derived from the war, have largely increased their plants and output, owing in many cases to a Government decree prohibiting stock companies from distributing annual dividends exceeding 8 per cent. Largely as a result of this, factories which formerly employed 100 hands now employ thousands. The triangle, Turin-Milan-Genoa, in horse power capacity and number of workmen employed, constitutes one of the principal industrial centres of the world. During the war certain mines at Val d'Aosta, previously thought to be unproductive,



have been opened up with astonishing results; in the island of Sardinia other unworked mines are being successfully developed; and since the signing of the armistice some Italian concerns have acquired the so-called "Mountain of Iron" in Austria, where they have found important deposits of mercury. On this subject Deputy Beneduce, until recently Director of the Institute of National Security, said to me: "If we can secure enough coal we will be able to triple our industrial production on our present organization."

The great difficulty of the moment in Italy is the scarcity of coal. I say "for the moment" because the general tendency is to bring into operation the power to be obtained from the abundant waterfalls in the zones of the Alps and

Apennines. If adequate resources were applied to the exploitation of these great sources of water power for industrial purposes, Italy would become a serious competitor in that field, even of the countries best organized industrially, by reason of her possession of ample raw material and a plentiful supply of labor.

As in all other countries today, there is much restlessness and much hopeful ambition in Italy—restlessness as to the immediate course of events and an ambition to increase the wealth and happiness of the country and its people. If the political and social problems facing Italy are dealt with on the lines of the policy of pacification initiated by Nitti, the restlessness will soon disappear and the national ambitions will be speedily realized.

## American Developments

### Efforts to Diminish Industrial Unrest and to Decrease the Cost of Living

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 15, 1920]

**S**URMOUNTING the inroads of demobilization, the recruiting campaign begun early in 1920 has, according to the latest War Department figures, brought the total strength of the regular army to within 35,000 of the 254,000 personnel authorized under the National Defense act of 1916. Most of these enlistments, recruiting officers report, are by men anxious to take advantage of the army's vocational education, an "earn while you learn" system, to fit a soldier for a trade by the time he leaves the army. Last year 75,000 men were accepted who never before had been in the service. Nearly half of the enlisted men are going to school, and the army is becoming not a "university in khaki," but a vast military trade school.

The House and Senate conferees on the Army and Navy Pay bill reached an agreement on April 24 under which increased pay will be given to all enlisted men in both services, as well as all commissioned officers up to and including

the rank of Colonel in the army and Captain in the navy. The conferees agreed tentatively on a 25 per cent. increase in pay for Ensigns and Second Lieutenants, with a 30 per cent. advance for those above those ranks up to Lieutenant Commander in the navy and Major in the Army, with 15 per cent. above those ranks.

Under the agreement enlisted men in the navy will receive the average increase of 39 per cent. provided in the House bill, while enlisted men in the army will receive the average of 20 per cent. proposed in the Senate measure.

The increases agreed upon affect besides the army and navy, the marine corps, coast guard, coast and geodetic survey, public health service and army and navy nurses.

#### FRAUDULENT CONTRACTS

Attorney General Palmer announced on April 23 that investigation by his department of alleged fraudulent war contracts had uncovered illegal transactions

involving millions of dollars. Millions will be saved for the Government through civil and criminal prosecutions now completed or under way, the Attorney General declared. He added:

Questionable vouchers unearthed in one class of contracts alone have resulted in withholding payments by the Government amounting to approximately \$4,420,000. These contracts, under investigation for months, affect a very restricted area.

Reports indicate that, as a result of indictments already returned against fifteen defendants in the Northern Pacific division at Seattle, about \$150,000 will be recovered from shipbuilders and former representatives of the United States Shipping Board, Emergency Fleet Corporation. Similar cases in the same district, involving approximately \$265,000, will be presented to Grand Juries.

The Bureau of Investigation now has before it fifteen fraud cases. All of these involve large claims. One which is being prepared for presentation to a Grand Jury in Ohio involves \$325,000.

#### NAVAL APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate on April 27 virtually completed consideration of the annual naval appropriation bill. Within eighty minutes and practically without debate appropriations of \$464,891,000 were approved, as compared to \$424,500,000 authorized by the House. There was no discussion of the building program, for which appropriations were increased from \$48,000,000 to \$52,000,000 in order to expedite completion of the three-year program authorized in 1916.

As fast as the Reading Clerk could read the bill the Senate voted its approval of items carrying millions of dollars, including an increase from the House appropriation of \$15,876,000 to \$25,000,000 for naval aviation, an initial appropriation of \$1,000,000 for a new naval base on San Francisco Bay, and increased appropriations for a number of training stations. An increase of naval reserve force from 50,000 to 500,000 was approved.

A system of voluntary naval training for civilians was adopted, being much like the voluntary training provision of the Army Reorganization bill. It authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to establish Summer schools where youths of 16 to 20 years may be trained. After

this they are enrolled as naval reserves. Senator Swanson said it had been estimated by the Navy Department that 5,000 young men could be trained yearly.

New items for the Pacific Coast added by the Senate included \$1,050,000 for a fuel oil storage plant at Puget Sound, and \$1,000,000 for a similar plant at Pearl Harbor; \$500,000 for a submarine base at San Pedro, and \$100,000 for a submarine and destroyer base at Port Angeles, Wash.

An amendment by Senator Calder, Republican, of New York, was adopted giving six months' pay to widows, children or other dependents of officers and men in the navy or Marine Corps dying from wounds or disease.

#### SIMS-DANIELS CONTROVERSY

Secretary Daniels, testifying before the Senate Naval Investigating Committee May 14, severely criticised Vice Admiral Sims. Admiralty reports and awards of credit to the Americans were accepted by Admiral Sims, Mr. Daniels said, although the British demanded absolutely conclusive proof before giving credit for the sinking of a submarine in the case of an American vessel, while using a less rigorous standard in the case of British ships.

Out of 256 attacks on submarines by American vessels, the British gave the United States forces credit for but twenty-four successful attacks, most of which were listed as "possibly slightly damaged," said Secretary Daniels.

That prisoners or wreckage were not absolutely required before a vessel was credited with sinking a submarine is shown, said the Secretary, by the reports from the British Admiralty records of cases classed as known sunk.

Proof of the Navy Department's efforts to prepare for war, Mr. Daniels declared, was contained in the recommendations for appropriations from 1913 to 1917, and the organization in 1915 of the Naval Consulting Board with Thomas A. Edison at its head.

"The charge of the prolongation of the war," said the Secretary, "was made with reckless disregard of the facts and the reasoning and statistics adduced in its support are those which one might



expect to find in the fantastic tales of a Baron Munchausen."

Admiral Sims based his estimate of an unnecessary loss of 500,000 lives on an average loss for the Allies of 3,000 men a day, Mr. Daniels said.

This charge was further based on the assumption that had there been a million American soldiers in France by March, 1918, the war would have ended four months sooner, Mr. Daniels said, and Admiral Sims completed the reasoning by assuming that the tonnage losses of 1917 prevented carrying that number of troops overseas by that date and that failure of the American Navy to co-operate heartily in the first months of the war resulted in the heavy tonnage losses.

Mr. Daniels commented on this as follows:

It is not necessary to wander far into the realm of statistics or technical questions to show the absolute fallacy of Admiral Sims's claim. The net tonnage available for the Allies May 1, 1917, was 27,000,000 tons. It is a matter of common knowledge that on May 1, 1918, the tonnage was less than on May 1, 1917. Testimony given by Admiral Sims would indicate that the net loss during the year was about 2,000,000 tons. This is probably a sufficiently close estimate for practical purposes. Now, then, owing to the tonnage losses of 1917 and the early part of 1918, the net tonnage available to the Allies had been reduced from 27,000,000 on May 1, 1917, to 25,000,000 on May 1, 1918. Yet it is admitted by Admiral Sims that in the Spring of 1918 American troops were transported to France at the rate of nearly 300,000 a month, or more than ten times the rate to which he said transportation had been restricted in 1917 because of the destruction of tonnage.

As a matter of fact, the American Army materially shortened the war. It got to the front as soon as it was humanly possible, not by a chance, but as a result of careful plans involving complete co-operation between the army and navy, carefully carried out.

#### ADMIRAL BENSON'S TESTIMONY

Admiral W. S. Benson on May 8 testified before the Senate Naval Committee that Admiral Sims's charge that navy delays had caused the loss of 500,000 lives was an outrage and injustice to the navy. Admiral Benson said:

The safe transport of the American Army to France and back was the most wonderful feat the world had ever seen

or dreamed of, and it shortened the war very materially.

Admiral Benson declared that never in the history of the world had a navy been expanded as rapidly as was that of the United States after this country entered the war. The expansion, both in material and personnel, handicapped the department in carrying out its plans at first, he said, but the close of the war found the American Navy with more than 500,000 officers and men, more even than there were in the British Navy.

"Ours was the greatest navy power the world has ever seen," the Admiral declared.

Admiral Benson said he could not recall whether in his final instructions to Admiral Sims he said "Don't let the British pull the wool over your eyes; we would as soon fight them as the Germans," but added that if he used such language it was for the purpose of impressing upon the Admiral that the United States was still a neutral at that time. He explained that in this, as well as in another warning, he was prompted by what he described as a feeling growing in the United States that Admiral Sims was permitting his friendship for the British to influence him unduly in using American destroyers to protect British shipping.

#### PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADVICE

Something of a sensation was produced at the inquiry by Secretary Daniels's revelation of a speech made by President Wilson to American naval officers in August, 1917. The most striking part of the address was as follows:

We have got to throw tradition to the wind.

Now, as I have said, gentlemen, I take it for granted that nothing that I say here will be repeated, and therefore I am going to say this: Every time we have suggested anything to the British Admiralty the reply has come back that virtually amounted to this, that it had never been done that way, and I felt like saying: "Well, nothing was ever done so systematically as nothing is being done now." Therefore, I should like to see something unusual happen, something that was never done before; and inasmuch as the things that are being done to you were never done before, don't you think it is worth while to try something

that was never done before against those who are doing them to you?

There is no other way to win, and the whole principle of this war is the kind of thing that ought to hearten and stimulate America. America has always boasted that she could find men to do anything. She is the prize amateur nation of the world. Germany is the prize professional nation of the world.

Now, when it comes to doing new things and doing them well, I will back the amateur against the professional every time, because the professional does it out of the book and the amateur does it with his eyes open upon a new world and with a new set of circumstances. He knows so little about it that he is fool enough to try the right thing. The men that do not know the danger are the rashest men, and I have several times ventured to make this suggestion to the men about me in both arms of the service.

Please leave out of your vocabulary altogether the word "prudent." Do not stop to think about what is prudent for a moment. Do the thing that is audacious to the utmost point of risk and daring, because that is exactly the thing that the other side does not understand, and you will win by the audacity of method when you cannot win by circumspection and prudence.

I think that there are willing ears to hear this in the American Navy and the American Army, because that is the kind of folks we are. We get tired of the old ways and covet the new ones.

### ATLANTIC FLEET'S RETURN

The great Atlantic Fleet returned to home waters on May 1 after three months' battle practice and manoeuvres at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and met with an enthusiastic reception as it entered New York Harbor.

Admiral Wilson said that in his public statement he wished to stick closely to the facts of the Winter training and not to mix other questions. He prepared in advance the statement given in part below:

The Atlantic Fleet left the southern drill grounds, off the Virginia Capes, on Jan. 8 for the usual Winter exercises. A carefully planned schedule had been evolved by the Commander in Chief.

The fleet, which has been exercising this Winter in accordance with the schedule, consisted of battleships, destroyers, submarines, the air detachment and the train—the train being the group of supply ships, repair ships, fuel ships and tugs.

Seven battleships sailed with the fleet and were joined by the eighth, the North Dakota, at Bridgetown, Barbados, the North Dakota having been in European

waters for a cruise after taking aboard the body of the late Signor Cellere, the Italian Ambassador to the United States. The number of destroyers with the fleet increased during the Winter, as new boats were built, until there were thirty-three.

The work accomplished by the fleet consisted, briefly, in training the new reservation in the centre of the Winter drill grounds of the Atlantic Fleet. In addition to facilities provided here for the strictly professional side of naval work there is here one of the largest athletic fields, and its facilities are enjoyed to the full by the personnel of the fleet. The final boxing and wrestling contests for the championship of the fleet were held here on the night of April 23.

In addition to visiting the British West Indies, about ten days were spent in the Panama Canal Zone. Here the authorities placed a daily train at the service of the fleet, and trips were made along the route of the canal to Panama City.

### RAILROADS ASK AID

Increased freight rates that will yield an additional revenue of \$1,017,000,000 were asked of the Interstate Commerce Commission on May 4. Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio, began the presentation of the railroad argument, telling the commission that the Eastern group of roads needed \$544,000,000 additional revenue to restore the relation of revenues to expenses and to adjust their income to 6 per cent.

Railroads in Eastern territory estimate the need of an increase in all revenue of 21.1 per cent. or 50.4 per cent. in freight rates. Southern railroads propose to advance freight rates by 30.9 per cent. to provide 20.7 per cent. larger revenues. The needed freight advance in the West is put at 23.9 per cent. to increase all revenues by 17 per cent. The greater needed advances east of the Mississippi, it is stated, are largely due to the standardization of railroad wages and working conditions effected during the war.

Tables submitted by the carriers showed that their net income in 1916 was \$1,056,000,000 and that in 1919 it fell to \$510,000,000, notwithstanding an increased investment in these three years of more than \$2,000,000,000. But, the carriers point out, if the present level of costs had been in operation throughout 1919, the year's net would have been only \$220,000,000, only a little



more than 1 per cent. on their property investment of \$20,000,000,000.

### FREIGHT CONGESTION

It was stated in Washington on May 12 that the freight situation was extremely grave. Appeals for relief pouring into Washington to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Railroad Administration and to Congress pictured the railroad gateways as choked with thousands of loaded freight cars unable to move because of shortage of men and motive power.

Although the situation had been showing local effects for some weeks past, it was now being shown in its nationwide aspects, and the appeals for relief coming to Washington contained predictions that unless the jam were broken it would be reflected more than ever in decreased production, slowing down of industry and probably a tremendous labor upset.

### RESIGNATION OF MR. HINES

Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, it was announced on April 24, had resigned, and his resignation had been accepted by President Wilson, to become effective May 15. Mr. Hines had served with the Railroad Administration since its creation in December, 1917, when the railroads of the country were taken over. He was appointed then as Assistant Director General, and when Secretary McAdoo retired to private life on Jan. 11, 1919, Mr. Hines was made Director General.

In accepting Mr. Hines's resignation the President wrote that he could not let the Director General retire without telling him how he had "personally valued and admired the quite unusual services you have rendered the Government and the country."

### WAR ON PROFITEERING

Profiteers were denounced in the Senate April 24 by Senator Capper, Republican, of Kansas, who presented statistics which he said showed that the earnings of many American corporations represented profiteering, "open, scandalous, and shameless." He attacked the Department of Justice's cheaper meat cam-

paign, and said increased prices for sugar were "the most brazen challenge we have had in this saturnalia of greed."

Senator Lenroot, Republican, of Wisconsin, agreeing with the Kansas Senator's declaration that profiteering had become a national menace, said Attorney General Palmer was "setting a few mousetraps around the country when he ought to be setting beartraps" to catch the big or millionaire profiteers. The Administration was held responsible by Senator Lenroot for the increasing sugar prices.

Senator Capper said ample laws existed to check profiteering and "if those charged with enforcement of these laws will see that profit hogs are sent to jail prices will soon tumble." He added that if law enforcement officers could not enforce the statutes they should resign and let men who could take their places.

Excessive margins of profit were proof of profiteering, Senator Capper said in presenting his list of corporations whose profits were placed at from 20 to 200 per cent. The list included textile manufacturing concerns, steel companies, shoe and leather manufacturers and makers of nearly all the State commodities. Farmers were acquitted of blame by the Senator.

### LOWER PRICES ALLEGED

The Department of Justice on April 23 officially declared that many commodities had fallen in price. The cost of twenty-two food articles had declined more than one-half of 1 per cent. during the last month. Other necessities, such as clothing, had dropped from 15 to 30 per cent. in price to the consumer, said Howard Figg, the Special Assistant to the Attorney General in charge of the campaign, in an authorized statement. Especially satisfactory results in the movement had been obtained within the last two months, Mr. Figg declared.

No part had been taken in the overalls drive by the department, but officials said that the movement would accomplish much good by calling the public's attention to the need for careful buying.

Attorney General Palmer said:

I do not know that the overalls movement itself will cure all the evil. But it will make the people think. We have had a campaign against the "buy now" agitation for a long time. This old-clothes plan will put the right idea in the

minds of the people. If every one would exercise care in purchasing, prices would come down within thirty days.

The department is still pushing its anti-profiteering crusade with great vigor, Mr. Palmer said.

## The Socialist National Convention

### Debs Nominated for President

THE Socialist Party held its nominating convention in New York City during the week May 8-14. Eugene V. Debs, now serving a ten-year sentence in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta for violation of the Espionage act, was nominated for President by the Socialist Party in National Convention, to head its ticket for the fifth time.

Characterized as the "Lincoln of the Wabash" by Edward Henry of Indiana, who nominated him, Debs was hailed by other speakers as the emancipator expected to destroy the system of capitalism as Lincoln did that of slavery.

Morris Hillquit of New York, author of the platform adopted after criticism by the ultra-radicals as too conservative, declared that the nomination of Debs was a challenge to the "entire rotten capitalistic system," and showed that the Socialist Party of America was determined not to recede one inch in its program of revolutionary socialism.

The nomination of their imprisoned leader was received with great enthusiasm both by the delegates and by the spectators, who crowded Finnish Socialist Hall to its capacity. The demonstration lasted twenty-five minutes and was accompanied by clapping, cheering and the singing of the "Internationale," the "Marseillaise," the "Hymn to Free Russia" and the "Red Flag."

The convention after long debate decided to retain the declaration that the Socialist Party does not intend to interfere with internal affairs of labor unions, but added a statement that it favored the organization of the workers along the lines of industrial unionism, working as one organized working class body, or the "One Big Union" idea, the system of organization of the I. W. W.

and of only a few of the bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

It struck out, admittedly because of expediency, the reference to the alleged capitalistic control of churches after a debate in which both the churches and religion generally were bitterly attacked, although defended by some speakers.

The Declaration of Principles, as finally adopted, was not materially changed from the draft of the committee, of which Morris Hillquit is Chairman, and represented a victory for the conservative element. Other important declarations included a statement that the Socialist Party was not opposed to the institution of the family, a declaration against war and militarism, and a plea for the closer international relation of workers throughout the world.

### INDORSES THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The convention on May 14 adopted the majority report of its Committee on Foreign Relations, presented by Morris Hillquit, declaring the adherence of the Socialist Party of America to the Third International, organized and dominated by Lenin, Trotzky and the Communist Party of Russia, with instructions to its international delegates to insist that no special method for the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth, such as the "dictatorship of the proletariat," be imposed as a condition of affiliation. The delegates were also instructed to participate in movements looking to the union of all Socialist organizations in the world into one international.

Upon the plea of Mr. Hillquit that its adoption would necessitate a change in the method of the Socialist Party of America from one of political action to a program of violence and a recurrence



of the street fighting and barricades of the Paris Commune, the convention voted down the ultra-radical substitute offered by J. Louis Engdahl of Illinois and William F. Quick of Wisconsin, as a minority of the committee, merely reaffirming the adherence of the party to the Third International without any qualifications. This substitute was defeated by a vote of 90 to 40, constituting a clear-cut division between the conservatives and the ultra-radicals. Under the party rules the minority report will be submitted to a referendum of members.

#### DEBS'S RELEASE REQUESTED

Release of Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist Party's nominee for President, and of all other political prisoners, was asked in a petition presented to Attorney General Palmer, May 14, by a committee of which Seymour Stedman, the party's Vice Presidential nominee, was Chairman. Mr. Stedman said the delegation did not believe that Mr. Palmer had been favorably impressed by the appeal for general amnesty. He added that the Attorney General had told them he would take under advisement the matter of releasing Debs, who is serving

a ten years' sentence in the Atlanta Penitentiary for violation of the wartime espionage act. Mr. Stedman told Mr. Palmer he believed Debs had paid sufficient penalty for his alleged wrongdoing and that nothing further was to be gained by his further imprisonment.

The memorial presented to the Attorney General said that the "practice of prosecuting citizens for holding and expressing political views opposed to those of the administration in power, or for participating in working class movements and struggles not favored by it, is deeply repugnant to the genius of democracy.

The memorial said that all powers participating in the war, with the exception of the United States, had granted amnesty to their political prisoners, and continued:

To say that the United States is still at war is to reply to a demand for justice by an unworthy quibble and technicality. The United States is not waging war at this time, and has not been engaged in warfare for eighteen months. Further detention of the so-called political war offenders cannot be seriously justified on the theory of wartime necessity, but assumes the character of a vindictive persecution of political opponents.

## A Historic Act of Friendship for France

By JOHN B. KENNEDY

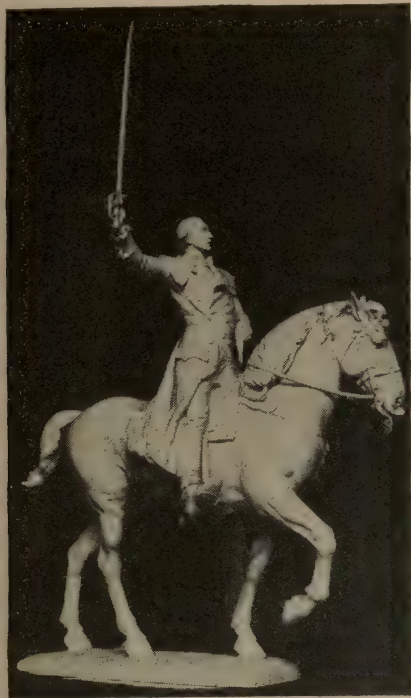
THE Knights of Columbus are about to present an equestrian statue of the Marquis de Lafayette to the Republic of France. When this act of international friendship was first announced it was argued by a few critics that the Knights of Columbus, being a Catholic organization, could not consistently do such signal honor to Lafayette, who died, but certainly did not live, a Catholic. Furthermore, the Republic of France has long been distinguished for anti-clericalism. Then it was recalled, however, that the celebrated Viviani, who had spoken on a certain heated occasion of snuffing out the light of Heaven, came post-haste to the United States looking for help when France was in grave danger—and received it; and

that Lafayette, in his day, had a reputation for being a statesman of the Viviani school.

But the critics missed the real object of the enterprise, which is to signalize the origin of the historic friendship between America and France and to leave an international emblem of amity in the City of Metz, whence Lafayette issued on his mission to the struggling colonies of America. They apparently overlooked, also, the appropriateness of the idea that the Knights of Columbus, who made so enviable a record in France, should thus commemorate their work in the war—the war that saw an effective union between the forces of America and France.

In this one majestic piece of sculpture

the Knights of Columbus will connect the story of the revolution with the story of the World War, for, on the pedestal beneath the figure of Lafayette, his



STATUE OF LAFAYETTE

*Heroic bronze by Paul W. Bartlett, to be presented to France by the Knights of Columbus*

sword upraised—as the sculptor, Paul W. Bartlett, conceived him leaving the gates of Metz for America—will be four bas-reliefs. The first will show Christopher Columbus on the Santa Maria, in the act of discovering America; the second bas-relief will show President Wilson announcing his Fourteen Points of peace to the world from the narthex of the Capitol at Washington; the third will show General Pershing at the tomb of Lafayette uttering his famous greeting, “Lafayette, we are here!” while in the folds of the flags above the tomb will appear the spirit of Washington; the fourth will show Marshal Foch prophesying final victory to officers of the Knights of Columbus in August, 1918.

The cartouche above each bas-relief will be the arms of Lafayette.

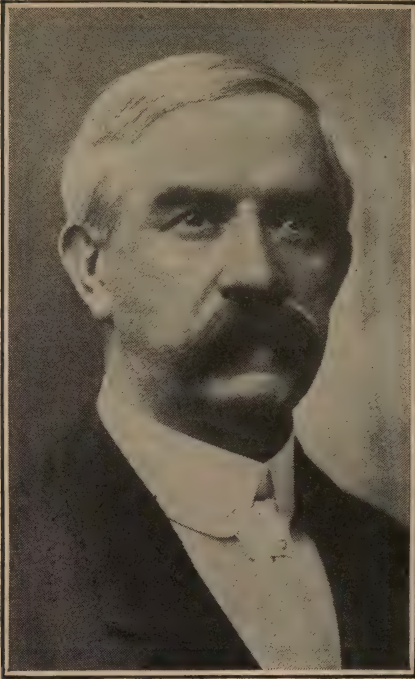
The bas-reliefs are being made of Tennessee marble, while the bronze statue is being cast in Belgium. By the first week in September the statue will be in place and unveiled. The largest American pilgrimage since the end of the war will then go to France for the dedication. It will be composed of 500 Knights, who will leave the K. of C. Lafayette Convention in New York and proceed to Metz. President Deschanel, Cardinal Amette, Marshal Foch and other notables of France will be present at the dedication. James A. Flaherty of Philadelphia, Supreme Knight of the K. of C., will head the pilgrims from the United States.

The Knights have not appealed to the public for one cent toward the statue fund—which is upward of \$60,000. The entire fund is being raised among the 700,000 Knights, and the bulk of it will be contributed by the 100,000 Knights who saw active service in the war. This constitutes another point in the record of friendship for France which the gift will consummate. The statue, with its striking bas-reliefs, will be put up in the exact place where the statue of Friedrich of Germany stood in Metz before it was summarily removed by the joyous populace on the day of victory; and this new bond between America and France will be sealed by the pilgrimage. The French Government is showing its appreciation of this fact by placing, at the service of the Knights its official tourist organization.

Within the surprisingly short time of three months the entire idea has been put into detailed effect—the money for the statue collected, the statue and the bas-reliefs designed and practically completed, and the task of arranging the tour finished.

The statue, which will be about eighteen feet high, will constitute the keynote of a new park plan in Metz, a park to commemorate the return of the lost provinces to France. It will be a free gift to the French Republic, without stipulations of any kind. The spirit of the gift was made manifest in the fol-





JAMES A. FLAHERTY

*Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus*

lowing poem, which appeared recently in *The New York Times*:

Out from Metz on a bright June day  
Came the Marquis de Lafayette.  
The chimes rang out and the town was gay;  
Bold in his youth he rode away,  
Away to the West, and there he met  
Soldiers of France, brave Jouquerin,  
Pelletier and his gallant crew,

Every one a fighting man,  
Every one a man who knew  
That life is brief and love is long,  
And liberty's all of a freeman's song.

Out to the struggling West he came,  
Noble Marquis of Lafayette!  
Out to the West he brought the flame,  
The flame of France. His magic name  
Caught men's hearts in its magic net.  
The flame of France to a darkened land,  
On and on in the struggle it went;  
The flame of France, to a stumbling band,  
Ragged and worn and all but spent.  
It gave new zeal to the freemen's fight,  
Till the whole world shone in its glorious light.

Back to Metz from the wondrous West,  
Hail to the Marquis of Lafayette!  
Back with bays from a chivalrous quest,  
Write his name with the nation's best,  
The names Columbia can't forget.  
In the heart of Metz, there let him stand—  
In America's heart his niche is made—  
Facing the West, his sword in hand,  
Glorious, young and unafraid!  
Knights of France in a hundred fights,  
Take this tribute from New World Knights.

This represents the idealistic side of the reconstruction program of the Knights of Columbus. They have also found jobs for 350,000 former service men, no job paying less than \$18 a week, the average wage being \$40; they are sending 502 former fighters through colleges and universities, and they are educating more than 160,000 former service men and women in night schools—sixty-five of them—in our principal cities, and everything is free just as it was in the K. C. huts in home camps and overseas. That is the practical side of their reconstruction record.

## Death of Two Prominent Americans

**W**ILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, a dominant figure in the world of American letters for half a century, died on April 11, 1920, in New York, at the age of 84. At his funeral many of the best-known American writers paid tribute to his fine qualities as a man and his remarkable achievements as an author.

Mr. Howells was born at Martin's Ferry, Ohio, on March 1, 1837. His father removed to Hamilton, Ohio, earning there a meagre living on a country newspaper. The future novelist thus

passed his boyhood in the atmosphere of printer's ink, the period described in his "Years of My Youth." A few years later, when the family moved to Columbus, young Howells worked as a compositor on *The Ohio State Journal*. At 22 he was an editor of *The State Journal*. His first real literary venture, a book of poems called "The Two Friends," and written in collaboration with John J. Piatt, was published in 1860, when he was 23 years old. In the same year he published a campaign biog-

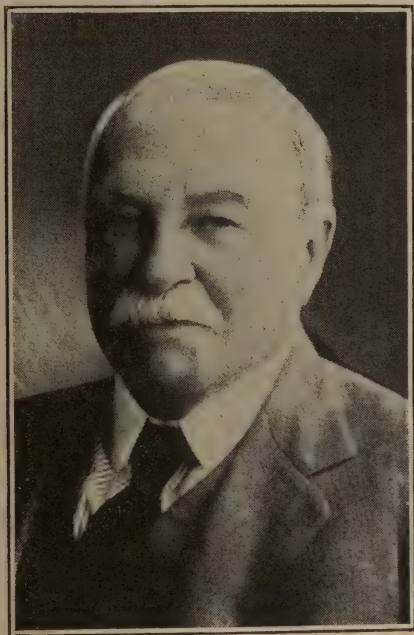
raphy of Lincoln. In 1866 he was appointed assistant editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, on whose staff he remained for many years. In 1886 he was asked to take over the "Editor's Study" department of *Harper's Monthly*. The "Edi-

Passions," "Literary Friends and Acquaintances," "The Kentons," "Literature and Life," "London Films," and "Through the Eye of the Needle."

Mr. Howells was married in Paris in 1862 to Elinor G. Mead of Brattleboro, Vt. His wife died in 1910. He had one son and a daughter.

Levi P. Morton, Vice President of the United States during Harrison's Presidency, ended his long and active life on May 16. Mr. Morton was born on a little farm in Shoreham, Vt., on May 16, 1824. His father was a Congregational minister of the strictly Puritan type, whose maximum salary was \$600 a year. After receiving a limited education at the Academy of Shoreham, young Morton began his career at the age of 16 as a clerk in a store at Enfield, Mass. At 20, through his thrift, he was able to purchase a general store in Hanover, N. H. From that time forth his success in business was steady and striking. Becoming a member of a New York banking house, he entered the larger domain of finance, and in 1875 formed the New York syndicate that funded the national debt. He had become an international figure in the financial world before he was 50 years old. His fortune was one of the largest in America.

Mr. Morton was first appointed to public office by President Hayes as Honorary Commissioner of the United States to the Paris Exposition of 1878. In the same year he was elected to Congress, where he became a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In 1882 he was appointed Minister to France. At the Republican Convention in Chicago, in 1888, Mr. Morton became the running mate with Mr. Harrison. His four years at Washington were marked by his lavish and cordial receptions, which had already won him celebrity abroad. After his retirement he lived on his beautiful 1,000-acre farm, Ellerslie, at Rhinebeck-on-the-Hudson. In 1895-96 he was Governor of New York. He remained to the end of his life a great philanthropist.



WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS

"Dean of American Letters," who died  
April 11, 1920

tor's Easy Chair" of this magazine, which he began in 1901, became the medium of his views on life and literature combined with his rich and mellow reminiscences.

The most widely read of his novels was "The Rise of Silas Lapham," regarded by many as the best American novel. Other early stories were "A Hazard of New Fortunes" and "A Modern Instance." His most noted non-fiction work was "Venetian Life," written when he was Consul at Venice in the late '60s. Among his many other books may be mentioned "A Chance Acquaintance," "The Minister's Charge," "A Traveler from Altruria," "My Literary





PARADE IN REVAL, THE CAPITAL OF ESTHONIA, ON THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE NATION'S INDEPENDENCE, FEB. 24, 1920

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

## The Russo-Esthonian Treaty

### Full Text of the First Peace Treaty Made by Soviet Russia With One of the New Baltic States

A TREATY of peace between Esthonia and Soviet Russia was signed at Dorpat on Feb. 2, 1920, after negotiations lasting about a month. The full text of this document, which finally reached this country via the Esthonian press, confirms the summary printed in *CURRENT HISTORY* last March and shows what concessions the Bolshevik Government of Russia was willing to grant in order to bring about peace with one of its new Baltic neighbors.

The treaty apparently has been effective for some time, as a London cablegram of Feb. 17 said it had been ratified by the Esthonian Assembly, making peace immediately effective, the implication being that it had already been ratified in Moscow. A Reval cablegram of Feb. 23 told of the arrival of two Bolshevik delegations, one of which was to administer the provisions of the treaty. Late in April the German press reported that Russia had already paid over to Esthonia the 15,000,000 rubles in gold

mentioned in the treaty, but these reports lack confirmation.

The preamble to the treaty in the Esthonian newspapers gives the delegate personnel of the peace conference as follows: For the Government of the Esthonian democratic republic—Jaen Poska, Ants Piip and Mail Puuman, members of the Constituent Assembly, and Jaan Soots, Major General of the General Staff; for the Soviet of People's Commissioners of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic—Adolph Yoffe, member of the Central Executive Committee of the All Russian Soviets of Workers', Peasants' Red Army and Cossack Deputies, and Isidor Gukovsky, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of State Control.

The text of the treaty of peace reads:

**ARTICLE I.**—The war between the signatories of this treaty shall cease from the day this treaty becomes effective.

**ARTICLE II.**—In accord with the avowed intention of the Russian Socialist Soviet Federal Republic to recognize the right of

nations to self-determination, even when this involves a complete separation from the States of which they were parts, Russia recognizes the absolute independence and individual existence of the Esthonian State, renouncing voluntarily and forever all sovereign rights that Russia held, according to the laws of the State and international treaties, over the Esthonian people and territory; such rights shall be null and void forever.

All obligations toward Russia on the part of the Esthonian people, derived from that people's former attachment to Russia, are abrogated.

**ARTICLE III.**—1. The frontier between Esthonia and Russia is as follows: From a point on the Gulf of Narva one verst [a verst equals two-thirds of a mile] south of the fishermen's house, to the village of Ropsha, then along the Mertvitskya Brook and the Rosson River to the village of Ilkino, from Ilkino one verst west of the village of Kelkino, one-half a verst west of the village of Isvos to the village of Kobuliaki, to the mouth of the Shchutschka River, to the village of Krivaya Luka, to the Petchurki estate, to the juncture of the three branches of the Vtroya River, through the southern part of the village of Kuritcheki, together with its land; then in a straight line to the middle of Lake Peipus, from the middle of Lake Peipus to one verst east of the Island of Porka, then through the centre of the strait to the Island of Salu; from the middle of the strait at Salu to the middle of the strait between the Islands of Tabalsk and Kamenka, west of the village of Poddubye (on the southern shore of Lake Pskov), to the railroad watchman's house in the village of Gryadischtsche, west of the village of Shahintsy, east of the village of Novaya, to the Lake of Poganovo, between the villages of Babina and Vymorsk, one and a half versts south of the forester's house (north of Glybotchina), to the village of Sprechtitch and the Kudepi estate.

(Note 1. The frontier defined in this article is indicated in red on the map forming Appendix 1 to this article, on a scale of three versts to an inch).

In case of discrepancies between the text and the map, the text shall be considered as authoritative. The actual surveying and setting up of boundary marks between the signatories of this treaty shall be done by a special frontier commission composed of an equal number of representatives of both contracting parties. In establishing the frontier through settled sections the commission mentioned above shall take into consideration the ethnographic, economic and local conditions affecting the inhabitants and shall vest sovereignty in one or the other of the signatories in accordance with such conditions.

2. The Esthonian territory east of the Narova River, the Narova River and the islands of Narova River, as well as the whole zone south of Lake Pskov between the

above-mentioned frontier and the line of villages of Borok-Smolkny-Belkova-Sprechitch, shall be considered a neutral military zone until Jan. 1, 1922. The Esthonian State shall not keep any military forces in the neutral zone, except such forces as are necessary for frontier duties and maintaining order, and then only in such numbers as stipulated in Appendix 2 of this article. The Esthonian State shall not construct forts nor observation posts, shall not establish stores of any military or technical supplies, except such stores as are necessary for the maintenance of the forces permitted by this treaty, and shall not establish bases or stores for any ships or aerial forces.

3. Russia shall not maintain military forces in the territory toward Pskov west of a line running along the west bank of the Velikaya River and through the village of Stitseva, the village of Luhnova, the village of Samulina, the village of Shalki and the village of Sprechtitch, except such forces as are necessary for frontier duty and for maintaining order, and then in no larger numbers than defined in Appendix 2 of this article.

4. The signatories of this treaty shall not keep armed vessels on the lakes of Peipus and Pskov.

#### Appendix 1—(Map.)

#### Appendix 2—Both signatories are bound:

(1) To withdraw their forces from the district between the Gulf of Finland and the mouth of the Schuchka River to the frontier of their own territory within twenty-eight days from the date of ratification of the peace treaty. (2) To withdraw to their own territories their military forces, together with all supply stores and property, from neutral zones where they cannot be kept, according to Article III., Section 2 and 3, of this treaty—except such forces and stores as are necessary for frontier duty and for the maintenance of order—within forty-two days from the date of ratification of this treaty. (3) To withdraw within forty-two days from the date of the ratification of this treaty all armed vessels from the Lakes of Peipus and Pskov, as provided for by Article III., Section 4, of this treaty, or to dismount all guns, torpedo appliances and devices for the laying of mines, and to remove all stores of ammunition from these vessels. (4) To maintain in the neutral zones, where military forces are not allowed to be kept, forty men for each verst of the frontier during the first six months following the ratification of this treaty, and after that period thirty men for each verst. Barbed wire fences may be built along the frontier. Not more than 500 men for the maintenance of internal order are to be kept in each neutral zone. (5) To keep on Lakes Peipus and Pskov only coast guard vessels, such vessels not to exceed five, and not to be armed with more than two 47-millimeter guns and two machine guns apiece.

**ARTICLE IV.**—Persons of non-Esthonian origin more than 18 years old living in



Esthonian territory shall have the right to choose Russian citizenship during the year following the ratification of this treaty, the father's citizenship including that of children under 18 and of the wife, if there exists no special agreement on this subject between husband and wife. Persons choosing Russian citizenship must leave Esthonian territory within one year from the day their option is filed, but such persons retain the right to movable property and have the right to take such property with them. Persons of Esthonian origin living in Russian territory have the same right to choose Esthonian citizenship during the same period and under the same conditions. The Governments of both signatories shall have the right to deny citizenship to the persons mentioned above.

(Note. In doubtful cases, persons are to be regarded as of Esthonian origin when their names, or the names of their parents, appear in the birth records of the communes or in the birth records of other institutions.)

**ARTICLE V.**—If the permanent neutrality of Esthonia is recognized internationally, Russia is bound to recognize such neutrality and to participate in the results growing out of the maintenance of such neutrality.

**ARTICLE VI.**—In case of the international neutralization of the Gulf of Finland, both signatories of this treaty shall join in this neutralization on conditions to be worked out by all the parties interested in such neutralization and defined by the proper international action. They shall also apportion their naval forces, or parts of them, as may be determined by the international agreement mentioned above.

**ARTICLE VII.**—Both signatories are bound

1. To prohibit the maintenance on their territories of any armies besides the armies of their Government and the armies of friendly powers that have entered into a military agreement with one of the signatories, but who do not wage actual war against the other signatory of this treaty. They are also bound to prohibit all assembling or mobilizing of persons in their territories by such States with the intent of waging war against the other signatory of this treaty.

2. To disarm the army units and naval forces on their territories that were not subject to their Governments, as of Oct. 1, 1919; to neutralize and demobilize before Jan. 1, 1922, all army and navy equipment, artillery and quartermaster's supplies (except provisions and raw materials), of engineering and aeronautics, such as guns, machine guns, rifles, ammunition, airplanes, armored automobiles, tanks, armored trains and other military property belonging to the above-mentioned army units or naval forces, except such military property and technical appliances as belong to signatories of this treaty or to other States and were loaned to the above-mentioned armies and forces. Property and supplies belonging to other States must be

removed within six months from the date of the ratification of this treaty. The disarming of the above-mentioned army and naval forces, as well as the demobilization and neutralization of the military stores and all the property of the army not controlled by the Governments must be carried out as follows: The first 30 per cent. of all army and navy forces and properties subject to disarming, neutralization and demobilization, within seven days from the date of the ratification of this treaty, and then 35 per cent. of all the forces and properties mentioned, during each subsequent week.

3. To prohibit the soldiers and commanding officials of armies not subject to the Governments signatory to this treaty, and which are to be disarmed, according to Section 2 of this article, from entering the national armies of the signatories of this treaty in any capacity, including that of volunteers, except in these cases of the following persons: (a) Persons of Esthonian nationality living outside of Esthonian territory, but who choose Esthonian citizenship; (b) persons not of Esthonian nationality who resided until May 1, 1919, on Esthonian territory, but who do not choose Russian citizenship; (c) persons not of Esthonian nationality who do not choose Russian citizenship, but who served in the Esthonian Army until Nov. 22, 1919. Persons mentioned in subsections (a), (b) and (c) have the right to join the Esthonian Army.

4. (a) To prohibit States waging war against the other signatory of this treaty—and organizations and groups aiming at armed warfare against the other signatory—from using its ports and territory for the transportation of anything that might be used to attack the other signatory of this treaty, such as armed forces, military equipment, appliances and supplies of a military nature, supplies for the artillery, engineering and air services of the above-mentioned States, organizations and groups. (b) To prohibit, except in cases provided for in international law, the passage through or the stationing in their territorial waters of any war vessels, gunboats or torpedo boats belonging to organizations or groups intending to wage armed warfare against the other signatory of this treaty, or to States in a state of war with the other signatory, if the intention of these vessels is to attack the other signatory and if such intention has become known to the signatory to which the territorial waters and ports belong.

5. To prohibit the residence in their territories of any organizations or groups that pretend to be the Government of the whole or of a part of the territory of the other signatory of this treaty, and also to prohibit the residence on their territory of the representatives and officials of such organizations and groups as intend to overthrow the Government of the other signatory of this treaty.

6. The Governments of the signatories of this treaty are bound to submit to each

other at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty all facts concerning the positions of the armies which are not subject to these Governments, their stores (movable and stationary) and their military and technical equipment which at the time of the ending of military operations, i. e., Dec. 31, 1919, were on the territory of the signatories.

7. For the supervision of the execution of all the military guarantees, a mixed commission shall be created, the personnel, rights and duties of which are defined in the instructions contained in the appendix to this article.

*Appendix*—Instructions of the mixed commission to be created according to Article VII, Section 7, of this treaty:

1. For the supervision of all the reciprocal military guarantees defined in Article VII., a mixed commission of the representatives of both signatories shall be created.

2. Four persons from the two parties compose the commission, which is to consist of a Chairman, two military representatives and one naval representative.

3. The duty of the commission shall be the actual supervision of the carrying out of all terms defined in Article VII., Section 2, as given in subsequent sections of these instructions.

(Note. The information required according to Article VII., Section 3, shall be given to the commission for the adjustment of the differences that may arise between the two Governments.)

4. The commission shall receive from the respective Governments, or from the local organs of these Governments, all necessary information concerning the terms of the military guarantees.

5. In order to ascertain the facts in connection with the execution of the military guarantees, the commission has the right to verify this information in the localities concerned, as stated in Section 4, and, if necessary, to proceed to such localities and examine the situation covered in Article VII., Section 2.

6. For the maintenance of unrestricted communication between the members of the commission and their Governments, a direct telegraphic connection (Hughes apparatus) shall be established between Wessenberg, the headquarters of the commission in Esthonia, and Petrograd and Moscow. The headquarters of the commission on Russian territory shall be in Pskov and a direct telegraphic connection with Reval shall be established. These Commissioners shall also have the right to dispatch couriers and telegrams without hindrance. Their communications sent by telegraph or courier shall have the status of diplomatic correspondence.

7. The commission shall make a general report (in Esthonian and Russian) of the results of its work and its decisions, which shall be submitted to the respective Governments.

8. When the commission shall have fulfilled

its duties, as defined in Section 3 of these instructions, and shall have finished the actual work of supervision, in the order prescribed in Section 5 of these instructions, the activities of the commission shall be considered over; but its existence shall not be ended before one month shall have elapsed from the day when the respective Governments shall announce that the terms of the military guarantees over which the commission has had jurisdiction have been fulfilled. The two Governments may agree to prolong the life of the commission.

**ARTICLE VIII.**—Both signatories of this treaty reciprocally renounce all claims for the payment of military expenditures, i. e., State expenses incurred in waging war, as well as claims for war losses caused by military operations against them or their citizens, including all requisitions made on enemy territory.

**ARTICLE IX.**—Prisoners of war of both signatories must be transported to their respective countries as soon as possible. The order of the exchange of prisoners of war will be defined in the appendix to this article.

(Note 1. Prisoners of war are persons captured and not serving in the armies of the State that captured them.)

(Note 2. Prisoners of war captured by the armies not under the control of the Governments, and who do not serve in the ranks of such armies, shall be transported back under the general provisions.)

*Appendix*—1. Prisoners of war shall be permitted to go to their respective countries, in case they do not wish to remain, with the consent of the Government of the territory where they are living, within its boundaries, or they may go to other countries.

2. The dates for the exchange of prisoners of war shall be agreed upon by the Governments after the ratification of the Peace Treaty.

3. When the prisoners of war are liberated they shall receive the personal property which was confiscated by order of the Government which captured them, as well as the unpaid and unaccounted parts of their pay.

4. Each signatory of this treaty agrees to repay the expenses which its former adversary has borne in maintaining its captured citizens, except in so far as these expenses have been covered by the work of the prisoners of war in State or private enterprises. The repayment shall be made in the currency of the State that made the capture.

(Note. The expenses of maintaining prisoners of war consist of expenditures for their food, clothing and other supplies.)

5. Prisoners of war shall be transported to the frontier in squads at the expense of the State that captured them. The transfer shall be effected according to a prepared list upon which are given the first name, the name of the father, and the family of the prisoner, the date of his capture, and the army unit in which the prisoner was serving when captured. It must also be stated in the record



whether the prisoner has been punished during his confinement for criminal offenses and, if so, for what offenses and at what time.

6. Immediately following the ratification of the Peace Treaty there shall be created a commission composed of representatives of both signatories for the exchange of prisoners of war. The duty of this commission shall be the supervision of the carrying out of the terms as stated in this appendix, the fixing of the ways and means for transporting the prisoners of war to their countries and the fixing of the amount of expenditures by prisoners of war transported home, according to the reports submitted by the respective parties at the time of the exchange of prisoners.

**ARTICLE X.**—Simultaneous with the transportation home of prisoners of war and interned civilians, both signatories shall pardon them for offenses that were committed in the interest of the enemy and imposed upon them by courts, as well as free them from all disciplinary punishments. Persons who shall have committed the above-mentioned offenses against discipline subsequent to the signing of this treaty will not be included in this grant of amnesty.

Prisoners of war and interned civilians convicted for offense not covered by this amnesty before the ratification of this treaty, or after it, but not later than one year after its ratification, shall be deported to their countries after they have served the sentences imposed.

Those who have been indicted for offenses not covered by this amnesty shall be delivered to the officials of their country, together with all the evidence of the crimes they are accused of, if the court decision be not given within one year from the date of the ratification of this treaty.

**ARTICLE XI.**—Russia renounces all claims on former Russian money, property and real estate and all claims for compensation for the above-mentioned properties, no matter what such properties may consist of, including military and other buildings, forts, harbors, vessels of all descriptions, including warships, cargoes, &c., as well as claims on all kinds of former Russian rights over money, property and real estate of private persons, provided the above-mentioned property is located on Estonian territory, or was so located at the time of the German occupation, i. e., on Feb. 24, 1918. Russia also renounces all claims on vessels, including warships, that entered Estonian waters during the German occupation, or were seized during the war between Estonia and Russia by the Estonian or other naval forces and given to Estonia. All the above-mentioned property is declared to be solely the property of Estonia, free of all obligations from Nov. 15, 1917, or, if Russia acquired it later, from the day of such acquisition.

Estonia shall acquire all financial claims of the Russian State against Estonian citizens, if such claims are to be made good

on Estonian territory, but only in so far as such claims are not liquidated by counter-claims of the debtors.

The Russian Government shall turn over the documents and acts that confirm the rights mentioned in this section to the Estonian Government, but in case this is not done within six months after the ratification of this treaty they shall be declared null and void.

Estonia, on its part, shall not press any claims against Russia based on its former alliance with the Russian Empire.

**ARTICLE XII.**—Without taking into account the agreements mentioned in Article XI.

1. Russia shall give to Estonia 15,000,000 rubles in gold, 8,000,000 of which shall be delivered within one month and the remaining 7,000,000 within two months from the date of the ratification of this treaty.

2. Estonia shall not bear the responsibilities of Russian debts or of any other obligations, including those created by the issuing of paper money, State treasury notes, obligations and serial certificates of the Russian Treasury, the guarantees of internal and foreign loans, the guarantees of loans of various institutions and enterprises, and all such claims by the creditors of Russia in matters concerning Estonia shall be directed to Russia.

3. Regarding compensation for bonds of the Russian Government or for bonds guaranteed by that Government, or for private bonds issued by societies and institutions which have been nationalized by the Russian Government, it is agreed that Russia shall recognize as belonging to Estonia and Estonian citizens all such bonds circulating within the boundaries of Estonia, including claims of Estonian citizens against the Russian Treasury, also all franchises, rights and privileges granted, or to be granted, to foreign States, to their citizens, societies and institutions.

(Note.—The claims of Estonian citizens against the branches of the banks in Estonian territory that were nationalized by the decree of nationalization issued by the Central Executive Committee [Code of Laws, No. 10] on Dec. 14, 1917, if such claims originated before the issuing of the above-mentioned decree, shall be considered as claims against the Russian Treasury in so far as these claims cannot be covered by the property that remained in the possession of these branches.)

4. The Russian Government shall deliver to Estonia and shall turn over to the Estonian Government the property, including libraries, archives, school appliances, documents and other articles, belonging to the University of Dorpat, as well as to all institutions of education and science and Governmental or social institutions that are, or were, situated in Estonian territory; also all documents, archives and other articles of scientific or historical value to Estonia, in so far as the above-mentioned articles are

in the possession, or may come into the possession, of the Russian Government, or of its Governmental or social institutions.

5. The Russian Government shall restore to Esthonia valuables of all kinds (except gold and precious stones), bonds and valuable documents, such as securities, bills of exchange, &c., that were taken away from Esthonian territory by the Government or institutions, or by private or other organizations, including educational institutions, if the Esthonian Government officials give information as to the location of these valuables. If such information is not given, or if the information furnished does not lead to their discovery, the Russian Government shall recognize as the owners of these bonds and other articles, in carrying out the terms mentioned in Section 3 of this article, the persons who submit sufficient proof that the bonds and other articles belonging to them were evacuated during the war. For this purpose a special mixed commission shall be created.

6. The Russian Government shall be bound to give to the Esthonian Government every instruction and information necessary for the carrying out of the terms mentioned in Sections 3, 4 and 5 of this article and every assistance in the discovery of the property, archives, articles, documents, &c., that are to be turned over. All questions arising in connection with these matters shall be settled by a special commission composed of an equal number of members from both sides.

**ARTICLE XIII.**—Russia declares that the franchise, rights and privileges given to Esthonia and to its citizens by this treaty cannot, in any case nor under any circumstances, be regarded as precedents in the making of peace treaties by Russia with other States which have arisen upon the territory of the former Russian Empire. On the other hand, if in concluding such peace treaties with the above-mentioned States, they or their citizens receive special franchises, rights or privileges, such franchises, rights and privileges shall be extended immediately and without special agreements to Esthonia and to Esthonian citizens.

**ARTICLE XIV.**—Settlement of questions of public and special rights that may arise between the citizens of the States signatory to this treaty, as well as settlement of specific questions between the two States, or between the States and the citizens of the other signatory, shall be made by special Esthonian and Russian mixed commissions which shall be created immediately after the ratification of this treaty. The composition, rights and duties of every such commission shall be decided upon and defined by both signatories of this treaty. Among the matters coming under the jurisdiction of these commissions are:

1. The concluding of commercial agreements and the settling of questions of an economic nature.

2. The settling of questions arising from the acts of former institutions of justice,

from administrative archives and expeditions, from court or administrative decisions and from acts having to do with the civilian estate.

3. The settling of questions arising in connection with the delivery of the property of Esthonian citizens in Russia and of Russian citizens in Esthonia; also the settling of questions connected with the safeguarding of the interests of the citizens of one of the signatories in the territory of the other signatory.

4. The settling of questions arising in connection with the property of the communes which are to be divided by the fixing of the frontier.

**ARTICLE XV.**—Diplomatic and Consular relations between Esthonia and Russia shall be arranged at a date to be fixed in a future agreement.

**ARTICLE XVI.**—Economic relations between Esthonia and Russia are defined in the appendices to this article.

*Appendix 1, Section 1.*—The signatories of this treaty agree that simultaneous with the conclusion of peace the economic warfare between them shall cease. 2. The participants agree to begin, as soon as possible after the ratification of this treaty, negotiations for the conclusion of commercial agreements based upon the following principles: (a) Favorable treatment in the territory of the signatories to be accorded to the citizens of the other signatory, to their commercial, industrial and financial enterprises and associations, to their ships and cargoes, to the products of their soil, farms and industry, and to the export of goods to the territory of the other signatory of this treaty. (b) No custom duties or tariffs shall be levied on goods transported across the territory of the other signatory of this treaty. (c) Freight rates in both countries shall not be higher than the rates for the local transportation of goods of the same nature over the same distance. (Note.—Until a commercial agreement is effected commercial relations between Esthonia and Russia shall be arranged according to the principles laid down here.) 3. Esthonia shall provide Russia, in Reval or in some other Esthonian port where a free port is established, with as much space as is required by Russian trade for transshipping, storing and transferring goods coming from Russia or to be transported into Russia, and the charges for the use of such space shall not be higher than the charges paid by its own citizens for the same kind of accommodations for goods in transit. 4. The signatories shall not make demands for privileges that one party may give to another country with which it has effected a customs or any other union. 5. In case of the death of a citizen of one of the signatories in the territory of the other signatory, his movable property shall be turned over in its entirety to the Consular or other similar representative of his country to be administered according to the laws and rules of his country.



*Appendix 2, Section 1.*—Artificial diversion of water from Lakes Peipus and Pskov causing the lowering of the average level of the waters of these lakes by more than one foot, as well as enterprises which may raise the level more than one foot, shall be permitted only through a special agreement between Esthonia and Russia. 2. A special agreement between the signatories shall be made regarding the fishing in Lakes Peipus and Pskov, with devices that do not permanently decrease the number of fish; also an agreement regarding the commercial vessels operating on these lakes.

*Appendix 3, Section 1.*—Esthonia grants to Russia the right to obtain electric power through the use of the waterfalls of the Narova River, provided that the compensation to be paid to Esthonia and the other conditions be defined in a special agreement. 2. Russia grants to Esthonia the right to construct and exploit a direct single or double track railroad connecting Moscow with some point on the Esthonian frontier, together with the means for the preliminary surveys and construction work, provided that the duration of the concession, the right to purchase the railroad before the expiration of the concession, and other conditions, be defined in a special agreement. 3. Russia grants to Esthonia rights over 1,000,000 dessiatines [2,700,000 acres] of forest land in the Governments of Petrograd, Pskov, Tver, Novgorod, Olonetz, Vologda and Archangel under conditions to be defined in a special agreement.

**ARTICLE XVII.**—Both signatories are reciprocally bound to take all measures necessary for safeguarding the movement of merchantmen in their respective waters, such as furnishing the necessary pilots at passages, keeping lighthouses in order, setting up the necessary signals, sweeping the waters of mines, using special devices for defining the limits of the mine fields, &c. Both parties express a willingness to participate in clearing the Baltic Sea of mines, this

work to be done according to a special agreement between the parties interested. In case such arrangement is not effected, the degree to which each side shall participate shall be determined by the court of arbitration.

**ARTICLE XVIII.**—The rights and privileges accorded by this treaty and its appendices to Esthonia and its citizens are applicable also to rural, district, municipal, social, beneficial, church, ecclesiastical and educational institutions and also to all kinds of juridical persons.

**ARTICLE XIX.**—In the interpretation of this treaty both texts, the Esthonian and the Russian, shall be considered authentic.

**ARTICLE XX.**—This treaty must be ratified. The exchange of the documents of ratification must take place in Moscow as soon as possible.

The treaty of peace shall become effective from the date of ratification.

Everywhere in this treaty where the time of ratification is mentioned as the effective date of its terms, it is understood that the date intended is that upon which the signatories reciprocally acknowledge the fact of said ratification.

In confirmation of the above, the delegates of both parties have attached their signatures and seals to this treaty.

The original, drawn up and written in two copies in Dorpat on the second day of February, 1920.

(Signed)

J. POSKA,	J. SOOTS,
A. PIIP,	J. GUKOVSKY,
M. PUUMAN,	A. YOFFE.
J. SELJAMAA,	

A special cable dispatch to The New York Times from Copenhagen, April 13, said that railroad connection between Esthonia and Soviet Russia had been re-established, and that the first Russian train had arrived at Narva.

## Protest Regarding Eupen and Malmedy

**T**HE provision of the Treaty of Versailles, whereby the inhabitants of Eupen and Malmedy, during the six months following Jan. 10, 1920, have the right to indicate their preference for either German or Belgian rule, was the subject of the following German protest in April:

The Belgian High Commissioner for the districts of Eupen and Malmedy declared, in his proclamation of Jan. 1, 1920, that the views of the people would be registered honestly and under the strictest observance of Article 34 of the Peace Treaty.

The facts are in the most crass opposition to this regulation. For instance,

there are only two lists for the voting, one in Eupen and one in Malmedy, and they are open only three hours a day. The German Government also protests against the constant and unlawful influencing of those entitled to vote by the Belgian officials. Among other things, the Commissioners, without any justification, demand all sorts of information as to the reasons which cause individuals to register. And, besides this, it is alleged that persons entitled to vote have been dissuaded or even intimidated from voting by Belgian officials. Those who registered for the voting have been deprived of a number of favors. The German Government energetically protests against this and other open violations of the Peace Treaty.

# AMONG THE NATIONS

## Survey of Important Events and Developments in Various Countries of Both Hemispheres

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 15, 1920]

[For alphabetical Index of countries see Table of Contents]

### Overthrow of the Carranza Government

#### MEXICO

GENERAL VENUSTIANO CARRANZA, President of Mexico, has been deposed with almost as much ease as Cabrera was in Guatemala and with proportionately less loss of life. The Mexican revolution, whose beginnings were noted last month, has been far less destructive than any that preceded it. Originating at Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora, most northwesterly of the Mexican States, it rapidly spread south until virtually the whole republic of twenty-eight States was in arms against Carranza.

Sinaloa, adjoining Sonora, was the next State to secede. After the capture of its capital, Culiacan, Sonora troops under General Angel Flores continued their easily victorious march southward toward Mazatlan on the Pacific Coast. General Obregon, the most formidable rival of Bonillas, Carranza's candidate for the Presidency, reappeared after his flight from Mexico City and openly joined the revolution. Hundreds of former Carranza soldiers flocked to the rebel army, bringing with them full equipment in arms, ammunition and food supplies. Reinforcements were also sent to General Flores from Hermosillo.

Nayarit, the next coast State south of Sinaloa, where the people were indignant because Carranza had deposed their constitutional Governor, Señor Godinet, next revolted, Colonel Yaddi with 500 men leaving Tepic to join the revolutionary army. At the same time a separate secession movement in the State of Michoacan, west of Mexico City, was announced. General Pasqual Ortiz Ru-

bio, Governor of the State and a strong supporter of Obregon, left the capital, Moelléa, and fled to the hills, taking with him the contents of the State Treasury and 150 soldiers. Chihuahua State troops, ordered by Carranza to attack Sonora on the east, refused, and there were many deserters from the Federal regiments sent north to check the rebellion. On April 19 it was announced that 1,200 Carranza soldiers at Santa Rosalia, in Chihuahua had revolted. A large part of this command consisted of Yaqui Indians, whose tribe had long been at war with Carranza.

General Salvador Alvarado was sent as special representative of the Sonora Republic to Washington, where he arrived on April 19. He announced that General Alvaro Obregon was the real head of the revolution and that it would continue until Carranza was deposed and a constitutional Government established. The revolt was said to be spreading in Chihuahua and Durango. The revolution, General Alvarado explained, was the result of Carranza's efforts to keep himself in power under the mask of Bonillas's candidacy, adding: "The discontent in Mexico is so intense and so general that the revolution may triumph so precipitately as almost to avoid bloodshed"—which has turned out to be the case.

#### PROGRESS OF REVOLT

By April 21 ten States were reported in revolt. They were: Sonora, Sinaloa, Nayarit, Michoacan, Chihuahua, Durango, Guerrero, Zacatecas, Hidalgo and Tlaxcala; that is, the western half of Mexico north of the capital and the two little States last named on the northeast. Vera





MAP OF MEXICAN STATES, FROM SONORA TO YUCATAN, THROUGH WHICH THE REVOLUTION SWEEPED. THE ARROW IN VERA CRUZ SHOWS WHERE CARRANZA ESCAPED INTO THE MOUNTAINS AFTER HIS LAST BATTLE

Cruz, on the Atlantic, and Tehuantepec, ~ly selected in several States and of some on the Pacific, were announced to be in revolt on April 22.

General Arnulfo Gomez, with 3,000 men, occupied Tuxpan, the second greatest oil exporting city of Mexico, and was reported to be threatening Tampico, a hundred miles further north, where General Murguía, the Carranza commander in the oil district, was opposing him. Fighting was in progress between their forces on April 23. The first defection of Carranza troops in Northeast Mexico had occurred on April 21 at Linares, Nuevo Leon, where Colonel Rodolfo Gallegos, with his garrison of 400 men, left to join the anti-Carranza forces.

Sonora revolutionists on April 23 announced the establishment of a new Provisional Government in Mexico with Governor de la Huerta as supreme commander. A proclamation was issued called "the Plan of Agua Prieta," under which a Provisional President was to be appointed, declaring for effective suffrage and no re-election. In addition to repudiating Carranza it called for the repudiation of Carranza officials illegal-

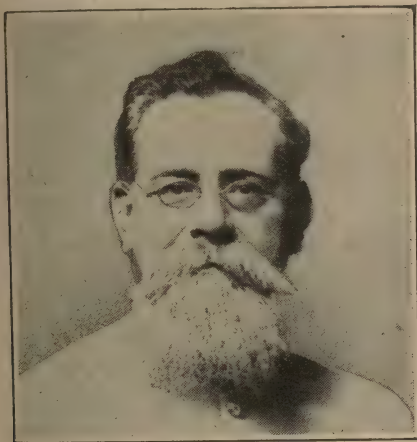
ly selected in several States and of some Mexico City Councilmen, also requiring the recognition of Sei or Godinet as Governor of Nyarit. Of chief interest to foreigners was a clause which said:

The Supreme Commander of the Liberal Constitutional Army, and all civil and military authorities who support this movement, will afford all legal protection and enforcement of their legal rights to all citizens and foreigners, and especially favor the development of all industries, commerce and business in general.

#### CARRANZA SEEKS COMPROMISE

President Carranza sought to compromise with the revolutionary leaders and sent eighteen members of the Mexican National Congress to Sonora to attempt a settlement of the difficulties between the States and the Federal Government. They arrived at Hermosillo on April 25, having reached there by a circuitous route through Chihuahua to Nogales. They were accompanied by General Ignacio Pesquiera and Governor Mireles of Coahuila, Carranza's former Secretary. Their efforts were fruitless. Part of their journey had been by rail through

the United States, and this led to a report that Washington had been asked to permit Mexican Federal troops to pass through Texas, New Mexico and Arizona to put down the rebellion. Such a request, it was subsequently stated, had actually been made but emanated only



VENUSTIANO CARRANZA

*Deposed President of the Mexican Republic*

from army officers in an unofficial and informal way.

As early as April 7, Americans at Mazatlan, anticipating trouble on account of the railroad strike, had asked through the American Consul that a United States warship be sent there to protect them. The Mexican Federal commander urgently seconded the request. This was granted and on April 24 the cruiser Salem and the destroyer McCauley left the naval base at San Diego, Cal., for Mazatlan and Topolobampo, respectively. The scout cruiser Sacramento was already at Tampico. Later a division of six destroyers, the Isherwood, Case, Lardner, Putnam, Dale, and Reid and the tender Black Hawk, with Captain Byron Long in command, was ordered to Key West. These warships had been anchored in the Hudson River off New York and left on May 5 for their destination, whence they could speedily reach the Gulf Coast of Mexico if required.

General Manuel Palaez, the rebel com-

mander who has more or less controlled the oilfields on the east coast for many months, joined forces with General Arnolfo Gomez, formerly in command of the Federal garrison at Tuxpan, on April 22 and began an attack in the Tampico district. At the same time Colonel Gallegos, in command in Neuva Leon, rebelled with his garrison at Monterey. Fighting was reported at Cuernavaca, close to the capital on the south, and General Enrique Estrada of Zacatecas came out in favor of Obregon. Mazatlan was under attack by April 24. Manzanillo, an important Pacific port in the State of Colima, due west of the capital, was also threatened.

### CARRANZA'S MEASURES INADEQUATE

It is now evident that Carranza and his advisers did not appreciate the seriousness of the situation until too late. A summary of events was issued by the Federal Government on April 25 in which it was shown that Carranza had planned to surround Sonora with a ring of troops. General Manuel Dieguez was heading troops that had already been sent north, and General Candido Aguilar, Carranza's son-in-law, was organizing a strong column at Vera Cruz. One army was to go through Sinaloa, another from Chihuahua, and a third to proceed by sea retaking Guaymas, which had fallen on April 12 without a shot being fired.

Utterly inadequate measures were taken to head off the revolution. By April 26 Oaxaca was affected and the Tehuantepec Railway cut, while Cuernavaca was in the hands of the rebels. Federal troops in Puebla had revolted and General Maycotte in Guerrero, on whom the Carranzistas had relied to crush the rebel forces of General Benjamin Hill, a partisan of Obregon, had joined the enemy. It was to Guerrero that General Obregon had fled three weeks previously after his disappearance from Mexico City. Together Obregon, Hill and Maycotte planned an attack on the capital. General Obregon was personally directing the movements in Guerrero, according to information given out on April 27 at Agua Prieta,



which was the headquarters for the dissemination of revolutionary news.

Defections from Carranza occurred hourly. General Dieguez, moving against Sonora, was unable to get transportation from Jalisco or to recruit forces there. His own men began to desert him. The Federal garrison at Chihuahua City revolted on April 26. One battalion, which refused to join and fought with their former comrades, surrendered the next day. Late on April 28 Federal officials crossed the Rio Grande from Juarez, which is in Chihuahua on the railway about a hundred miles north of Chihuahua City, and brought with them the funds of the Juarez Custom House, depositing them in an El Paso bank for safekeeping. The Postmaster General from Mexico City also crossed the border on the same day on his way to Sonora, stating at Laredo that he had accepted an appointment as Postmaster General of the Sonora Republic. The State of Tabasco, bordering on Guatemala, went over to the rebels under the leadership of its Governor, Don Carlos Green, descendant of an American formerly prominent in Mexico.

The first clash between Carranza troops and revolutionists occurred on April 29 in the mountains dividing the States of Chihuahua and Sonora near Pulpito Pass. The Sonorans captured eleven Carranza soldiers. The prisoners offered to enlist in the Sonora army and told of many desertions daily from the Carranza ranks. Next day the railroad between Mexico City and Guadalajara was cut and Zamora, the second largest city in Michoacan, was captured. The rebels restored telegraphic communication between Chihuahua City and Hermosillo on April 30, giving them a great advantage in planning movements in the north.

#### THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Juarez joined the revolution on May 3 and Washington now began to see that Carranza's days were numbered. Reports began to circulate that the President was about to flee from the country. His Generals advised Carranza to resign, but he refused. He agreed, however, to the withdrawal of his candidate for the

Presidency, Ygnacio Bonillas, Ambassador to the United States.

Casas Grandes, the sole loyal garrison in Chihuahua on May 4, was reported



GENERAL ALVARO OBREGON

*Leader of the successful Mexican Revolution*

(© Underwood & Underwood)

captured, and Torreon, a centre of the Mexican cotton fields in Durango, was turned over without a fight. General Murguia arrived at Mexico City on May 5 to assume charge of the defense of the capital, the revolutionary government of Sonora having refused Carranza's early overtures of peace. It was authoritatively stated in Washington on May 2 that the only basis of peace which the Mexican revolutionists would entertain was the elimination of Carranza from position and power in Mexico.

With half of Carranza's territory in their hands the leaders of the revolution considered it time to organize the Provisional Government more definitely.

Governor Adolfo de la Huerta of Sonora—no relation of the former Mexican President—was continued in temporary power. General P. Elias Calles was named Minister of War and General Salvador Alvarado Minister of Finance at a meeting held at Naco on May 4. General Rubio, Governor of Michoacan, was designated as Minister of Communications, and Governor Enrique Estrada of Zacatecas Minister of Agriculture. They decided to ask Señor Alberto Pani, Mexican Minister to France under Carranza, to be Minister of Industry and Commerce, provided he would accept the program of the revolution.

General Pablo Gonzalez, regarded as the staunchest supporter of Carranza, secretly left the capital. Reappearing a few miles east of the city with two regiments of troops he joined the revolution and cut the railroad to Vera Cruz. This closed any chance of Carranza escaping from the country in that direction, although one route through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec into Guatemala was believed to be still practicable. Development of the revolution was so rapid it became generally recognized that Carranza could no longer retain power. The Federal forces rarely offered battle and were hourly deserting to the revolution.

President Carranza on May 5 issued a manifesto to the people of Mexico, drawing parallels between the revolts of former President Huerta and that of Obregon and Gonzales. He promised to make every effort to prevent the country falling into the hands of the leaders of the revolution, predicting that, if it did, there would be further bloodshed caused by these leaders' disputes. He refused to surrender office until the rebels were defeated and then only to whoever should be legally chosen to succeed him. He called upon the army to remain loyal and upon the Mexican people to furnish new troops.

On the following day the Federal garrison at Vera Cruz revolted and left the city and the State Government at Cordoba moved into it. The Pan-American railway to the border of Guatemala was in the hands of the revolutionists.

On Friday, May 7, it was reported that Carranza had secretly fled from

Mexico City at 1 o'clock that morning and Luis Cabrera, head of the Carranza Cabinet, was said to be in flight to the United States by way of Piedras Negras. At noon the same day the revolutionary forces entered the capital.

General Francisco Murgia, whom Carranza had called to defend the city at the last moment before evacuating it, executed one of those bloody reprisals which so often have stained the pages of history in similar situations. He carried out a wholesale slaughter of political prisoners in the Santiago Military Prison, fifteen Mexican Generals being among the victims. This cruel act shocked the citizens and they were quite ready to welcome the revolutionary army when it arrived. A contingent of the forces of General Pablo Gonzalez, commanded by General Jacinto Trevino, was the first to enter the city on the east. Later General Alvaro Obregon entered with his troops on the west. Gonzalez and Obregon were rival candidates for the Presidency, the latter seemingly having the most support. Four of the American destroyers at Key West sailed for Tampico on May 9 and the super-dreadnought Oklahoma was ordered south from New York.

Carranza, with Ygnacio Bonillas, accompanied by General Murgia and three trains full of troops, left the Federal District by the northern route through Tlaxcala instead of the southern one through Puebla. Both roads form a loop, join at San Marcos and continue in another loop to Vera Cruz. Troops from Puebla City hurried to San Marcos Junction to head off Carranza, and his trains were halted between Apizaco and Humanita, the first station west of San Marcos. Carranza, at bay, determined to give battle. General Trevino was sent on May 9 by the revolutionary leaders to try and induce Carranza to surrender, as they wished to save his life.

Carranza's forces were variously estimated at from 4,000 to 7,000 men, and occupied advantageous positions near the railway eastward from Humanita across the San Marcos Junction to Rinconada.

The revolutionists soon surrounded them as completely as the broken nature



of the ground would allow, and fighting began on May 10. Carranza was joined by his son-in-law, General Candido Aguilar, who came from Vera Cruz and was allowed to pass through the besiegers' lines with his staff, but with no troops, on his promise to tell Carranza the exact condition of affairs and inform him that his life would be spared.

But the President still stubbornly refused to yield, and furious fighting occurred on May 12 north of San Marcos. Two of the Carranza trains left standing on the track were burned, and the revolutionists succeeded in dividing his army, pressing part of it north in the direction of the State of Hidalgo. Carranza commanded his left wing between San Marcos and Rinconada in person, holding a line about three miles long. Every assault was met by a perfect storm of rifle and machine-gun bullets.

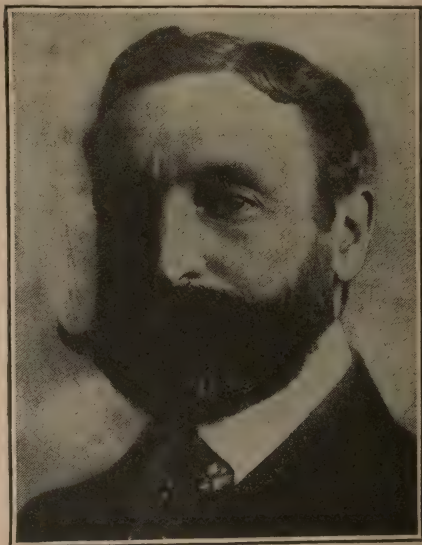
Early in the morning of Friday, May 14, just a week after leaving Mexico City, Carranza with a small remnant of his force amounting to about a thousand men succeeded in breaking through the rebel lines south of Rinconada, and headed southeast for the mountains between Puebla and Orizaba, which offer an almost insurmountable barrier to travel on the western border of the State of Vera Cruz below the pass through which the railroad runs. A revolutionary force started in pursuit.

General Pablo Gonzalez in a manifesto issued on May 15 announced that he had definitely withdrawn from the Presidential race. This eliminated any chance of friction between himself and General Obregon, the two chief military leaders of the Liberal revolutionary party. General Obregon is the only remaining Presidential candidate, unless Ygnacio Bonillas should return, which was deemed improbable.

General Candido Aguilar, son-in-law of Carranza, was captured at Jalapilla, Vera Cruz, on May 15, but was reported two days later to have escaped. All of the members of Carranza's Cabinet were captured and sent to Mexico City.

Francisco Villa was evidently very anxious to join the revolution, but the leaders were decidedly cool to his over-

tures. With 200 men he appeared at Santa Eulalia, 20 miles east of Chihuahua City, on April 26, and offered to join the revolting forces if they would allow him, in case of their success, to execute any of his enemies who might



GENERAL R. PINA

*Commander of the military forces in Sonora that started the Mexican revolution*

be captured, chief of whom was General Escobar, commander of the Juarez garrison who defeated Villa last June. This cheerful offer was refused. Finally Villa agreed to lay down his arms and turned his followers over to General Ignacio Enriquez, revolutionary commander of the Chihuahua district.

Only three States, Chiapas, Campeche and Yucatan, the most southerly in the republic, remained loyal to Carranza. Mazatlan on the Pacific was finally captured by General Flores on May 10. Tampico fell on May 9, the big oil works had not been damaged. Matamoras surrendered on May 14.

General de la Huerta, recognized by both Obregon and Gonzalez as temporary head of affairs, summoned Congress to meet in Mexico City on May 24 for the purpose of appointing a provisional President of Mexico. The name of Antonio Villareal, who presided over the Constitutional Convention of 1914, had

been mentioned in this connection, as had that of Fernando Calderon, leader of the Liberal Party. Whether the national election, which legally would occur on July 4 this year, could take place or not, remained undecided.

## CENTRAL AMERICA

**GUATEMALA**—Dr. Carlos Herrera, who succeeds Estrada Cabrera as Provisional President of Guatemala, is an influential business man, owner of large sugar and coffee estates, and is very well known in the United States. Prominent in his Cabinet is Louis Aguirre, of an old and highly honored Guatemalan family. Both are warm friends of the United States.

Casualties in the bombardment of Guatemala City by Cabrera and in the ten-day revolution which ended in his overthrow on April 16 were about 800 men, women and children killed. Guatemalan political refugees are returning to the country and are being received enthusiastically.

Cabrera, the deposed President, has been placed at the disposal of the National Assembly sitting as a Supreme Court, and his trial on five criminal charges was determined upon. The United States has made strong representation to the new Government to spare his life.

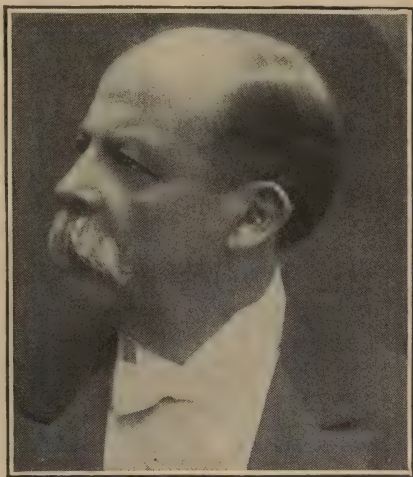
A decree was issued by President Herrera on April 25 providing for elections for a new President to be held in the latter part of August, and a call was issued for special elections to fill vacancies in the General Assembly. Another decree provides for the allotment under certain conditions of all public lands not under cultivation.

Salvador and Nicaragua recognized the new régime within a few days.

**COSTA RICA**—Julio Acosta was inaugurated as President of Costa Rica on May 9.

**PANAMA**—Some stir was occasioned by the recent acquisition by the United States of the major portion of Taboga Island for fortification as a part of the Pacific defense scheme of the Panama Canal. There are several rugged islands in the Harbor of Panama, two of which, Perico and Flamenco, already belonged

to the United States. Taboga has an elevation of 935 feet and was a place of country residence for wealthy Panamanians. Its acquisition was very unpopular in Panama and there was a torchlight



MANUEL ESTRADA CABRERA  
*Deposed President of Guatemala*

parade in the capital on the night of May 2 in protest against the transaction. General Pershing, who was driving to a ball in his honor, was turned back by the mob and forced to return to his hotel. Mobs threw stones at Panama officials, some of whom were wounded.

The matter was brought up in the British House of Commons by Major Christopher Lowther, who asked whether, in view of Great Britain's desire to protect the rights of small nations, a protest would be made against the "seizure" of Taboga. Cecil Harmsworth replied that it did not appear to be a matter in which the British Government was called upon to intervene.

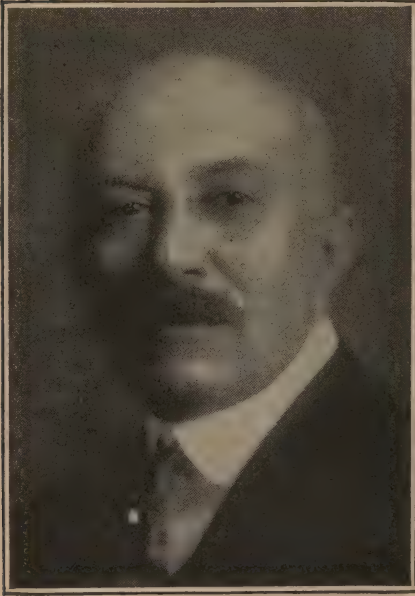
## WEST INDIES

**CUBA** is having the novel experience of a shortage of sugar, and the price has risen to 24 cents a pound retail. There is a decline of 117,000 tons in the crop, which amounts to 3,850,000 long tons this year, according to the latest estimates, whereas a crop of 4,700,000 tons had been predicted. But the main cause of the high price of the staple in



Cuba is the European shortage of 500,000 tons. Buyers from abroad bought up almost the entire crop early in the season, outbidding competitors here.

Final plans have been made for the



CARLOS HERRERA

*Provisional President of Guatemala, following the downfall of Cabrera*

(© Harris & Ewing)

inauguration of an American college in Cuba, to be known as the Havana College of Business Administration. It will be a branch of a Boston institution, and there will be an interchange of professors and students.

Cuba, like the United States, is on the eve of a Presidential election, and

the Republican Party has nominated Senator Maza y Artola to succeed President Menocal, whose term expires on May 20, 1921.

HAITI is again under consideration as a new naval base for the United States, and Senator King of Utah has returned from the Caribbean Sea convinced that Guantanamo is entirely inadequate for the requirements of the American fleet. He proposes that the United States begin negotiations with Haiti for the purpose of obtaining a concession at Port au Prince, which is at the apex of a huge bay, with the island of Gonaives forming a natural defense for the harbor, which is 200 square miles in extent. The project is likely to go over until next year.

JAMAICA is endeavoring to strengthen the ties which unite her with the other British West Indian islands and with the empire by an agitation in favor of preferential tariffs. A commission was about to confer with the Canadian Government on the subject at a meeting in Ottawa, and was instructed to favor uniform tariffs in all British colonies and dominions, with the greatest possible extension of the free list, especially for citrus fruits.

Members of the Jamaican Legislature have been criticising the British Consuls in neighboring republics, saying that West Indians receive no protection in Central America and Cuba. Induced to leave home by promise of high wages, they are often beaten, shot or imprisoned and have no redress.

A revaluation of the land of Jamaica for taxation purposes shows an increase of £1,250,000 since 1911.

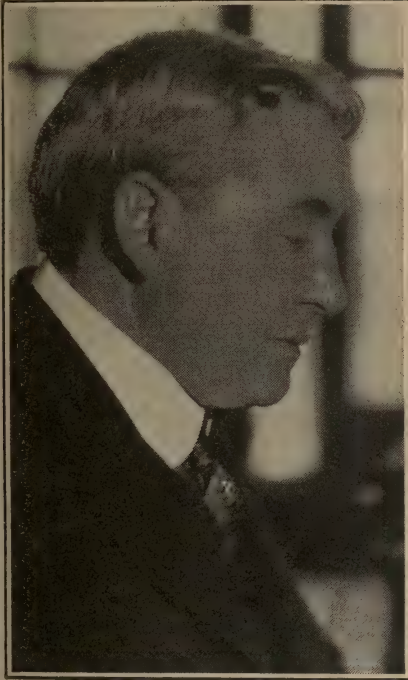
## Race for South American Trade

### Germany Already a Strong Rival

THE United States, Great Britain and Germany are engaged in a race for South American trade, and it is growing keener every month. Italy and France also are in the contest, but the chief competitors are British and Ameri-

cans. The Germans, who remained underground during the war, have warehouses filled to the brim with goods, and are beginning to exploit southern markets and at the same time endeavor to sow discord between their British and

American rivals. Some months ago German salesmen appeared and offered to accept orders at much lower figures than those quoted by North Americans. They are said to have booked a large number of orders. Although practically



FRANKLIN ADAMS

*Counselor of the Pan-American Union, an office just created*  
 (© Harris & Ewing)

no merchandise has arrived from Germany, the fact that lower prices were offered has tended to cause some dissatisfaction among South American buyers, and the cancellation of some orders. Another point which tells slightly against United States trade is that English manufacturers are extending six months' credit as against three months' allowed by Americans. On the other hand, the establishment of American banking institutions and American Chambers of Commerce is proving of great value to the export trade of the United States.

This country was also represented at the recent Pan-American Architectural

Congress in Montevideo and exhibited specimens of wartime construction. Its relative cheapness attracted the attention of some of the larger cities, where it is planned to build dwellings to relieve congestion and high rents in the poorer quarters.

An international convention for the protection of trade marks, signed on Aug. 20, 1919, at the fourth International Congress of American States, has been ratified by fourteen Governments, the Peruvian Congress agreeing to it on April 14. It provides that any trade mark registered in one of the signatory States shall be considered as registered also in the other States and is designed to prevent piracy of distinctive brands.

## ARGENTINA

The Argentine Government on May 15 paid off in New York City a \$25,000,000 loan floated five years ago, and liquidated an equal amount in London the same day. The United States authorities did not favor extending the loan for the reason that Argentina already enjoyed a favorable balance in trade operations with the United States, and to extend the loan would have enabled that country further to deplete our gold stocks. Since Jan. 1, 1920, Argentina has taken approximately \$60,000,000 American gold. It was stated that London bankers advanced the funds to the Government to meet the loan here and to liquidate the equal amount which matured there.

Argentina has reduced her wheat acreage this year by 12 per cent., but the coming harvest is estimated by the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome at 5,800,000 metric tons, or 16 per cent. more than last year, and 43 per cent. over the average yield from 1914 to 1918. Nevertheless, the price of wheat at Buenos Ayres has reached the unprecedented quotation of 27 pesos a hundred kilogrammes, or about \$3.37 a bushel. More than 8,000,000 bushels were exported in one week recently, and it is predicted that Argentina's exportable surplus of wheat will be exhausted by the end of October, two months before the harvesting of the next crop begins, unless steps are taken to reduce exports.



This the Government so far has refused to do. Argentina this year is shipping wheat to Portugal, Spain, Egypt and South Africa, besides exporting to Italy, England, France, Holland and all the Northern European nations which have formerly been supplied.

Naturally the farmers and the business men generally are profiting by the rise in prices and this is reflected in the general extravagance of those fortunately situated. The season at Mar del Plata, Buenos Ayres' favorite resort by the sea, has been exceptionally brilliant this year. Never were the hotels so full or the cottages so occupied. The demand for automobiles, especially American automobiles, has increased fourfold since 1914 and last year \$2,711,232 worth of passenger cars were imported from the United States and tires and accessories valued at \$5,546,572. At the same time gasoline has gone up to 60 cents a gallon against 27½ cents before the war.

A factor in Argentine trade in which the United States admittedly excels her European competitors is advertising and the Washington Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce calls attention to the admirable medium offered by Argentine newspapers, which it considers better than those of any other Latin-American country. One point recently indicated by Carlos A. Tornquist, Financial Commissioner of the Argentine Republic, who lately visited the United States, works to prejudice Argentinians against merchants here. It is that, while American banks may freely carry on business in Argentina, no Argentine bank, not even the great Banco de la Nacion, can establish a branch in the United States. Signs of the dissatisfaction this has created is shown by a bill introduced in the Argentine Congress to impose a tax of 20 per cent. on the profits of all foreign banks whose countries do not extend the same facilities to Argentine banks.

### BRAZIL

There is a shortage of farmhands in the coffee and grain districts of Brazil, which has led the Government to authorize a special credit of \$500,000 for the transportation and care of immigrants. It expects to provide for 3,000

Germans and 2,000 immigrants of other nationalities this year who will be distributed principally in the States of Sao Paulo, Minas Geraes and Rio Janeiro. In 1918 there arrived in Brazil 20,501 immigrants, more than one-quarter being Japanese.

As in other countries, the standard of living has advanced rapidly since the war. Before it nearly all the musical instruments sold were of German make and of cheap grade. American pianos captured the market during the war simply because it was impossible to get any from Europe. By reducing their size and following European styles they still hold the trade. The same thing happened with automobiles, which have become very popular and are stimulating the movement for better roads.

### BOLIVIA

A commercial treaty was signed early in April between Bolivia and China. It was the first treaty in which China makes no extraterritorial concessions.

A clever financial arrangement has just been made by which Bolivia profits to the extent of \$4,000,000 and pays off two loans floated in France in 1910 and 1913, aggregating 56,603,000 francs. The Bolivian Government borrowed \$10,000,000 in New York and, owing to the depreciation of the franc and the low rate of exchange, will be able to retire both loans and have about \$4,000,000 left, which it expects to use for railroad construction. In return for the \$10,000,000 loan Bolivia will issue fifteen-year serial bonds bearing 6 per cent. interest.

### CHILE

While the trade of the United States with Chile as a whole, especially the northern part, has been vastly benefited by the Panama Canal, the cutting of the great waterway has been disastrous to the Chilean port of Punta Arenas, on the Strait of Magellan, the most southerly city in the world. Statistics just received show that in the five years after 1913 the number of vessels touching there decreased from 476 to 99 and the direct transits through the strait fell from 106 to 4. This has been partly made up by the increase of sheep raising on the

Island of Tierra del Fuego, half of which is Chilean territory. Exports of wool to the United States last year amounted to \$11,850,000.

Chile is about to add to her navy, as a result of negotiations with Great Britain, the dreadnought *Canada*, three torpedo boat destroyers and a transport. The *Canada* is one of two battleships built for Chile in England, both of which were requisitioned by the British at the beginning of the war. Chile has accepted the destroyers and transport in place of the other dreadnought.

The Presidential election will take place on June 25. Electors will be chosen who will name the President the following month; their functions, as in the United States, being merely nominal. The President's term is five years and he is not re-eligible. The Allied Liberal parties, composed of democrats and radicals, on April 25 nominated Arturo Alessandri, formerly Minister of the Interior, on a platform favoring administrative decentralization and compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. The Unionist Convention which met on May 4 nominated Ruis Barros Borgono, President of the National Mortgage Bank, as its candidate.

Chile has come out best in another kind of contest—the fourth South American Olympic tournament—which closed at Santiago on April 25. For the third time the Chilean athletes were victors, scoring sixty-one points against forty-three for Uruguay and twenty for Argentina.

## URUGUAY

Dr. Baltazar Brum, President of Uruguay, in a remarkable address to the students of the University of Montevideo on April 21, urged the formation

of an American League of Nations for common action against aggression threatening any of them from outside and for the arbitration of purely American disputes. There should be absolute equality among all the participating States and all should make a declaration similar to the Monroe Doctrine, placing them on the same footing as the United States for joint action against European aggression and to secure the solidarity of the American Continent. The American League should be formed without prejudice to the League of Nations and should any member have a controversy with the League of Nations that member should ask for the co-operation of the American League in settling the controversy. Following this address a delegation of residents from the United States congratulated President Brum, and the Peruvian Chamber of Deputies telegraphed a message congratulating the Uruguayan people and Parliament upon the doctrine of American solidarity formulated by Dr. Brum, saying it "has the approval of the honorable nations of America."

There were some critics at home, however, and the *Pais*, one of the principal Montevideo newspapers, severely attacked the President for his speech. Dr. Brum challenged Dr. Rodriguez Larreta, director of the *Pais*, to fight a duel. The latter replied that he would fight only if the duel took place in a foreign country, as, if he injured or killed the President, the police might make trouble. Thereupon the duel was called off. Dr. Larreta was codirector of the *Pais* with Washington Beltran, who was killed in a duel by the former President, José Batlle y Ordóñez, as noted last month by CURRENT HISTORY.





# The British Empire and Its Problems

## Increasing Turbulence in Ireland

### ENGLAND

THE British Government's chief problems during the month under review were connected with the new budget, labor unrest, the acute housing situation, and the strengthening of the territorial army.

The new Budget bill brought in and presented to the House of Commons on April 19 aroused great interest and widespread discussion. In introducing this bill Mr. Chamberlain, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, spoke for two hours in serious mood. As a rule it is the income tax and super-tax passages in a budget speech that create the greatest interest. Mr. Chamberlain touched on these but lightly. There was evident relief when he announced that there would be no change in the standard rate of 6d. to the pound, and the labor members were all attention when he stated that he reserved judgment on the proposal to levy income tax on the profits of co-operative societies. The recommendations of the Income Tax Commission, he said, were to be accepted in their entirety. The general scheme of income tax reform was to be embodied in a later bill. Certain income tax increases, however, were enumerated in detail; many large increases were announced, representing a total of from 40 to 60 per cent., from Jan. 1 of the present year.

Of the general financial situation Mr. Chamberlain spoke hopefully. The huge floating debt, he said, was the worst feature, but he hoped to be able at the close of the financial year to apply £234,000,000 to reduction of the whole debt and £70,000,000 to reduction of the floating debt, which on April 1 stood at £1,312,000,000. The burden of meeting an estimated expense of £1,184,102,000 on the budget proposed, which asked only for £1,418,300,000, he said, would be terrific; yet it would be a heroic accomplishment, which no other country in Europe could contemplate. Twenty such

budgets, he stated, would wipe out the entire national debt.

The housing problem continued to give solicitude. A White Paper issued in April recommended that raises in rent should be limited to 40 per cent., and that a time limit be fixed for the making of repairs. The construction policy of the Ministry of Health was the object of frequent attack as extravagant and unwise. Mr. A. A. Hudson, K. C., former President of the Tribunal of Appeal under the London Building acts, estimated toward the end of April that there would be an average loss of £50 per annum on each house which the Ministry, vested with unlimited powers, was constructing. This loss must fall on the taxpayer. The causes of the excessive cost were two: the obsession of the ideal of the Garden City had led to unnecessary size of construction, and detachment, or semi-detachment, instead of grouping in rows; and no attempt had been made by the Ministry to keep down the expenses either in the case of the local authorities, the labor contractors, or the laborers themselves, who asked virtually whatever salary they pleased.

A negative side to the Ministry's policy was set forth by John W. Simpson, President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, who declared that this policy was likely to cause widespread unemployment in the building trades and to affect its steadiest and most highly skilled artisans. The Ministry, he pointed out, had prohibited every kind of building but its own.

Dr. Addison, the Minister of Health, in laying the first slab of a block of concrete houses on April 24, defended the Ministry's policy, asserted that every effort was being made to achieve economy, and denied that the Ministry was causing or would cause unemployment.

The miners' strike was settled by the miners' acceptance of the Government offer on April 15.

Although the Government had made headway in the formation of joint industrial councils, only the transport workers had welcomed this medium of arbitration, the organized trades standing aloof and regarding the Government councils with clearly shown suspicion.

British foreign policy continued to be the object of attack by leaders of the Labor Party. At a conference of delegates representing 169 trade union, co-operative and labor organizations, held on April 24, Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the Labor Party, attacked the results reached by the San Remo Conference, which he denounced as temporary patchwork and futile, and declared that if labor wished to govern it must create and follow a foreign policy of its own. This policy must be based upon world need alone, upon world independence.

A significant countermovement was reported from the Midland counties on April 26, when a large conference of Unionist workingmen, held at Leamington, launched a formal revolt against the attempts of the Laborites and Socialists to capture the trades unions and co-operative societies, and against nationalism, socialism, syndicalism, and all the things which meant the destruction of the old order on which the foundations of British society and democracy reposed. Similar meetings were being held in other parts of the country at the same time.

The Labor delegation charged to conduct a mission of investigation in Soviet Russia, after some delay, succeeded in obtaining passports from the Foreign Office on the authorization of the Government and with the consent of the Supreme Council at San Remo, on April 22, and its departure for Moscow was expected soon. This delegation was composed of representatives of the trades unions, the Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party. The object was to find out whether the Bolsheviki had abandoned the Red Terror, and whether they had the support, direct or tacit, of the bulk of the population; to determine whether Russia was in a position to export goods, and to what extent; and to ascertain the condition of Russian Soviet

industries, and whether they can be run successfully under the Soviet régime. A similar labor mission to Hungary to inquire into the massacres in that country, the internment camps and the condition of the working classes was projected as soon as the necessary passports could be obtained.

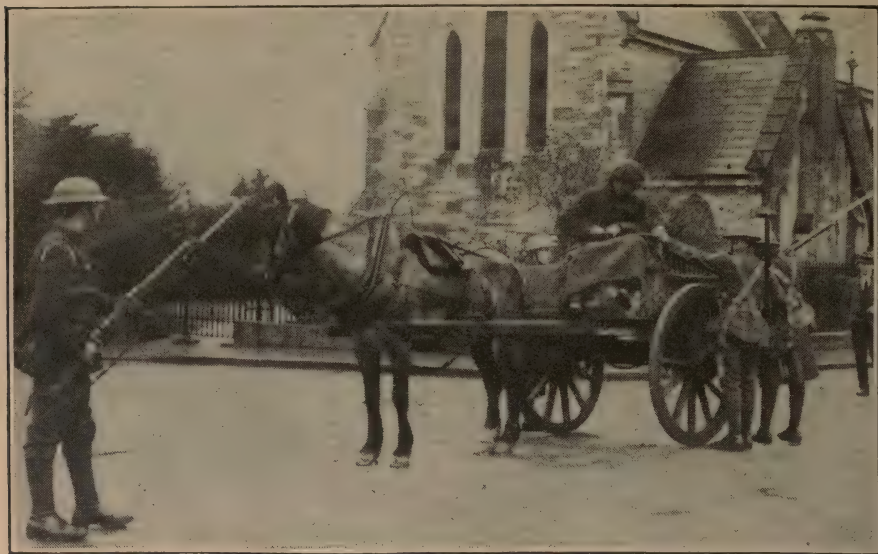
The inauguration ceremony of the British memorial erected in the cemetery at Zeebrugge in honor of the officers and men of the Salvage Corps who died attempting to block up this port on the night of April 23, 1918, took place in Brussels on April 25. Representatives of the British and Belgian Navies were present and stirring addresses were delivered. A somewhat similar ceremony occurred at Antwerp on the following day, when the steamship *Brussels*, formerly commanded by Captain Fryatt, one of the martyrs of the German U-boat campaign, was solemnly handed over to the British authorities at midday.

## • IRELAND

The Irish disorders continued to be a grave problem to the British Government, the situation becoming rather worse than better. The fact that England was facing actual revolution in Ireland was evidenced at the time the Irish declared a general strike, when a whole city—Waterford—was captured by a detachment of Irish cyclists, the telegraph wires cut, the Government buildings occupied and all municipal functions taken over. In the latter part of April the murder of Irish loyalists went on unabated. Attacks on person and property were carried on with virtual impunity, owing to the effectiveness of the Sinn Fein organization. The policy of besieging and burning police barracks scattered in isolated parts of Ireland was pursued systematically through May, and was invariably attended with success.

The British Government, on its part, gave no sign of weakening and manifested its determination to fight fire with fire. Repeated Government raids on the homes and haunts of Sinn Feiners were carried out in Ireland, netting considerable numbers of prisoners, who were placed in the prisons of Dublin (Mount-





SEARCHING A CART FOR ARMS AND HAND GRENADES IN ONE OF THE STREETS OF DUBLIN

(© International)

joy Prison), Belfast and London (Wormwood Scrubbs Prison). Wherever confined the Irish nationalists adopted the tactics of the hunger strike, which they carried to such extremes that for the Government it became a question either of liberation or of permitting deaths to occur. Many hunger strikers gained freedom through this device.

The most sensational of these strikes was that of some 150 political prisoners in Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, London. Demonstrations by vast throngs, estimated at from 5,000 to 10,000 people of both sexes, occurred on April 26. They were attended by scenes of great emotional stress, owing to the report that several of the Irish prisoners were in a dying condition from lack of food. The surging throng, singing Irish songs and waving Sinn Fein flags, was kept in check by police and military. Newspaper flares were lighted, and communication was established with the prisoners, crowded in the prison windows, by means of megaphones. A priest recited the "Rosary" in Celtic, while the crowd knelt on the wet grass. Demonstrations and counterdemonstrations occurred on the following days. Serious develop-

ments occurred on April 29, when mounted policemen were obliged to charge the rioting mob of Sinn Feiners and Loyalists. On April 30 Irish "stalwarts" appeared, wearing steel helmets and occupying front positions, bending all their energies to the protection particularly of the Sinn Fein women, large numbers of whom appeared in the crowd. Meanwhile the men within carried on their hunger strike; several were at death's door. Declaring then that it was unwilling to make martyrs of these men, the Government released them in batches until all were liberated.

One delegation of Irish Loyalists from Southern Ireland, toward the middle, and another toward the end of April, depicted the conditions prevailing throughout Ireland as little less than appalling. Anarchy and barbarism, they declared, were the order of the day. Discussions of the Irish situation in Parliament indicated that the seriousness of the question was thoroughly realized. Mr. Bonar Law, the Government spokesman, on April 27 announced that the Irish Government had been instructed to prepare a report on the conditions in Ireland. Lord Robert Cecil at this session spoke



DRAMATIC MOMENT IN FRONT OF MOUNTJOY PRISON, DUBLIN, WHEN A YOUNG IRISH GIRL, BY RECITING "THE ROSARY," QUIETED A VAST THROG GATHERED TO PRAY FOR THE 104 SINN FEIN PRISONERS WHO WERE ON HUNGER STRIKE WITHIN THE WALLS

(© Central News Service)



in strong condemnation of the vacillating nature of the Government's policy. Law in Ireland, he declared, no longer existed. There had been sixteen murders committed within three weeks, and the murder record was steadily rising.

The Irish disorders showed signs of crisis around the middle of May. In a single night (May 12-13) no fewer than fifty police barracks were attacked by armed bands of Sinn Feiners, captured after pitched battles, and many of them burned to the ground. A score of income tax offices were also raided and all papers destroyed. New attacks occurred the following day.

A new system of treating Irish political prisoners through a special judiciary body was adopted by the Government, and new measures of control by military action decided on. The policy advocated by General Sir Nevil Macready, commander of the Government forces in Ireland, was that of closer co-operation between the police and the military. General Macready favored the establishment of military posts in isolated districts where police barracks had been abandoned or burned down. Soldiers were being used instead of police in the first two weeks of May for patrol work and for checking the land agitationists. Cavalry was being employed to prevent further cattle driving, and in some of the western towns, where disorders had been most prevalent, cavalry contingents had been permanently quartered. No evidence of a reported dissension between Lord French, General Macready and Sir Hamar Greenwood, the new Irish Secretary, had been perceptible. Lord Birkenhead, the Lord High Chancellor, on May 13 declared that the Irish police would be protected in their "heroic work" by the armed forces of the Crown.

Debate of the Home Rule bill, which had passed its second reading at the end of March, continued through April and May. In these discussions the Government made clearly manifest its determination not to abandon the bill, though it was admitted on April 22 that concessions in respect to Irish control of customs were being planned. The Irish Nationalist members on May 1 repeated their refusal to take part in further dis-

cussions of the bill. A plea made by Mr. Asquith at the session of May 10 in favor of a single Irish Parliament was voted down decisively.

Mr. Lloyd George, on his return from the San Remo Conference, April 30, at once took up the Irish question, conferring with Mr. Bonar Law, Lord French and Lord Lieutenant Sir H. G. Denis Henry in London.

Some eighty-seven members of the United States House of Representatives on April 15 made a formal protest to Secretary of State Colby against the British treatment of Ireland. A memorandum was sent on May 4 to the British Government, signed by eighty-eight Congressmen, embodying a similar protest. This memorandum was commented on by the London press with resentment. Irish-American feeling was also shown on May 6 at the Democratic State Convention held in Providence, R. I., when the Sinn Fein organization was approved and the project of an Irish republic eulogized.

## SCOTLAND

A bill providing home rule for Scotland passed its second reading in Parliament on April 16. The author and defender of the bill was Robert Munro, Secretary of State for Scotland. Its announced object was to create a Scots Legislature to deal with purely Scottish interests. The debate following the reading showed a strong current of opinion against it as unnecessary, and above all inopportune. The House rose without coming to a vote, and the issue of the debate was left in doubt.

## CANADA

Announcement of the completion of arrangements whereby a diplomatic representative of Canada will be stationed at Washington was simultaneously made in the British and Canadian Houses of Commons on May 10. The official announcement appears on Page 544 of this magazine.

For the Liberal opposition the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the leader, asked that all the papers relative to the matter be brought before the House as early as

possible, which was promised. Mr. King expressed surprise that "the whole transaction is finally settled by the British Government, the Canadian Government and the United States Government, and this Parliament has had no opportunity of giving any consideration to the question in its far-reaching, interimperial and international relations." This is a feeling that seems to be shared by a good many of the newspapers, which express the hope that now that the Premier, Sir Robert Borden, has returned to Ottawa after a prolonged absence in search of renewed health, there will be a full and frank explanation of all the reasons for the step, and of the attitude that Canadian Ministers propose to take in respect to a number of questions relative to the constitutional relationships of the British Empire, which are to be discussed at a conference to be held in London. The Toronto World remarks in its discussion of the decision to send a representative to Washington: "Nothing seems plainer than that, without the advice or knowledge of Parliament, there is being set up at Washington a sort of diplomatic entity that is neither fish, flesh, fowl nor good red herring. But it is said to be an authentic portion of Canadian nationality."

Assent having been given by the Governor General to the necessary legislation passed by the Commons and the Senate, the Grand Trunk Railway has become Canada's property and part of the publicly owned Canadian National Railway system. The country is now in possession of some 22,000 miles of railroad on the former privately owned sections, of which there are large deficits to be faced, an estimate for the year putting the aggregate as high as \$47,000,000. The Government and its advisers nevertheless hold to the opinion that with proper management the system can be made to pay, and a good deal of rolling stock and equipment has been ordered. It is intimated that the rates on the lines will be increased. This could not well be done without granting similar rights to the Canadian Pacific Railway, which will be the only rival to the Government system.

Lieut. Gen. Sir Arthur Currie, In-

spector General of the Canadian Militia, has resigned to accept the principalship of McGill University of Montreal, which had been tentatively accepted by Sir Auckland Geddes, who later became British Ambassador to Washington. The announcement was received in Canada with profound interest. The incident is unique in the annals of the country. General Currie, who is six feet four inches in height and built in proportion, is a native Canadian. He went to the World War in command of a regiment and became commander of the Canadian corps, directing its most striking offensives. On his return he reorganized the Canadian militia, which had formed the nucleus of the Canadian corps, and was made Inspector General. The General, who has received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from McGill, is not a university man. Educational circles in particular are watching McGill's experiment keenly.

At this writing it would appear that the Federal Government has no intention of taking any action in respect to racing and race track gambling, which was recently the subject of an exhaustive inquiry by a specially appointed Commissioner, Dr. Rutherford. The Farmer-Labor Government of Ontario is apparently convinced that nothing may be expected from the Federal authorities this year and is taking action itself to get more revenue from race track license fees, this being a matter coming under its jurisdiction, while gambling is not.

Several thousand Mennonite settlers in Saskatchewan, dissatisfied with the attempts of the Provincial Government to get them to send their children to the provincial schools, are threatening to emigrate in a body to Missouri, which State they claim has offered them the rights and privileges they were assured they would be allowed to enjoy in perpetuity on coming to Canada years ago. Chief of these is instruction of their young in private schools under the direction of their Bishops and in the German language.

## AUSTRALIA

Australia is knitting closer her bonds with the British Empire through her new tariff, which provides for three sets



of rates—the British preferential, to be applied to imports from the United Kingdom; the intermediate, to be granted upon conclusion of reciprocity treaties, and the general rates, to be applied to all countries not entitled to either of the other tariffs. It is stated unofficially that preferential treatment will be withheld from British dominions with a lower economic standard than that of Australia. In general the difference between the general and the preferential tariff is 10 per cent. ad valorem, and between the intermediate and the other two 5 per cent. The new tariff is far more protective than its predecessor, one of its announced objects, as stated by the Prime Minister, being “to protect industries born during the war and to encourage others that are desirable and will diversify and extend existing ones.”

Australia last November restricted the importation of a number of articles, with a view to giving them additional protection pending the preparation of the new tariff. These restrictions were withdrawn on May 13.

Several Australian shipping firms are planning to build a huge coal and oil bunkering depot in Sydney for the rapid supply of fuel to ships. Steps are also being taken to convert most of the Australian passenger steamers into oil burners. Experts of the Anglo-Persian Company are busy seeking new sources of oil in Papua, for which the Australian Government is granting authorization.

The House of Representatives has passed the Labor bill in favor of introducing the initiative and referendum in Australia.

With the view to assist Australia's trade and industry the Government has established a Board of Trade, a Bureau of Commerce and Industry and an Advisory Council of Science and Industry.

There are fears in Australia of a wheat shortage next year owing to the bad season and the necessity of exporting to Great Britain wheat already contracted for. Steps to remedy this situation, as well as the wool shortage, proved unsuccessful.

Like the wheat harvest and also the wool clip, the mineral output of New South Wales is expected to show con-

siderable decrease, mainly owing to the drought. Many mines were forced to shut down.

Queensland is resorting to chlorine gas as used in the war to rid its pasture lands of the prickly pear or cactus, which originally came from the United States, being intended for use as a natural hedge. More than 20,000,000 acres are now infested with the noxious growth.

An All-Australia Peace Exhibition has just been opened at Adelaide, South Australia, which is the most comprehensive display of its kind ever held in Australia. Goods from the various States are on view, and the collection gives a good idea of the industrial progress made by the Commonwealth.

## NEW ZEALAND

Lord Jellicoe's appointment to be Governor General of New Zealand in succession to the Earl of Liverpool, whose term was extended to cover the Prince of Wales's visit to the islands, is especially pleasing to New Zealanders, who remember his two months' tour last year and his recommendations for an increase in the Australian and New Zealand Navies. This was followed by Great Britain's gift of a number of warships, of course not entirely disinterested, for in case of war the empire would have to depend largely upon the New Zealand Navy for the defense of her trade and commerce in the South Pacific.

The National Defense League recently organized in New Zealand is another notice to the world of the unity of the empire. General Russell, President of the league, has issued a statement of its policy in which he points out that the world's storm centre is moving eastward and that New Zealand as an outpost of the white race must prepare for outpost duty.

The visit of the Prince of Wales coincided with a railroad strike, but it was represented to him that there would be no difficulty in finding crews to take his train on its tour, although the people in general were deprived by the strike of railway accommodation. “Then,” said the Prince, “I will not ride either, for I am one of the people”—a remark which assured him a hearty reception wherever

he went, especially at Auckland, Wellington and Nelson. At Rotorua there was a picturesque celebration arranged by Maori tribesmen, formerly enemies of the British.

Another recent visitor to New Zealand has been Theodore E. Burton, once United States Senator from Ohio, who says he was surprised and amazed "at numerous manifestations of unfriendliness to the United States." A New Zealand newspaper, commenting on his statement, says that the people of the country cannot be charged with being unfriendly in a general sense, but admits they have been alarmed by the threat they see in the Webb act. This measure, the paper adds, is being interpreted there to mean that American manufacturers and exporters are being encouraged to capture foreign trade by trust methods, such as underselling competitors for the purpose of gaining a footing and using freely every device of monopolistic trading, which, if practiced in America, would be punished as criminal.

## EGYPT

Great Britain has officially recognized as heir apparent to the throne of Egypt Sultan Fuad's infant son, Prince Faruk, now about three months old. The British thus far, however, have not succeeded in conciliating the masses of the people. Conspiracies and assassinations continue. Two British orderlies were shot and wounded, and these attempts at assassination were followed on May 6 by the murder of a Lieutenant by four "Young Egyptians" in one of the main thoroughfares of Cairo. A bomb was thrown at Hussein Darviche, Minister of Public Works, as he was returning home from his office in Cairo on May 8, but he was unhurt. A student standing near by was mortally wounded and died the next day.

A serious railway accident to the express train from Vienna to Berlin recently drew attention to one source whence the "Young Egyptians" are recruited. Among the killed and badly wounded were a large number of Egyptian students. Investigation showed that the Nationalists in Egypt had arranged

with the German reactionaries to have sent to Berlin all those Egyptian students who formerly were sent to Vienna, Geneva, Paris or English universities. At Berlin such students were placed in charge of Abdul Aziz Shavish, a Turkish official conspicuous for his enmity to the Allies.

Aside from politics, Egypt has been prospering as never before. Egypt's revenue receipts for the fiscal year 1919-1920 have been so large that instead of an expected deficit of \$7,750,000 there will be a surplus of \$15,000,000. Illiterate natives have made thousands of pounds and mortgage loans have been reduced from \$200,000,000 to \$140,000,000. The production of cotton was stimulated greatly by the war and Egypt built up a large favorable trade balance. One reason why food is so dear in Egypt is that farmers have been rooting up cereals to plant cotton. General Allenby has issued orders that cultivators doing this shall be fined £100 an acre and a restriction of the cotton area for 1921 is under consideration.

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

General Smuts in South Africa on May 17 was still holding his own in Parliament with his meagre coalition majority. The Prime Minister proposed to General Hertzog, leader of the Nationalist or Separatist party, that they should sink their differences and a "best man government" be formed. General Hertzog made the counterproposition that a Premier should be appointed by a majority of the co-operating members in the House of Assembly and that the co-operation should be limited to the two parties, nothing to be done in Parliament to promote or counteract the secession movement. This proposal General Smuts rejected as unworkable, saying that it would have the appearance of an anti-British combination and a return to that racial policy which South Africa had outgrown. Meanwhile the Assembly has voted for the extension of the franchise to women.

One of the best indications of the progress of South Africa along industrial lines is the amalgamation of the



Pretoria Iron Mines with the Union Steel Corporation. Plans have been adopted for the erection of new blast furnaces, fully equipped, with coke ovens and with a by-product recovery plant, so that tar, sulphate of ammonia and benzol will be produced. Steel furnaces will be installed and, in fact, the company will

be able to provide everything that can be used in the way of iron and steel.

There is no shortage of sugar in South Africa. The result of the crushing season in Natal shows the greatest output so far recorded, about 185,000 tons of manufactured sugar, compared with 155,000 last year.

## The Latin Nations of Europe

### Cabinet Changes in Italy and Spain

#### FRANCE

**A**SIDE from paramount international issues, which are described elsewhere, the most important event for France was a series of strikes in nearly every department of industry, from mining to transportation. The Bolshevik leaders, beginning with May 1 for a great general strike, launched several waves of attack against the so-called "capitalist" Government.

Few unions responded to the call for a walkout on May 1, except as a matter of demonstration in the principal cities, and in Paris three persons were killed owing to an attack on students who had attempted to keep the bus lines running. Then the General Federation, at the request of the extremists of the Railway Federation, called a general strike for May 3. This was responded to by 20 per cent. of the railway workers and the sailors and dockmen at Marseilles and Havre. On May 6 this strike extended to the metal workers of the Department of the Seine. So the strikes gradually spread, in some cases only amounting to one or two days of demonstration, with no claims against employers, but all with the aim of attaining the overthrow of the Government and the establishment of an administration controlled by the proletariat.

On May 11 the Government announced its determination to dissolve the General Federation of Labor by virtue of Articles III., V. and IX. of the law of March 28, 1884, which lays down the exclusive rights of syndicates and unions to mere

study of the defense of their economic interests. With this threat no more unions obeyed the dictates of the General Federation, and by May 16 the Government looked for normal conditions within a few days. Meanwhile, the activities of the extremists, growing more and more unpopular with the general public, had cost the country some \$20,000,000 in products and the workers little less in wages.

The stories of alleged atrocities practiced by the French black troops at Frankfort, which originally appeared in the London labor organ, *The Daily Herald*, reached Berlin in the first week in May, and were set forth as truth by their own discovery in the Socialist *Vorwaerts* and other papers. On May 8 Premier Millerand made a formal denial of the allegations, which had meanwhile obtained the support of the German Government; he added that all black troops had been withdrawn from the occupied Rhine zone. The General Staff completed its plans to keep a standing army of 700,000 men until Germany should have executed the terms of the Versailles Treaty.

The tension produced by the Government's announcement that France was absolutely dependent upon Germany for potash, iron, coke and textiles was relieved by the discovery of extensive phosphate deposits as well as oil fields in French Morocco.

On April 23 the Chamber adopted an amendment to the new tax bill taxing business transfers, which, it was said, would produce a revenue of 5,000,000,000 francs per annum.



WHEN A NEW AMBASSADOR ARRIVES IN SPAIN THE KING'S CARRIAGES ARE PLACED AT HIS DISPOSAL. IN THIS PICTURE THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IS ABOUT TO PRESENT HIS CREDENTIALS AT THE SPANISH COURT

(© International)

## SPAIN

On May 4 Eduardo Dato, former Premier and Liberal leader, was invited to form a new Cabinet by King Alfonso, which he did as follows, with himself as Premier and with the portfolios of War and Navy, for the first time, in civilian hands:

Marquis de Lema.....	Foreign Affairs.
Montijo.....	Justice.
Francisco Bergamin.....	Interior.
Count de Bugallal.....	Finance.
José Chacon.....	Marine.
Abilio Calderon.....	Public Works.
Visconde d'Eza.....	Food.
Uncertain.....	War.

No unusual incident had led to the resignation of the Salazar Coalition Cabinet, which had retired on April 28; it had merely completed its task by passing the budget by a large majority in both Chambers. But all parties attached great importance to the period which followed, as it was felt that, unless a homogeneous Government were quickly formed, the King might exercise his prerogative in the unusual circumstances.

For the first time in the history of the Cortes the leaders freely expressed themselves in words which are usually said to

the King in private, so as to reassure the public if not his Majesty. The Conservatives declared themselves united and ready to assume office; so did the Liberals; the Reformists promised a democratic program, but declined to support a Liberal Government. The Radical Republicans, by the voice of Señor Lerroux, declared themselves tired of maintaining an isolated Opposition, and expressed themselves ready to support any program "without furling the Republican flag, and so usefully that the King would come to us without bitterness." It was Señor Lerroux who said this, and he added significantly:

Who can say, if, some day, interposing myself between your impotency and anarchy, I will not be the means, through the medium of a republic, of saving Spain?

There had been turbulent scenes in the Spanish Cortes on April 20. Then, as just twelve months before, the Deputies of the prosperous Basque provinces were reproaching the Government with having tried to curb their prosperity for the benefit of drowsy Andalusia; those of Catalonia still demanded political autonomy; the Government was still pre-



senting projects to curb the Employers' Association on one hand and the General Federation of Labor on the other; the budget was still being debated; the censor was still active.

The usual number of strikes occurred, suddenly begun and as suddenly ended, all apparently without any political or economic reason. From April 27 until April 30 a strike tied up Saragossa, followed by the arrest of fifteen leaders; on May 2 in Valencia the same thing was repeated, with the arrest of sixty-five Syndicalists and the wounding of three by the new Security Police.

In the political field the Spanish Socialists definitely split on April 25, dividing just as they had done in other countries between Communists, who demand the introduction of Soviet forms of Government, and Moderates, who follow the old political lines. On May 9 the Government was strengthened by the announcement that Premier Dato's Cabinet would enjoy the support of the groups of the Conservative Party headed by former Premier Maura and Juan Enrique Cierva, despite the fact that the Ministry is made up solely from the members of the Liberal Conservative group. Then both leaders published manifestoes, declaring that they and their followers would do everything in their power to further the Premier's efforts to preserve public order, and would also aid him in constructive legislation.

On May 7 the old wireless service between Jaén and Nauen, near Berlin, which so well served German propaganda during the war, was re-established for commercial purposes.

By the law of July, 1918, the press was to receive Government financial aid on account of the rising price of paper. El Sol, a Liberal organ, alone declined to avail itself of the privilege. In a recent speech in the Cortes Señor Prieto demonstrated what such a system was costing the taxpayers, who, however, could still buy papers of six or ten pages at the old prices of one or two cents a copy. It was charged that the constantly augmenting price of print paper was due to the fact that the monopoly of manufacture was held by La Papelera, which had

found it profitable to export much paper. Bills were introduced to lower the duty on imported paper, on the one hand, and to place a qualified embargo on exporting the home product, on the other.

Spain, which already had a Beggars' Court, opened its first Children's Court at Bilbao May 10.

The press took up the Socialist proposal for the State to purchase the hunting lands of the grandes and turn them over to the poor for cultivation on the co-operative plan.

## PORTUGAL

In Portugal Colonel Baptista's Cabinet, which had rapidly become known as the "Government of conciliation," issued a general amnesty in a firm, uncompromising proclamation. A letter from former King Manoel congratulating the Government, but advising it to go further, was circulated. In the 115 months of Republican rule there had been 366 Governments. The time had come to call a halt. Manoel wrote from his exile in England:

Were all, Royalists and Republicans alike, to renounce a little of their narrowness and frankly meet on the common ground of suppressing international agitators and co-operating with Great Britain in her sincere desire to see Portugal and Portuguese trade flourishing and stable, who knows to what heights Portugal's fortunes might not yet soar?

And if it is said that this wish is not altogether disinterested, so much the better for Portugal, because that co-operation is the best in which both sides are the gainers. The British Empire is giving Portugal a great opportunity to realize her share in the victory of the war. She may never have such another.

## ITALY

By a snap vote on a question of posts and telegraphs on May 11, in which the Catholics joined the Socialists against the Government, Signor Nitti, who had succeeded Orlando in June, 1919, was defeated by 193 to 112, and at once resigned with his colleagues. Following the adverse vote, Signor Nitti, who was not only Premier but also Minister of the Interior, made a motion to adjourn the Chamber until the Ministerial crisis had been adjusted. This motion was adopted by a vote of 225 to 126.

Signor Nitti received the mandate of the King and the Chamber last Summer in the hope that he would be able to adjust the Adriatic problem and bring order out of the chaotic economic internal conditions. The November general elections complicated his position, for then the new Catholic Party, the Partito Popolare, came into existence with 101 seats out of a total of 508, and the Socialists, owing to the apathy of the bourgeoisie, made great gains, registering 156 Deputies.

By the reconstruction of his Cabinet in March Signor Nitti had hoped to give portfolios to both Catholics and Socialists, and so count on the support of both these organized parties, as he had little to hope from the usual Government factions—Liberals, Radicals, Constitutionalists, Reformers and Nationalists—who were hopelessly divided among themselves. But no Catholic and no Socialist would enter his Cabinet.

Early in April the Popular, or Catholic, Party held a convention at Naples, and while the majority under Signor Meda voted to support the Government, the minority, led by Signor Miglioli, voted to support the Socialists on certain economic questions. The Socialists also held a convention at Bologna, where the Government was denounced for not hastening the re-establishment of relations with Russia.

Thus the Nitti Government, the Premier being able to count on neither of the parties which held the balance of power, was doomed to defeat, and even as early as May 6 the press began to speculate on its successor. Signor Nitti himself favored the Catholic leader, Meda, who had, but not with a Catholic mandate, been Minister of Finance in the short-lived Bosselli Cabinet. The return of Giolitti with an official Socialist backing was also spoken of, as was that of Tittoni, who could control a Catholic majority and some of the factions of the lesser parties. Meanwhile, both the Socialists and the Catholics formulated programs of internal reforms, some of the items of which were identical, such as peasant ownership of land and free schools. Finally, on May 17, Signor

Nitti himself accepted the King's invitation to form a new Ministry after his Majesty had conferred with former Premiers Tittoni and Orlando.

Italy's crying need was still coal. Though she received 73,000,000 tons from England in 1913, she only got 35,000,000 tons in 1919, while her home consumption was 20,000,000 greater than in 1913. In his latest report to Washington the American Trade Commissioner, H. C. MacLaren, particularly emphasized this point. He also showed the country's need for her industries of iron, textile materials, and cellulose. On the other hand, he showed that the trade balance revealed improvement.

## THE VATICAN

By an impressive ceremony unequalled for magnificence in the history of the Roman Catholic Church, and rendered unusually spectacular by electrical devices of lighting, Pope Benedict XV. completed the canonization Joan of Arc at St. Peter's, Rome, on Sunday, May 16. Regarded as either a sorceress or a hysteric for nearly five hundred years abroad, but in France as a national heroine, whether as hysteric or a mystical virgin with an actual message from heaven, the Maid of Orleans finally achieved beatification and canonization through the following chronology—from peasant girl of Domremy, savior of France, a martyr of the Church and for centuries the dismay of philosophers, historians and theologians:

Born of devout peasant parents in the village of Domremy, Jan. 6, 1412.

First heard the "voices" imparting her career, 1425.

Declared her mission to save France from the English, May 28, 1428.

Entered the town of Orleans, besieged by the English, April 29, 1429.

Raised the siege of Orleans, May 8, 1429.

Defeated the English Army at Patay, June 18, 1429.

Present at the Dauphin's coronation at Rheims and saluted him as King as she had promised, July 17, 1429.

Ignoring her "voices," which bade her go home, she continued to fight the English invaders until captured by the Burgundians at Compiègne, May 24, 1430.

Sold by John of Luxembourg to the English for \$12,000, November, 1430.



Burnt at the stake in the market place at Rouen after a long trial conducted by the Bishop of Beauvais and the Faculty of the University of Paris, May 30, 1431.

Vindicated at Rouen by orders of Pope Calixtus III., 1456.

Michelet's "History of France" rehabilitated her in the eyes of scholars and began a revival of her memory which has lasted until today, 1841.

Her statue inaugurated at Orleans, Sept. 13, 1851.

The 435th anniversary of her deliverance of Orleans celebrated, May 14, 1865.

Anniversary of her death celebrated throughout France, May 30, 1878.

The Roman Curia took up her claims to canonization, 1875.

Declared "venerable" by the Church, 1902.

Her beatification approved by Leo XIII., Jan. 27, 1894.

Her canonization proposed, February, 1903.

Ceremony of beatification begun in Rome, Jan. 6, 1904.

Beatification completed at St. Peter's, Rome, April 18, 1909.

Canonization completed at St. Peter's, May 16, 1920.

At the ceremony in St. Peter's Diego von Bergen, the new German Ambassador to the Vatican, made his first official reappearance in the Eternal City. Hitherto he had been the Prussian Minister to the Holy See, a post suppressed in April. The Bavarian Legation, how-

ever, was maintained at the Vatican, as was also the Nunciature at Munich.

At no time since the Papacy was deprived of its temporal power and secular sovereignty in 1870 had the Vatican been able to boast of such a large Corps Diplomatique. An Ambassador from France is expected, and, aside from the German Ambassador and the Bavarian Minister, there were representatives from Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Great Britain, Holland, Jugoslavia, Nicaragua, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Russia, the Ukraine, Venezuela, China and Japan.

## SWITZERLAND

On May 15-16 Switzerland, by referendum, voted in favor of accepting membership in the League of Nations. The vote of the Cantons, or States, was 11,50 for and 10,50 against; the popular vote, 400,000 to 300,000. For the League the greatest majority was polled in Vaud—61,000 against 4,000. The German-speaking Cantons polled a majority of 10,000 against the League.

The Tenth Congress of the Second International, the Socialist organization against direct action and government by Soviet unless reached by parliamentary means, will meet at Geneva on July 31.

## Radicalism Defeated in Denmark

### DENMARK

THE results of the election of the new Danish Folkething (lower house of the Rigsdag), held April 26, show that the constitutional crisis in March, springing from King Christian's dismissal of the Zahle Ministry, was mostly mere sound and fury, signifying nothing except a noisy minority. Communistic socialism has signally failed to gain a foothold in Denmark, as it has in the other Scandinavian countries.

Out of 1,022,870 votes cast, only 3,807 were polled by the Danish "Left Socialists," comprising all the Syndicalist, Communist and Bolshevik elements. The votaries of Lenin and Trotzky thus made a showing of about one-third of 1 per

cent. of all the Danish voters. They elected no members. Election day passed without disturbance, even in Copenhagen, where the demonstrations following the dismissal of the Zahle Cabinet were largely confined. They had not affected the Stock Exchange, and industrial conditions became normal throughout the country in a few days. The shipping strike was broken by the Danish seafaring farmers.

When the Rigsdag was convened it took only forty-eight hours to agree on the new Danish election law, which it passed on April 11. This law conforms with the amended Constitution of 1915. It fixes the number of the Folkething members at 140, who are elected by a

dual method combining the proportional representation method, which Denmark adopted in 1855, with the single-member district method, which has always been used in the United States. The same method was used, by way of experiment, in the Folkething election of 1918, to the distinct advantage of the conservative and moderate elements. The recent election and the one of 1918 compare as follows:

	Votes.	Seats.	Votes.	Seats.
	1920.	1920	1918.	1918.
Left Party .....	350,407	48	271,879	45
Conservative People's Party.....	201,031	28	167,865	22
Social Democratic Party .....	299,892	42	262,796	39
Radical Left Party.....	122,144	17	195,159	33
Tradesmen's Party .....	29,279	4	11,934	1

In the recent election, besides the foregoing, the "Free Social Democratic Party," formed by M. Marott, the Socialist editor, and favoring the annexation or internationalization of Flensburg, polled 7,255 votes; and the new "Centrum" Party, formed by the conservative Professor Birck, and opposed to the annexation or internationalization of Flensburg, polled 9,055 votes. Neither of these parties, nor the "Left Socialists, succeeded in electing any members. The "Reds" lost fifteen seats.

In the new Folkething the former Government parties (the Radical Left and the Social Democratic Parties) have only fifty-nine of the 140 members, whereas the former opposition parties (the Left and the Conservative People's Parties and the Conservative Tradesmen's Party) have eighty members.

The Liberal leader, N. Neergaard, heads the new Cabinet as Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. Of the Friis Provisional Cabinet only the Foreign Minister, Harald Scavenius, former Danish Minister to Russia, is retained. I. C. Christensen, former Premier and leader of the Left Party, is Minister of Church Affairs. The other Cabinet members are: Sigurd Berg, interior; Jacob Appel, education; Svenning Rytter, justice; M. N. Slebsager, traffic; Th. Madsen Mygdal, agriculture; Klaus Berntsen, defense, and Tyge Rothe, commerce.

Danish land and sea forces occupied Northern Slesvig May 5, the first plebis-

cite zone, which was won by Denmark in the voting on Feb. 10, the International Commission having determined the new Danish boundary in April. The redeemed Danish population at Hederslev, Töndern, and other centres made their advent a festive occasion, with great rejoicing.

## SWEDEN

The Crown Princess of Sweden, wife of Prince Gustav Adolph, died in Stockholm on May 1. She was a daughter of the Duke of Connaught, and before her marriage to the Crown Prince, who survives her, with four sons and a daughter, she was Princess Margaret of Connaught. The British royal family held memorial services for her in Westminster Abbey, May 13.

A new marriage law was passed by both Chambers of the Swedish Riksdag on April 17, the general aim of which is to secure matrimonial equality for both sexes. By its provisions the husband is deprived of personal guardianship over the wife and of legal right to dispose of his wife's personal property. The wife can acquire property in her own right. If the husband owns the family home he cannot sell it over the children's heads without the consent of the wife. If both parties to a marriage desire a divorce no court action is necessary; instead of bringing suit they have only to go and register before a Judge and the marriage is automatically dissolved. No publicity is demanded.

Hjalmar Branting, the Swedish Premier, though heading the first Socialist Cabinet in Scandinavia, is pursuing a strictly conservative, legal program. He proposes to set up committees to investigate the practicability of socializing certain branches of production and commerce, looking toward industrial democracy. He favors restoring trade relations with Russia, but announces his intention to wait upon the position of England, France and America. Any persons, as delegates from Russia, who are found guilty of incendiary propaganda will be deported. While he considers his Cabinet as representing especially the working classes, he holds that his Government is for the whole people and not for a party.



## HOLLAND

Like most other nations, Holland is suffering from a lack of coal and is striving to get a supply from Germany. An agreement was announced at The Hague on May 11 according to which the Dutch were to credit Germany with 60,000,000 guilders for the purchase of foodstuffs in exchange for coal. Germany agrees to buy 5,000 tons of wheat for 1,570,000 guilders, also large quantities of meat, herring, milk, cheese and jam.

The Dutch are also buying up cheaply in Germany industrial plants with a view to turning an honest penny when exchange improves. One large steel and iron concern has bought a big interest in the famous Phoenix Mining and Smelting Company of Hörde, a concern capitalized at 106,000,000 marks, which controls and operates iron mines, smelters, steel works and manufacturing plants.

Holland, however, will not resume trade with Soviet Russia until the League of Nations acts. Eight Dutch steamship companies have combined to form the United Dutch Navigation Company, the principal effort of the combination being directed to opening new lines to Australia, the Far East and Africa and to control trade routes to North and South America. The new company has a capital of 200,000,000 guilders, and includes the Holland-

America Line and the Royal Dutch Steamship Company.

The former Kaiser has been more closely watched by the Dutch authorities since the Junker coup d'état of Dr. Kapp in Germany, and whenever he went from Amerongen to see his new home at Doorn, which was almost daily, he was always accompanied by a number of constables on bicycles. His walks at Amerongen were restricted to a few paths. The Dutch Government is taking no chances of his escape. He finally occupied his new quarters at Doorn on Saturday, May 15.

Holland has bought the small vicarage at Wieringen, the only available house on the island, and it has been assigned by royal decree "as a permanent residence for the former Crown Prince of Germany." These precautions are the result of negotiations with Great Britain, revealed in a note by Lloyd George published on April 27.

A regular passenger and mail air service between Amsterdam and London was begun on May 17. The Royal Netherlands Aero Company contracted with a British company for a service three times a week. If successful, it will be the beginning of a network of services with Germany, Denmark and the whole of Northern Europe. The voyage, which is via Ostend and Calais, crossing the narrowest part of the Channel, takes three hours, and the passenger fare is \$60.

## Belgium's New Prosperity

### BELGIUM

THAT Belgium has almost entirely recovered from the ravages of war is the astonishing statement made in London by Emil Cammaerts, the famous Belgian historian. Antwerp, he said, is in almost pre-war condition. About 70 per cent. of Belgium's pre-war industrial output has been attained, and about 70 per cent. of the machinery stolen by the Germans has been returned. Clothing, shoes and food are cheaper in Belgium than in the United States, even without considering the difference in exchange.

Cutlery, however, is very much dearer. Coal mining and transportation are better off than before the war, the numbers employed in the former industry being 104 per cent. and in the latter 107 per cent. of those engaged in 1913.

One of the chief problems confronting Belgium was the enormous amount of German paper marks in circulation. The Belgian Government has been gradually replacing them with her own currency and has signed a convention with Germany for their reimbursement on a very ingenious scheme which is expected to extinguish the debt in twenty years. The

convention provides that in exchange for the sum of 5,500,000,000 marks withdrawn from circulation Germany will deliver to Belgium forty Treasury bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent. from May, 1921, of which eight bonds of 50,000,000 marks each are payable half-yearly from May 1, 1920, to Nov. 1, 1923; eight of 100,000,000, due from May 1, 1924, to Nov. 1, 1927; eight of 150,000,000, due in the next four-year period; eight of 200,000,000 ending in 1935, and eight of 187,500,000 due from May 1, 1936, to Nov. 1, 1939.

A Belgian mission headed by Emile Franqui, Minister of State, arrived in the United States early in May to obtain an extension of the \$50,000,000 acceptance credit loan maturing on June 30, but bankers here say it cannot be renewed owing to a ruling of the Federal Reserve Board against such acceptances. It was stated that the loan would be paid at maturity and another floated.

For the fortnight ending April 22

Brussels held an industrial fair, opened by Burgomaster Max, in the park opposite the royal palace and in the Palais d'Egmont. The displays amply demonstrated the country's recuperative powers. There were 1,394 exhibitors, of whom 1,051 were Belgian, 201 French and 88 British.

A bill giving women the right to vote in communal elections passed the Belgian Senate by 60 to 33.

Some difficulty occurred in the latter part of April in the occupied districts of Eupen and Malmedy, said to be engineered from Berlin. Among the dissatisfied elements were the clergy, who wished to be under the archbishopric of Cologne, and other pro-Germans who demanded a secret referendum as to their desire to see the whole or part of the territory remain German instead of a record in writing in accordance with Article 34 of the Treaty of Versailles. Troops were sent to the district and restored order, stopping an incipient strike.

## Critical Period for Germany

### A Month's Checkered History

#### GERMANY

**A**FTER the Kapp and labor revolts Germany turned mainly to a consideration of her financial and economic affairs. The Government endeavored to strengthen its position, while the reactionaries and radicals vented their disappointment in threats of more trouble to come. Pomerania and East Prussia were still hotbeds of anti-republican conspiracy. In East Prussia the Junker families were establishing a feudal system of rule with an independent Hohenzollern grand duchy as their immediate aim. Considerable easement of the situation in the French occupation followed the withdrawal of the 37th Division from Frankfort to Wiesbaden.

For the first time in history a Hohenzollern Prince occupied the defendant's bench in a criminal court when, on April 16, Prince Joachim Albrecht, Baron von Platen and Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg were charged with having attacked

members of the French Commission in the Hotel Adlon, the action which precipitated the Kapp revolt. A quick trial resulted in the three defendants being fined 500, 300 and 1,000 marks respectively.

Dr. Wolfgang Kapp, leader of the March revolt, who had fled by airplane to Sweden, was arrested at Soedertilge on April 16, but was allowed to stay at a hotel in Stockholm and move about the city in the custody of detectives. He promised, if permitted to remain in Sweden, to devote his time to scientific research; but in the event of his being deported he asked the Swedish Government for a passport by way of Holland, Belgium and France to Switzerland.

The first specified list of forty-six German war culprits to be arraigned in the Leipzig Supreme Court at the behest of the Allies was announced on May 12. The accused ranged from an army corps commander to a simple private. Promi-



ment among those included were: Prince Ernst of Saxony and General von Bülow, charged with cruelty in the Namur district of Belgium, General von Kirchback and Colonel von Seydlitz, accused of cruelties committed at Kalisz, Poland; and the submarine commander, Arnauld de la Perrière, held responsible for torpedoing Italian vessels. Three other submarine commanders, Neumann von Nostitz, Werner and Patzig, were on the list charged respectively with torpedoing the English hospital ships *Dover Castle*, *Torrington* and *Llandovery Castle*. General Stenger stood accused of ordering that prisoners and wounded taken by his brigade be shot; General Kruska with spreading typhus among prisoners in the Cassel camp, and Dr. Oscar Michelson with causing the death of sick and wounded in his charge by systematic ill-treatment.

The opening of the National Assembly on April 12 was marked by the presence of Lord Kilmarnock and other allied representatives in the diplomatic box. The President of the Assembly, Herr

Fehrenbach, after reading telegrams from deputies in Silesia complaining that they had been prevented by the Allied Commission from exercising their mandates, energetically denounced the Entente for this "encroachment of the rights of the German people's representatives," and requested the Government to take steps to end this state of affairs. Herr Müller, the Chancellor and Premier, then spoke from manuscript, saying:

Only a fortnight ago I described as the principal aim of our foreign policy the disavowal of all warlike views and warlike methods in foreign policy. We know today that on the other side of the frontier a similar repudiation has not taken place, and is even not desired. French militarism has advanced on the Main. Senegalese negroes are quartered in Frankfort University and are guarding Goethe's house. Whence has the French Government found its pretext for invading German territory?

Thereupon Herr Müller proceeded at length to defend the action of the Government in sending troops into the Ruhr region. The object, he said, was solely "to combat the rabble which had liber-



VIEW OF UNTER DEN LINDEN AND THE BRANDENBURG GATE, BERLIN, AT THE MOMENT OF DEPARTURE OF THE BALTIC TROOPS AFTER THE ABORTIVE KAPP REVOLT

(© International)



HEADQUARTERS OF FRENCH FORCES AT THE HOTEL IMPERIAL, FRANKFORT, DURING THE TROUBLOUS WEEKS WHEN THE CITY WAS OCCUPIED BY FRENCH COLORED TROOPS

ated prisoners, plundered shops, and indulged in numerous murders and extortions." In laying emphasis on the seriousness of the revolt the Chancellor pointed to the latest casualty lists, whereby 15 Reichswehr officers and 145 non-commissioned officers and men were killed, with 6 officers and 93 men missing, and 19 officers and 329 of other ranks wounded.

President Ebert said to a correspondent on April 24:

Democracy is safe in Germany now, but must continue fighting hard for a long while to maintain itself. \* \* \* Germany has now what we consider the most democratic Constitution in the world. Most of the German States are already on a democratic basis. The task of democratization is also being pushed in the Government administration, in the civil service, in the army—in fact, all along the line. \* \* \* The failure of the Kapp coup proved how deeply and strongly young democracy is rooted in the German people.

Dr. Gessler, the new Minister of Defense, attributed Germany's present troubles largely to a physiological fact. In an interview on April 26 he said:

After being on scant rations for years millions of Germans are literally stomach-sick, which causes the irritability and unrest that breeds radicalism. On the other

hand, many Germans are genuinely heart-sick over the collapse of the old order of the German Empire, the monarchy, and they cannot reconcile themselves at once to the new order, the republic. The revolution was a terrible shock to these people, almost as great a shock as it would be to Americans if the impossible were to happen and America suddenly became a monarchy. Yet to millions of Germans it seemed just as impossible for Germany to become a republic. \* \* \* The idea of a democratic republic supplanting the monarchy had made them heart sick. This explains the persistence of a strong, active monarchical resistance. One must understand and respect the feelings of such people, which certainly are not unnatural.

Dr. Gessler, however, took an optimistic view of these conditions, relying on time to strengthen German democracy by healing the heart-sickness of the reactionaries. He was also hopeful that improved economic conditions would gradually cure radicalism.

The opening of the campaign for the National Assembly brought forth some illuminating features. At the conclusion of a two days' debate of the National Conference of the Majority Socialists on May 7, an unbridgeable abyss was proved to exist between the Moderate and Extreme socialists; the weakness of the



former was increasing, and bankruptcy loomed ahead of any form of practical socialism. In reference to the latter Chancellor Bauer said:

We have the most democratic constitution in the world, but that doesn't mean we can carry out socialism. We lack the necessities of production which would enable us to take our place in the markets of the world. Even if we obtained an absolute majority in Germany, our economic development toward socialism would still have to be slow.

During the conference former Minister of Defense Noske was subjected to strong attacks for his failure to crush the Kapp revolt at its inception. It was charged that while exerting vengeance upon the radicals he had permitted the reactionaries to intrench themselves in the army. In defending himself Herr Noske replied:

Up to the time of the revolution the officers were all of one mold and constituted a sort of Hohenzollern guard. Any artificial attempt to form a republican officers' corps is bound to fail, because you lack the material. Reform of the army is more difficult than ever. What republican will undertake to shoulder a rifle for twelve years?

In an interview with Professor Luso Brentano at Munich on May 4, George Renwick found the distinguished scholar and publicist living in a stable behind a block of flats which he owned. Professor Brentano laughingly waved a hand around his study, which was whitewashed and furnished in workday style, as he said: "Here two horses used to be stabled. Next door, which is my library, there once lived three horses, and my bedroom upstairs was once a hayloft." The professor explained that he had given up his flat to live in the country, but on returning found he was not allowed to occupy his own flats, as the City Council, composed mainly of Independent Socialists, had enforced the communistic housing laws, which were introduced under the short-lived Red Government.

A strong note from Lord Kilmarnock to the German Government demanding an apology and indemnity for the arrest and maltreatment in Essen of Mr. Voight of the Manchester Guardian by Lieutenant Linsenmayer of the Reichswehr emphasized the fact that Prussianism

was not entirely absent during the suppression of the revolt in the Ruhr region. The German Foreign Office had already expressed regret for the simultaneous arrest of Mrs. Stan Harding of The London Daily News. Mr. Voight, in describing his experience, said:

Mrs. Harding and I were taken before a kind of examining officer. He was a short, dark-complexioned man and wore a black-ribboned monocle. His name is Lieutenant Linsenmayer. The Lieutenant looked at me through his monocle and screamed with astonishing vehemence, "Take your hand out of your pocket; stand three paces back." I was mystified and began to explain, "I'm English and \* \* \*." But before I could continue the Lieutenant jumped up and burst into a raucous screeching torrent of vituperation, his face distorted with violent passion. "Englischer Schweinhund!" was the epithet with which he began his outburst.

I was about to utter another protest when the Lieutenant again began to screech, "Zwei Posten (two guards)! Teach this Englishman to behave in the presence of a German officer!" Two soldiers rushed forward. One of them yelled, "I'll teach you what a German is." I turned round and received a heavy blow in the face. I do not remember every detail of all that followed, because it was too sudden, but I have a distinct and vivid recollection of a red-faced, infuriated Reichswehrman swinging his grenade (the German grenade, with its wooden handle and heavy cylindrical top, makes a formidable club) and then of my fingers tightening round his throat and his round mine—the two of us locked together in a violent struggle, the soldier trying to dash my head against the wall.

Lieutenant Linsenmayer at last made him desist. "Don't strike him any more," he said. "Take him off to the guard room and teach him how to behave in Germany. Take that woman, too."

Eventually Mr. Voight was released by the aid of Mrs. Harding, after being detained seven or eight hours. In explanation of the incident Colonel Baumbach said the officers at the Town Hall thought Mr. Voight was a spy wiring information for the benefit of the Red Army. When told by Mr. Voight of the treatment he had experienced, Colonel Baumbach seemed slightly surprised, but remarked that Mr. Voight ought not to have spoken to an officer, hand in pocket.

An alarming financial condition was frankly laid before the Budget Commit-

tee of the National Assembly by Dr. Wirth, Minister of the Treasury, on April 15. In his statement the Minister asserted that, unless the financial policy could be brought in line with economic principles, he saw no way out. Herr Noske supported this with the statement that the people were living in a state of intoxication, and that the outlook for next year seemed hopeless. A débâcle was certain, he said, if the people did not live most frugally.

From the array of enormous figures presented by Dr. Wirth it was gathered that the consolidated debt on March 21 amounted to 90,000,000,000 marks, and that the floating debt totaled 105,000,000,000, with a great increase in prospect. The Minister added that the Postal Administration would show a deficit of 900,000,000 marks, and a new credit of 3,000,000,000 would be required for reducing prices until the end of June. The Kapp revolt and the demands of trades unions for strike pay would cost the Government billions of marks. The Minister shuddered when he thought of the next railway budget. According to estimates the deficit would not be less than 12,000,000,000 marks.

Before the National Assembly on April 25 Dr. Bell, Minister of Transport, declared that the Government's purchase of the Federal State Railways was one of the most gigantic financial transactions ever effected by any Parliament. It not only involved a capital investment of 40,000,000,000 marks, with 14,000,000 yearly interest, but transferred a million employees to the Government payroll.

With regard to the food supply, Herr von Haase, Director of the Food Division of the Ministry of Economics, announced on April 26 a huge revictualing scheme which embraced cereals, cheese, rice, potatoes, condensed milk, live cattle and pigs, totaling 6,000,000,000 marks. In this transaction America had contracted to help feed the German people to the extent of 2,750,000,000 marks, in conjunction with Holland, Scandinavia and England.

A further exchange of notes between

the Dutch Government and the Allies relative to the ex-Kaiser disclosed the fact that the mansion of Doorn, recently purchased by the exile, was not approved by the Allies as his place of internment. While the Allies accepted the proposal of the Holland Government, whereby "it agreed to be responsible for the ex-Kaiser and undertook to take all efficient precautionary measures deemed necessary to subordinate the liberty of the ex-Emperor" and prevent his again becoming a menace to Europe, on April 1, in again emphasizing Holland's responsibility, the Allies gave The Hague to understand that Doorn as his residence was regarded as unsatisfactory. The presumed reason was that Doorn was too near to the German frontier. Diplomatic conversations on the subject were expected to continue.

Meanwhile preparations went forward at Amerongen which indicated the ex-Kaiser's early removal to Doorn. On May 11 he gave a farewell dinner to the Bentinck family, his hosts of a year and a half, to which a number of local notables were invited. On the morning of the 15th an open car came swiftly down the broad drive which connected Bentinck Castle with the main road, and made its way toward Doorn. Immediately behind the driver sat General Vondenberg and Countess von Keller, a friend of the former Empress, holding an armload of pink carnations and tulips. The ex-Emperor and his wife occupied back seats, the former proudly erect and apparently glad at the prospect of finally finding himself under his own roof. As the party passed there were no cheers and no signs either of disapproval or sympathy on the part of the inhabitants. Before noon the ex-Kaiser was duly installed in Doorn Mansion.

Settlement of the ex-Crown Prince's case was announced in a royal decree, read in the Dutch Parliament on March 23, by which the island of Wieringen was granted to the imperial exile as a place of residence "without prejudice to future arrangements."



# Nations of the Former Austrian Empire

## New Czechoslovak Constitution

### AUSTRIA

**P**UBLIC opinion hailed the visit of Chancellor Renner to Rome as the beginning of a new and better era. For the first time since the establishment of the Republic the press of Vienna strikes an optimistic note. The Chancellor, accompanied by several Secretaries of State and the Italian Minister, Marchese di Torretto, left for Rome at the invitation of Premier Nitti on April 5 and returned on the 14th. His reception is described as the heartiest possible. Most important, according to the press, of the concessions obtained is Italy's promise to grant Austria most favored nation treatment, together with a free zone in the Port of Trieste, whereby the much-coveted sea outlet for Austrian trade is secured. Italy, moreover, pledges to advance, as her share in the allied credit to Austria, flour, grain and raw materials to the value of 100,000,000 lire. Italy undertakes to construct a railway through the Predil Pass, furnishing the shortest route to Vienna, an enterprise which the Austrians have considered for some time, but from which they refrained for strategic reasons. Steps to improve passenger and freight traffic to Trieste are also promised by Italy.

The question of autonomy for the German minority in South Tyrol was discussed, but, though Premier Nitti virtually promised autonomy, no definite arrangement was framed.

The Vienna newspapers declare that Renner's mission has succeeded in restoring normal relations between the two States, and emphasize that Italy's attitude is all the more remarkable as Renner had gone to Rome empty-handed.

After his return the Chancellor received representatives of the great powers and also those of the neighbor States, and said it was his intention to enter negotiations at once with a view to executing the peace treaty.

The agitation for joining the German

Republic continues, especially in Tyrol and Salzburg. The main motive of this agitation was the desire to ease the food situation. In the first half of April delegations from these provinces sought audiences with Entente representatives, but were refused. Chancellor Renner, in a speech before the National Assembly, declared that for the time being the question of union with Germany has been settled in the negative by the treaty of St. Germain. He said, in part:

Keen as on the very first day is the sorrow of our people because it has been denied to us to join the mother nation and to have no other foreign policy than hers. Only one expedient remains, an appeal to the League of Nations. The National Assembly will, as soon as peace is ratified, apply for admission into the League. For the present all we can do is to follow with sympathy the destiny of the German Reich, and there is nobody in our land who would not feel that sympathy in every fibre of his soul. Our present foreign policy can be nothing but a determination to carry out, to the best of our ability, the peace treaty that we have signed—until a way is offered for its revision—and thereby to convince our late enemies that the Austrian people is for peace in its innermost heart and desires the reconciliation of all nations with us and with one another. \* \* \*

The Chancellor explained his trip to Rome, and thanked the neutral nations and the United States for their assistance in Austria's plight. Outlining the tasks facing the National Assembly, he named a general capital levy and the re-framing of the Constitution along Federal lines as the most important measures to be enacted.

In the National Assembly the Secretary of State for Finances declared that the Austrian Government does not contemplate stamping of the currency, as has been done in Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and recently in Hungary. Instead, a capital levy will be resorted to by way of relief. He also said that the plan for subletting the State's tobacco monopoly to a foreign syndicate had been dropped.

A five-day strike of the employees of the Southern Railway, the system connecting Vienna with Italy, Yugoslavia and the Adriatic, was concluded on April 21 by a compromise. The settlement averted a catastrophe of the food situation, desperate in advance. Vienna is the most expensive town of the world to live in, and prices are still rising. Thus in the middle of April milk advanced from about 80 cents to about \$3 a quart; 80 per cent. of the inhabitants have had no milk for several years. A growing menace is the adulteration of everything eatable. There is practically nothing not tampered with. In March the courts handled 3,437 cases of food adulteration.

The craze for strikes has assumed farcical dimensions. Everybody is striking against everybody else. One day in April all the Viennese waiters walked out because a restaurant proprietor killed a cat owned by a waiter. Another novelty is the middle-class strike. There was a strike of café owners and merchants, another of doctors. The Volkswehr, or militia, organizes demonstrations against the police. Most serious of all disturbances is the anti-Semitic campaign engineered by German Nationalists undergraduates on the Budapest pattern. Clashes occurred repeatedly in the university building.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### NEW CONSTITUTION

The new Constitution is characterized by critics as a conservative document, combining the spirit and phraseology of the American Constitution, with technical arrangements borrowed from the French. How jealously guarded in the representative principle as contrasted to that of "direct government," becomes clear from the fact that the scope of the referendum is limited to a single emergency. If a Ministerial measure is lost in both houses, the Government may appeal to a popular vote. This eliminates the critical alternative, dissolution of Parliament or resignation of the Ministry.

The upper Chamber, or Senate, has 150 members, the lower, or Chamber of Deputies, 300. All men and women 21

years of age vote for the Chamber of Deputies, while in the Senate elections voters must be 26 years of age. Eligible for Deputy, are those above 30; for Senator those above 45. The Senate is chosen for eight years, the Chamber for six. Power is overwhelmingly with the lower Chamber; the Senate is merely an organ of revision.

Simultaneously with the Constitution was enacted a law assuring to racial minorities rights greater than those stipulated by the Peace Treaty. All districts in which any racial minority numbers more than 20 per cent. are considered mixed, and members of the minority may use their language in public offices and courts and may have their own schools.

The electoral law, which, like the above, forms a sort of appendix to the Constitution, provides for a complicated system of proportional representation which enables the German and Magyar minorities to obtain about 30 per cent. of the National Assembly seats. Voting is by districts and party lists; to insure the fairest possible division of seats three successive counts are made.

A language law was also adopted, providing for Czech as the official language of Bohemia and Moravia, and Slovak for Slovakia. A motion of the National Democrats, led by former Premier Kramarz, to have Czech and Slovak declared "State languages," to be exclusively used in public offices and forming a compulsory subject of instruction, was defeated by the Governmental coalition of Socialists, Agrarians and Catholics.

The law of defense provides for gradual reduction of amounts. For the time being the menace of German and Magyar militarism necessitates universal military service with a two years' term. Three years hence the term will be reduced to eighteen months; in another three years, to fourteen months, provided the transformation of the army into a militia should be found inadvisable. The size of the army is set at 150,000 officers and men; control is largely reserved to the National Assembly.

On April 15 the first National Assembly, which had sprung into being



with Czechoslovak independence and performed the same task for Czechoslovakia as the Continental Congress had performed for the new-born United States of America, came to the close of its labors. The Tusar Ministry resigned, and President Masaryk fixed the elections for the Chamber of Deputies for April 18, for the Senate for April 26. The first counting of votes (a second is to be held to correct and supplement the result in accordance with the proportional arrangement) showed the following outcome:

The Czech parties secured 110 seats, distributed as follows: Social Democrats 1,067,959 votes for 44 seats, Agrarians 601,720 for 21 seats, National Socialists 471,802 for 17 seats, National Catholics 463,301 for 14 seats, National Democrats 389,326 for 12 seats, and two others.

From the German parties there have polled: Social Democrats 688,261 for 23 seats, Nationalists 289,003 for 8 seats, Agrarians 239,234 for 6 seats, Christian Socialists 213,438 for 4 seats, Democrats 105,532 for 2 seats.

Of the total votes cast the Czechs have consequently obtained 3,096,391, the Germans 1,422,038, and the Jewish Nationalists 21,076.

In Slovakia, where 95 per cent. of the electorate are said to have polled, 43 out of the total of 61 Deputies were elected from the first count. The Socialist Democrats have achieved a marked success by securing 20 seats, the Popular Catholic Party obtains 13, and the National Peasants' Party 10 seats.

The Magyars were completely routed. All the three parties mentioned above stood for the maintenance of the union with Bohemia.

All leaders of parties, including the ex-Premier Tusar and Foreign Minister Benès, were re-elected. It should be explained that the Social Democrats (Tusar's party) are advanced Marxians; the Socialists correspond to the moderate Reform-Socialist party in Italy; the National Democrats are a bourgeois party, strongly patriotic and moderately liberal.

## HUNGARY

The stamping of paper money, to which the Horthy Government, on Czechoslovak and Yugoslav pattern, resorted as a device to bolster up the moribund currency, seems to have ended in a

failure and national scandal. The plan of the Government was to stamp the so-called blue money only, or the notes issued by the old Austro-Hungarian Bank, 50 per cent. of the face value being retained as a forced loan at 4 per cent. interest. The measure was calculated to raise the purchasing power of the krone and thus cause a fall in prices. What, according to Vienna newspapers, actually happened was that a few days before the date set for stamping everybody owning blue money rushed to exchange it for wares, thus sending prices skyrocketing. To stop this, the Government arrested and interned a number of merchants, with the result that less goods were put on the market and prices continued rising.

The Government estimated the amount of blue currency in the country at about fifteen billions (normally, about \$3,000,000,000). According to official reports, only five billions were brought up for stamping, but part of this sum was presented by municipalities whose holdings were exempt from the 50 per cent. levy. Thus the Government succeeded, at the best, in raising a loan of about two billions. The budget, presented to the National Assembly by Baron Koranyi, Minister of Finance, shows a deficit of over 8,800,000,000 kronen (about \$1,760,000,000 normal). In order to cover up, partly, the failure of the forced loan, the Government took over three billion kronen in "blue money" from the Austro-Hungarian Bank, now under liquidation.

Much smuggling of the blue notes into Austria, where they circulated unstamped, and counterfeiting by amateur speculators went on. Postal money issued by the Hungarian postal savings system was exempted from stamping. It was asserted that the Cabinet had made huge fortunes by timely exchange before the stamping measure was adopted.

Demonstrations against signing the Peace Treaty are the order of the day at Budapest and elsewhere. Four classes of the army were called to the colors on May 9, and there are rumors that reservists called for two months' drill will be retained for two years. Ammunition

factories at Budapest are reported working overtime. The chauvinistic agitation is headed by the radical wing of the Christian Socialists under Stephen Friedrich, the former Minister of War. Their principal argument is that the major Allies have no means at their disposal to coerce Hungary, and that it is safe for the Magyars to take the law into their own hands.

A decree prohibiting the retailing of alcoholic drinks was issued at Budapest. The display of red banners and cockades is also forbidden.

It is announced that a delegation consisting of prominent politicians and led by Charles Huszar, the former Premier, will visit the United States on a propaganda tour for the present Hungarian régime and the revision of the Treaty of Neuilly.

It was announced on May 12 from Budapest that the controlling Hungarian powers had finally concluded to sign the treaty presented by the Allies, but under protest. Count Julius Andrássy, in an address before the Council of Ministers, declared: "The treaty crucifies the nation. \* \* \* We must bow before superior force coupled with intellectual incompetence." Notwithstanding the new frontiers fixed by the treaty, the schools in Hungary use the old maps, the teachers telling the pupils that the territories lopped off will some day be recovered. Count Apponyi in protesting against the treaty said that to put Transylvanians under Rumanian rule was the same as putting a white race under negro rule, yet he said the treaty would have to be signed, but it would certainly foment future wars.

In a press interview Admiral Horthy, the Regent, declared that there is no White Terror in Hungary and that the general situation shows marked improvement. Socialism, he said, is practically dead. The stories about the White Terror and the persecution of Jews are being circulated, he said, by Hungary's enemies—the Communists, Rumanians, Czechs and Serbs. He asserted that perfect order prevails at Budapest, and it is possible for everybody to go about his work without interference from any side.

On the other hand, Budapest newspapers, among them Governmental organs, report the decision of the Medical Association of Budapest to the effect that no physician or surgeon will leave his home to answer calls after 9 P. M., as members of the "brachial force" are assaulting and maltreating passersby. The *Uj Nemzedék*, a Christian National organ, writes:

After 9 P. M. walking in the Budapest streets involves mortal danger, as even Christians are being assaulted and beaten, frequently also plundered, by members of the "brachial force" (officers' detachments) and other irresponsible elements.

No Jewish students were permitted to enroll for the Summer semester in the University of Budapest. Jews attempting to register were beaten and ejected by the armed detachment of anti-Semitic students. This detachment exacted from Gentile undergraduates pledges that they will have no intercourse with Jews. Those refusing to sign such pledges were prevented from enrolling. The Commercial Academy, with an attendance largely Jewish, was forced to close its sessions altogether, as its building was raided daily by the "Awakening Magyars."

## States of the Balkan Peninsula

### The New Bulgarian Parliament

#### ALBANIA

**A**LBANIA still held public attention, in view of the unsettled Adriatic problem, because both the Anglo-Franco-American memorandum of Dec. 9 and the resolution of the United States

Senate Foreign Relations Committee of May 3 gave Northern Epirus to Greece, while the compromise measure of Jan. 20, although it did not make that award, had given Serbia a still larger Albanian territory in the north.



On May 9, C. A. Chekrezi, the representative of the Albanian Government of Durazzo at Washington, remonstrated against the resolution in a letter to Senator Lodge, just as he had against the memorandum, which had the support of President Wilson, and the compromise measure which had not that support. In his letter Mr. Chekrezi complained that the awarding of the two Southern Albanian provinces of Koritza and Arghyrocastro to Greece had been favored without holding hearings as he had requested, he technically having no standing with the Secretary of State. He called the committee's action unjust, on the ground that it was taken "without granting the natives of Koritza and Arghyrocastro the elementary right of a hearing before the committee." This action, he added, was without "any parallel in the history of America, for Albania has not been either an enemy or an ally of the United States."

## BULGARIA

The Sobranje elections of March 28 did not turn out quite so satisfactorily for Premier Stamboliisky as had been generally expected. True, his party (the Peasants) gained twenty-five seats, and a substantial plurality (though not absolute majority) is assured; but the Premier's primary object in dissolving the old Sobranje was to crush the Communists politically in the elections as he had crushed them by "direct action" in the great railroad strike. But the Communists actually gained three seats, and, according to the Sofia press, the mere fact that they were not annihilated counts for a moral victory.

The following table shows the distribution of seats in the new Parliament:

	Votes.	Representatives.
Peasant Party .....	347,000	110
Communists .....	182,000	50
Democrats .....	98,000	23
Populists .....	71,000	16
Socialists .....	55,000	9
Progressives .....	53,000	7
Radicals .....	47,000	7
Ghenadievis .....	26,000	3
Liberals .....	23,000	3

The most notable feature of the election is the complete defeat of the Social-

ists, whose thirty-nine seats were reduced to nine.

On April 19 the new Sobranje was opened. A member of the Peasant Party, Potev, was elected Speaker. Premier Stamboliisky then announced the retirement of the three members of his Cabinet, Madjarov, Burov and Danev, who did not belong to the Peasant Party. The royal address, read by the Premier, struck an optimistic note, emphasizing the readiness of the Bulgarian people to start on the task of reconstruction, and to resume friendly co-operation with its former enemies.

A Cabinet council, held after the session, decided that, as a token of Bulgaria's good-will and solicitude to fulfill the peace treaty, the shipments of coal to Serbia would be undertaken without delay.

During the month under review the Bulgarian press kept up the demand for a Bulgar Thrace and a Free State for the remaining Turkish littorial of Constantinople.

## JUGOSLAVIA

Antagonism between Federalists and Centralists continues as the pivotal domestic issue in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The fall of the Davidovitch Cabinet, backed by the Democrats and Socialists, signified the breakdown, at least temporary, of the tendency to transform the seven Jugoslav lands into a strongly centralized state on the French model. The new Premier Protitch, on the other hand, who is supported by a coalition of radicals and regionalist factions, holds that Jugoslav unity is best served by granting broad autonomy to the seven provinces, which lived up to the union in 1918, under widely different laws, and represent a wide range of political, cultural and economic development.

The settlement of the constitutional question in indefinitely delayed by the deadlock in the Skupshtina, due to the rule requiring a quorum of more than half the total membership. As the Protitch Government does not muster an absolute majority, the opposition obstructs progress by the simple device of not attending sessions. This situation

prevents the enactment of a uniform electoral law under which a new Constituent Assembly could be chosen. In the meantime the provinces which have formerly belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy are being administered by local bodies of a more or less impromptu character, and working with a very imperfect co-ordination, a circumstance greatly retarding economic reconstruction.

In the field of foreign relations the Protitch Government has taken over the policies of its predecessor, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Trumbitch, retaining his portfolio. Here the burning question is that of Fiume and the Adriatic. A solution of the Fiume problem was again reported on May 12, when Mr. Trumbitch was quoted as saying that the Italian delegates at the conference at Pallanza agreed to recognize the "Wilson line" as the frontier between the two countries; also, that Fiume should be placed under Italian sovereignty, but with the League of Nations administering the port.

The Yugoslav delegates were reported to have entered a claim for rectifying the northern frontier of Albania in their favor. No solution of the Adriatic problem was reported.

The Yugoslav Government has made representations to the Supreme Council against the belligerent attitude of Hungary. Concentration of 10,000 Magyar troops in a menacing position near the Yugoslav frontier was complained of. A Hungarian uprising at Subotitsa on April 19 had been suppressed.

On April 16 a railroad strike was proclaimed over almost the entire territory of the Yugoslav kingdom. The strikers were soon joined by the crews of river shipping. Communist propaganda was active in the movement, and in several instances rioting had to be put down by the military. A week later the conclusion of the strike, apparently by compromise, was reported.

## GREECE

The terms of the Turkish Treaty of Peace, although more or less anticipated by the press of Athens under the pro-

phetic guidance of M. Venizelos, the Prime Minister, may be misinterpreted by the friends of Greece abroad. Her status in Smyrna, which Turkey is required to acknowledge, is elsewhere defined in this number of CURRENT HISTORY, as is also her complete sovereignty over Thrace, save the City of Constantinople and its small covering area. Besides these concessions Greece is to administer the islands of the Aegean, including Imbros, Tenedos, Memnos, Samothrace, Mitylene, Samos, Nikaria and Chinos, pledging herself to protect the minorities therein, although the islands of the southern archipelago, known as the Dodecanese, held in bond by Italy ever since the Turko-Italian war of 1911-12, are definitely ceded by the treaty to Italy, thereby confirming the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915.

Therein may lie the misapprehension, as these islands are predominantly Greek in history, culture, and population and have been striven for by M. Venizelos ever since the armistice. It is merely another case of the Shantung concession to Japan, however. As long as the Adriatic question remains unsettled, the Treaty of London is technically in force, and the Supreme Council could not ignore that treaty by having Turkey cede the islands to Greece. Therefore, they will be held by Italy until the protocol reached by M. Venizelos and Signor Orlando in January, 1919, shall emerge from the Adriatic settlement either by a definite settlement between Italy and Jugoslavia or by the execution of the Treaty of London, when the islands will be turned over to Greece, Italy retaining certain economic and strategic privileges.

The Turkish Treaty of Peace brings under the Athens Government an additional Greek population of 2,500,000, giving a total of 7,500,000, two-thirds of the new nationals being contributed by Turkey and one-third by Bulgaria. There still remain outside of the New Greece in the Levant about 2,000,000 Greeks.

Of these 850,000 are known as Pontine Greeks living in and around Trebizond, on the Black Sea. The press of Athens as well as M. Venizelos began an active campaign to secure complete inde-



pendence for Pontus, now included in the still unsettled vilayet of Trebizond. Pontus, ever since the seventh century B. C., has been ethnically Greek. It now claims an area of 35,000 square miles with a population of 1,700,000, of whom, as has been said, 850,000 are Greeks; the remainder are Jews, Tartars, Arabs and Armenians.

Another project undertaken by the same interests was the project for an Italo-Greek League with the aim to dominate, if not to control, the future development of commerce in the Levant and the surrounding littoral. Still another project begun by the Athens Government was a concordat between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Vatican. The Metropolitan of Athens began a correspondence with the Vatican with this in view.

Sentences were meted out to the conspirators against the life of M. Venizelos in the plot of last December. In Athens on May 10 General Libritis, Colonels Derleres and Karapateas and Captain Kanabouvos were sentenced to life imprisonment; fifteen other officers received sentences ranging from fifteen to twenty years; twenty-four were acquitted.

## RUMANIA

In the field of domestic policy centralization is the motto of the Avarescu Government, which came into power after the dismissal of the Vaida-Voevod Cabinet, last January. A notable victory of the centralist tendency was achieved when the National Councils of Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia were dissolved. The former two had been organized at the time of the collapse of Austria-Hungary; they acted as provisional governments in the transition period and later as autonomous administrations under the authority of Bucharest. The dissolution of the Transylvanian Council meets with bitter criticism on the part of many Transylvanian leaders, chiefly Dr. Vaida-Voevod, the former Premier, and Dr. Maniu. On the other hand, General Avarescu is supported by the party of Octavian Goga,

the great Transylvanian poet, whose followers favor close union of the lands composing the new Rumania. The Saxon and Magyar element in Transylvania and the Ukrainian element in Bukovina and Bessarabia are greatly embittered by the rescission of autonomy.

Another change tending to insure the ascendancy of the old Kingdom of Rumania over the newly acquired territories is the subdivision of the entire State into departments, with prefects nominated directly from Bucharest. Finally, the number of Deputies in the Chamber has been reduced from 548 to 324. Here again the Transylvanians charge discrimination, as they are to lose more seats in proportion to their number under the old kingdom. Elections for the new Parliament have been set for the end of May.

Mr. Argetoianu, the Minister of Finance and General Avarescu's chief lieutenant in the Cabinet, estimates Rumania's total war expenditure (including losses and immediate reconstruction) at thirty billion leis (at normal rates a lei is 19.30 cents). To meet the situation, the Government contemplates the introduction of two budgets, a war liquidation budget and an ordinary budget. For the purposes of the latter, income taxes will be increased, but not over twofold of the present. Military units were converted by the Premier into labor armies to improve communication and transport services. Various civic and political reforms were instituted. With regard to the financial and economic development of the kingdom, the Minister said, foreign assistance is necessary, both in money and technical equipment and talent. For the moment the only export articles are petroleum and its by-products, but soon there will be salt and timber to dispose of. Grain will not be available for export before 1921.

In the beginning of May the Rumanian Government resumed negotiations with Poland for a military alliance against Soviet Russia. The Premier, General Avarescu, visited Warsaw, and preparations to restore the army to a war basis were begun.

# Dismemberment of the Turkish Empire

## Terms of the Final Peace Treaty of the World War—Effects on the Map of Asia Minor

### TURKEY

THE Turkish Peace Treaty, as finally shaped after the San Remo Conference, was handed to Tewfik Pasha, head of the Sultan's peace delegation, at the French Foreign Office in Paris on May 11. On handing the treaty to the Ottoman delegate M. Millerand observed that Turkey had prolonged the war by taking sides with the Central Empires and must pay the price. He also stated that, though the allied powers had decided to leave the Sultan in Constantinople, they were determined that law and order should prevail in what was left of Turkey. Tewfik Pasha was informed that Turkey had thirty days in which to make reply to the terms laid down.

Under these terms, considered generally, the seat of Government, though remaining at Constantinople, will be under the dominating influence, if not the direction, of an interallied commission; Turkey loses all military and naval power; her national finances will be in the hands of an Anglo-Franco-Italian mission; the territory of the empire has been so contracted, distributed and assigned as to make it impossible again for the Turk to exercise his former control over the lives and property of the ancient races and religions in what for centuries has been a reproach to Christianity and a stigma on the politics of Western Europe.

The financial terms are especially drastic. The treaty establishes a strict and permanent control of Turkish finances by giving to the international mission complete power of final approval over all Turkish budgets, supervision over the execution of all Ottoman financial laws, and the reformation of the Turkish monetary system. No loan, internal or external, can be contracted without the commission's approval. This commission is empowered to fix the annual sum to be paid the allied nations by Turkey to cover the cost of occupation.

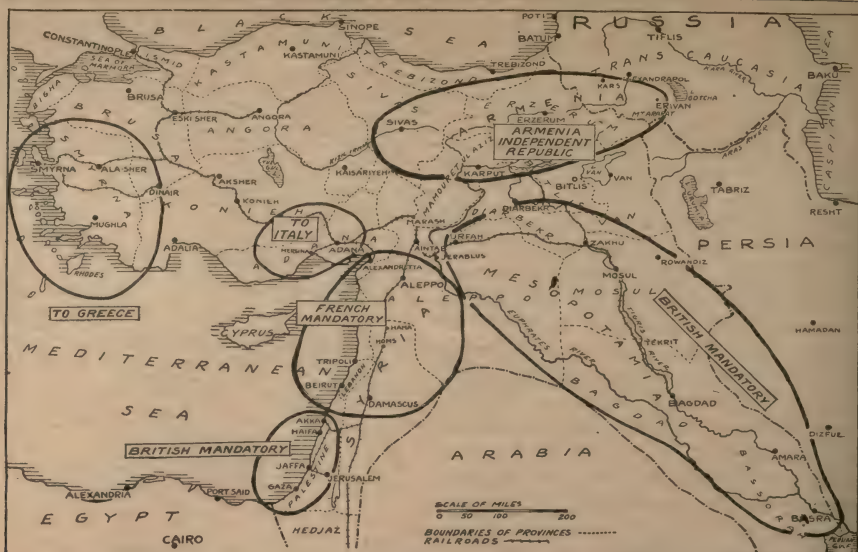
By this treaty the allied determination that the control of the straits, including the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus shall pass out of Turkish hands permanently is assured. The navigation of these straits is to be open in time of peace and war alike to all vessels of commerce or war without distinction of flag. These waters are not to be subject to blockade, and no act of war may be committed there except in enforcing the decisions of the League of Nations. A Straits Commission is established, to be composed of representatives of all the allied nations, Russia and Bulgaria (if they join the League), and of the United States if it wishes to be represented.

One section of the treaty assures the protection of minorities, without distinction of birth, nationality, language or religion. All religious and political prisoners are to be released. The Allies and the League of Nations are to be responsible for the strict execution of these provisions.

Turkey, for police purposes alone, is allowed to maintain a force of 35,000 men, with an emergency increase of 15,000 in case of special necessity. The Sultan may have a bodyguard of 700 men. Turkey is forbidden to maintain a fleet or military airplanes. All fortifications along the straits are to be destroyed. An army of occupation there is to be maintained by France, England and Italy, Greece to furnish additional forces if required. Turks charged with war crimes are to be tried by allied military tribunals. Turkey must hand over the persons responsible for the massacres that have occurred since August, 1914, who are to be tried by a League of Nations court or some similar tribunal. All allied financial losses in the war are to be admitted as liabilities by Turkey, as was done in the case of the German and Austrian treaties.

Such, in brief, are the terms of the





Map of Turkey as affected by the decisions of the San Remo Conference. Pending the announcement of definite boundaries, the various mandatory spheres of control are indicated only in a general way by the black circles. More detailed information in each case is given in the adjoining pages.

treaty that shears Turkey of all her power, military, naval and political; which is intended to control her future acts toward the non-Turkish elements left in her population, and which exacts retribution for her acts of war on the side of the Central Powers. But Turkey's greatest humiliation lies in the territorial terms, which leave her but a fraction of the vast area she formerly misgoverned. The treaty lays down the dismemberment of the former empire systematically. The decisions reached are treated, country by country, below.

The moving factor in bringing about Turkey's vast territorial loss was Great Britain, which, *de facto* if not *de jure*, has become the mandatory. Although France owns from 60 to 65 per cent. of the Ottoman bonds, an Englishman, Sir Adam Block, is President of the Debt Administration. Although French, Italian and Greek troops may independently protect the portions of the empire to be administered by their several Governments, a British General will enforce the treaty terms at Constantinople, and even the sanctity of the harems will no longer be observed by his agents in search of forced-alien converts to Islam.

At the beginning of the World War

the Turkish Empire included in Europe 10,882 square miles of territory, with a population of 1,891,000, and with the Asiatic vilayets and sanjaks a total area of 710,224 square miles, with a population of 21,273,900. Although the frontiers of the contracted empire were not entirely determined, the treaty of peace reduced the territorial entity to less than 100,000 square miles, with a population of about 5,000,000, a majority of whom are Moslems but, paradoxical as it may seem, a minority of whom are actual Turks, of the Ottoman type.

To particularize: There remain to the Turk in Europe the vilayet of Constantinople and the sanjak of Chatalja, with an area of 2,238 square miles and a population of 1,281,000, only half of whom are Moslems and a third Moslem Turks; in Asia Minor he will have majorities in the sanjak of Ismid and the vilayets of Brusa, Kastamuni, and Angora, with an additional area of 75,470 square miles and a population of 3,743,500; parts of Konia, Sivas, Trebizond; in old Armenia parts of Erzerum and Mamuret-ul-Aziz. That is all.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha continued to mobilize the Turkish National Army and the Turkish "rump" Parliament at

Angora, 215 miles southwest of Constantinople by rail, but he made no further act "to save the country and Sultan from foreign influence." He refrained from taking the name of Grand Vizier on the ground that nomination to the post was the prerogative of the Sultan. The son of the Sheik of the Senussi was merely nominated Vice Sheik-ul-Islam. The ex-President of the old Chamber, Djelaleddin Arif, whom the Allies tried to arrest at the time of the occupation, was made Minister of Justice, and, by an adroit move, Halide Edib Hanoum, the Turkish woman novelist, received the portfolio of Education. Mustapha Kemal denied that he contemplated usurping either the title or the rights of the Caliph-Sultan.

Kemal was said to have 60,000 moderately well armed men. It was believed in Entente circles in Constantinople that he would remain on the defensive and await developments. It was also asserted there that the Sultan's *fetwa*, issued when Damad Ferid Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier, had an immense and augmenting influence on the morale of his followers. There were many deserters. The Sultan's decree read in part:

The difficulties created by the activities of the Nationals have seriously compromised our political position, which, since the armistice, had been greatly improving. The peaceful measures which have been taken up to now against the Nationalist movement have been in vain, as has been shown by recent events.

As the existence of this state of rebellion may give rise to further grave occurrences, it is our firm desire that the provisions of the law be strictly applied against those who have organized and encouraged these disturbances, but that on the other hand a general amnesty be proclaimed in favor of those who, having been led astray, subsequently recognized their error and did not participate in this rebellion.

It is also our firm desire that you should use your utmost efforts to establish friendly and sincere relations with the allied great powers, to endeavor, on the basis of the principle of right and justice, to mitigate the peace terms and to bring about a speedy conclusion of peace.

It is the intention of the Entente, according to the announced policy of Lieut. Gen. Sir G. F. Milne, commander of the

interallied forces at Constantinople, to aid the Sultan in asserting his authority over Kemal and the Nationalists rather than directly to employ foreign troops for that purpose. The new Grand Vizier submitted to the interallied mission the budget of an armed expedition against Kemal, while sending an envoy to Angora with a strongly worded message from Mohammed VI.

General Milne went 150 miles by train in the direction of Angora on a tour of inspection. Four battalions of Turkish loyal troops had already preceded him through the sanjak of Ismid. Admiral de Bobeck, the British commander of the allied fleet in the Dardanelles, sailed along the south shore of the Black Sea with a squadron led by H. M. S. Ajax, and took possession of Batum, meanwhile reducing fortifications at various points and landing detachments of occupation at the principal strategic ports.

Although there were reports that Colonel Jafar Tayar, the Military Governor of Adrianople, had been to see General Milne at Constantinople and had actually surrendered to the French mission, he nevertheless replied to the Sultan's *fetwa* against the Nationalists by the following proclamation in his paper *The People*:

Moslems of Thrace! The Imperial rescript and *fetwa* are lies issued under foreign influence. Previously the Sultan said that the Nationalist forces showed the true national spirit, but he is now forced to say the opposite, and the British, on some pretext or other, have occupied Constantinople and trampled on the rights of the imperial dynasty. It is said that Thrace will be given to Greece. The Greeks are distributing arms in order to raise trouble.

Our religious aim is to deliver the Sultan from the foreigner. It is not our intention to rob or massacre, and the object of the Nationalist forces is altogether different from what is alleged by the *fetwa*, or Sultan's rescript.

Several newspaper correspondents made their way over the Anatolian railway and interviewed Kemal at Angora, but their reports added nothing to what was already known of his position and his aims.

With the coming into power of the Damad Ferid Cabinet and the military occupation of Constantinople by General



Milne there were arrests of prominent Nationalist leaders, including Izzet Pasha, former Grand Vizier, and General Alirza Pasha, with hundreds of the rank and file. There was also a clean sweep made of the ministerial and war departments. The official personnel of the Ottoman gendamerie was entirely reconstructed by an Italian military board.

From April 16 until April 20 the papers in the French and Greek languages did not appear in Constantinople, owing to a strike of the compositors; the proprietors then decided to adopt the Paris method of last Autumn, and published a joint sheet in both languages.

## ARMENIA

When the Turkish treaty was delivered there was already in existence the Transcaucasian independent republic of Armenia consisting of the former Russian Government of Erivan and parts of Kars, Tiflis and Elizabetopol, with its capital at Erivan. It had been recognized by the Entente and by the United States of America; during the war it had been the chief asylum for the Armenians fleeing from Turkish territory. According to the Treaty of Peace Turkey must recognize the adjacent territory, consisting of the vilayets of Van and Bitlis and parts of Erzerum, now occupied by the Turkish Nationalists of Kemal, and Trebizond, as an independent State united with the Transcaucasian area already established. The frontiers between the new Armenia and the republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan are to be adjusted by negotiations between it and those nations; the frontiers touching Turkey and access to the sea are to be settled by the arbitration of the President of the United States, to which act Turkey in the treaty was asked to give her consent.

The first Armenian State comprised about 25,000 square miles, with a population before the war of 2,050,000, only 200,000 of whom dwelt in the towns, and about two-thirds of whom confessed Armenian origin. The Armenia taken from the Turkish vilayets includes approximately 50,630 square miles, with a population of 1,978,500, of whom, owing

to the migrations during the war and the massacres, fewer than a million now belong to Armenian nationality.

The decision of the League of Nations to decline a mandate for Armenia and the offer of the mandate to the United States by the Supreme Council have been treated elsewhere in these pages.

The Armenian paper Jagadamard, published in Constantinople, which periodically issues communiqués from the Erivan Government, declared that early in April the Armenians of the Zangezur and Karabagh districts had entered the Azerbaijan Tartar territory, defeated the 5th and 7th Battalions of the Tartar regular army, and captured several hundred prisoners. Armenian newspapers ascribe the outbreak to the attempt of the Azerbaijan Government to disarm the Armenian villages, both in Karabagh and in the neutral zone of Zangezur.

The Harbord report was amplified on May 10 by the publication in Washington of the report of Eliot G. Mears, the American Trade Commissioner at Constantinople. Seed supply, immigration, water power, better transportation, and protection from Kurdish nomads were declared essential for productive activity.

## PALESTINE

According to the Turkish treaty Palestine is to be a British mandate, as decided by the Allies with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations. The mandatory will fix the boundaries; the League will establish a commission for the protection of the different religions. As for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, the policy of the Supreme Council is shown by the practical incorporation in the treaty on April 24 of A. J. Balfour's declaration of Nov. 2, 1917. The declaration, which was later subscribed to by France and Italy and indorsed by President Wilson in a letter to the head of the British Zionist Organization, reads:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish



EIGHT THOUSAND ARABS, TURKS AND CHRISTIANS PARADING THE STREETS OF JERUSALEM AS A PROTEST AGAINST THE PROPOSAL THAT PALESTINE BE HANDED OVER TO THE JEWS

(© International)

communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

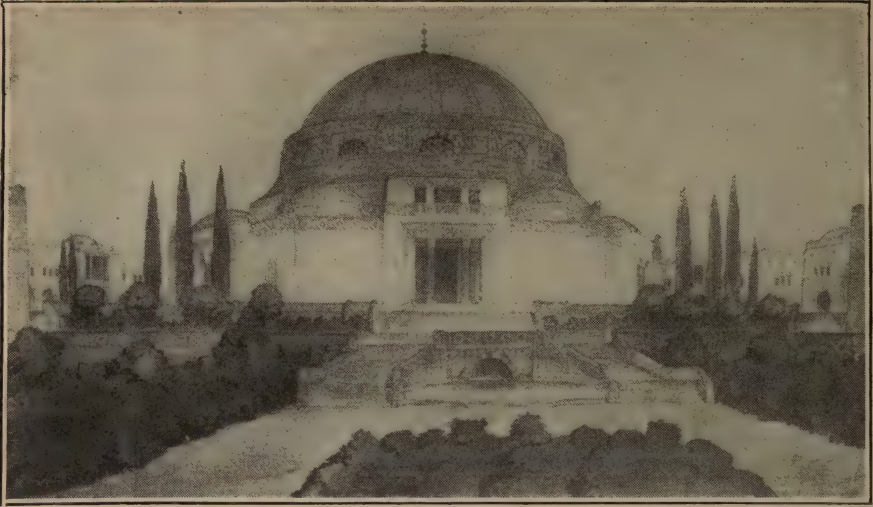
Official reports came to hand concerning the Arab-Jewish riots which took place in Jerusalem on April 4-5 and caused the death of over fifty persons and injury to twice that number. On Easter Sunday a group of Arabs had arrived in the city from Hebron to celebrate the festival of Nebi Mussa. Outside the Jaffa gate they were met by Syrian agitators, who made speeches to them inciting them to attack the Jews and Zionists. One of the speakers raised the portrait of Emir Feisal, asking the mob to take oath that they would defend Palestine, after which the Arabs rushed into the town and attacked, beat, and robbed every Jew whom they met, and plundered their shops. The performance at the Jaffa Gate was repeated at Batrak and in the Jewish quarter. The Arab police were said to have aided the mob, even lending the rioters their weapons. Disturbances continued until the arrival of British troops the next day.

In the courts-martial which were held on April 9, 11 and 12, among those sentenced were two Arabs and one Jew, each to fifteen years' imprisonment, the Arabs for rape and arson, and the Jew for being in possession of arms and ball ammunition. The Jew sentenced was Vladimir Jabotinsky, a prominent Zionist and a former Lieutenant in the British Army, the founder of the famous Zion Mule Corps of Gallipoli, and the hero of a book by Colonel Patterson of the British Army.

Most of the Jews arrested and sentenced were charged with having Government arms in their hands. Their plea was invariably self-defense. Nineteen received sentences of three years each on this charge. These sentences created great consternation among the Palestine Jews. On April 10 General Sir Louis Bols, the Chief Administrator of Palestine, convoked a meeting of twenty Moslem, Christian and Jewish leaders, and, according to the Al Mokattam of Cairo, addressed them as follows:

Calm has been re-established, and matters have now resumed their normal





MAIN BUILDING OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY AT JERUSALEM, NOW BEING CONSTRUCTED ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES UNDER THE DIRECTION OF PROFESSOR PATRICK GEDDES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH. AMONG THE NOTED PROFESSORS WHO HAVE AGREED TO JOIN THE FACULTY ARE DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN OF BERLIN AND DR. AUGUST WASSERMANN

(© Underwood & Underwood)

course, but the recent disorders were so violent that they have left a feeling of uncertainty and bitterness. The agitation was most prejudicial to the country, and the arrested persons will be tried individually by civil or military courts.

I called you here to make you understand that there is only one authority, and that is mine. I have a large military force, with which I can repress disorder, and I will employ it in the future without restriction. You are always free to express opinions, and they will be taken into serious consideration. This is the only path to follow, but if you have recourse to violence we shall be obliged to adopt similar action.

Herbert Samuel, former British Cabinet Minister and Special Commissioner to Belgium, in passing through Cairo from Jerusalem on his way home, issued a statement to the press, both native and British, in which he declared that the riots in Jerusalem had been due to a misconception of Zionism on the part of the non-Jewish population. He wrote:

They have assumed that Mohammedans and Christians will be placed under the Government of a Jewish minority, that the present possessors and cultivators of the soil will be dispossessed of their property, that the ownership of Mohammedan and Christian holy places will be affected,

and that the Jews will fill the administrative offices to the prejudice of others. All these assumptions are untrue, but, even if the Zionist organizations entertained such ideas, Great Britain would not permit their adoption.

## SMYRNA

The Turkish treaty gives Smyrna and the hinterland, extending to a depth of 80 miles and a breadth of 150, to Greece under limited sovereignty. Greece must formulate, in consultation with the League of Nations, a plan for control of the territory, and at the end of two years the population shall decide by plebiscite whether they desire this arrangement to continue or whether the territory shall be annexed to Greece. Meanwhile, the Greek customs service will be established and a local Parliament inaugurated on the principle of proportional representation. On an outer fort of the hinterland the Turkish flag is to be flown.

General Paraskevopoulo, the new Greek Generalissimo at Smyrna, in anticipation of an attack from the Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal, of whom there were about 30,000



CROWDS OF ARABS IN JERUSALEM LISTENING TO BITTER HARANGUES BY NATIONALIST AGITATORS AGAINST THE ZIONISTS

(© International)

mobilized in the vicinity of the Angora-Konia frontier, called upon all his countrymen between the ages of 20 and 30 for immediate military service, excepting only those of Turkish birth.

The Greek forces under Paraskevopoulos number 97,000 men—nominally six divisions. The Government at Athens assured him that there were two divisions in Thrace which would be sent him should he need reinforcements.

## SYRIA

Subject to approval by the League of Nations, France is to become the mandatar for Syria and Great Britain for Mesopotamia, and in the Turkish treaty of peace the Sultan is required to recognize the independence of these new States, whose status will be similar to that of Palestine, but unlike that of Smyrna, where actual, although qualified, Greek sovereignty will prevail. The boundaries of the new States will be determined by special commissions appointed by the Executive Committee of the Council of the League. As both France and Italy have relinquished the claim to mandatory powers over Cilicia and Adalia, respectively, reserving only special economic privileges on the

Levantine littoral, it is evident that the treaty still preserves for the Anatolian vilayets of Turkey a window on the sea between Smyrna and Syria.

Reports received at the French War Office showed that General Gouraud, in attempting to rescue the Armenians of Aleppo and Mesopotamia and to establish French outposts there, met with disaster on account of the smallness of the forces sent and the animosity of both Turks and Arabs toward their coreligionists, the French Senegalese troops.

The reports showed, however, no doubt of the treachery of Namik Effendi, the commander of the Turkish Nationalists, in attacking the French garrison of Ufa on its way to the coast after he had promised it safe conduct—an attack in which 200 of the Senegalese out of 500 were slaughtered, many after they had surrendered. On the other hand, it was demonstrated that after the withdrawal of the French troops from the Aintab district, the civil population and their foreign helpers fared better at the hands of the Turks.

No further steps were taken to solve the problem raised by the declaration of independence of Syria—including Pales-



tine—made by the Damascus National Congress of Arabs, and the elevation of Emir Feisal as King of the new monarchy. The Supreme Council of the Allies, however, refused to recognize General Nuri Pasha, the envoy of



ARCHBISHOP CHEKRALLA KHOURI

*From the Lebanon Mountains of Syria, Now Visiting the Syrian Catholic Churches of America by Direction of the Syrian Patriarch.*  
(Times Wide World Photos.)

“King” Feisal, and demanded the presence of the Emir himself—but simply in his capacity as a delegate representing his father, King Hussein of Hedjaz.

Nevertheless, under the tolerant eyes of Generals Allenby and Gouraud, the

organization of Feisal’s “Kingdom” went merrily on. He appointed the following cabinet:

Prime Minister.....Rida Pasha Rikaby  
President of the Council.....  
Aladdin Pasha Deroubi  
Interior.....Rida Bey el Souln  
Foreign Affairs.....Said Bey el Hussein  
War.....Lewa Abdul Hamid Pasha Kultukji  
Finance.....Fares Bey el Khoury  
Justice.....Djelal Bey  
Public Works.....Youssef Bey el Hakim  
Education.....Satia Bey

The first act of the new Ministry was the publication of a statement of its intentions, in which the following points were emphasized:

To safeguard and consolidate the complete independence proclaimed by the Congress at Damascus.

To safeguard public security in all Syria and apply justice to all the inhabitants without distinction between creeds and classes, and guard the rights of communities and the interests of the powers and those of their subjects in Syria.

To establish the best relations between Syria and foreign States.

To make efforts to reorganize the country in such a way as to guarantee its moral progress and the development of its natural resources.

To assist the allied Governments in safeguarding public peace in the Near East.

Various official appointments were also made by the Ministry, and the law courts began to issue their judgments in the name of the “King of Syria,” whose domestic arrangements were brought into conformity with his new rank. A body of Arab lawyers was also directed by Djelal Bey to draft a Syrian code, which will differ from the Ottoman code on several important points.

## KURDISTAN

Kurdistan emerges from the Turkish treaty better than does Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is only incidentally mentioned. Geographically one is superimposed upon the other. So the blunder the Entente made last January in recognizing the independence of Azerbaijan is now wiped out in the treaty, for therein the local autonomy of Kurdistan, which had already made peace with Transcaucasian Armenia, is required of Turkey; the frontiers are to be fixed by a commission of British, French and Italians; and the League of Nations shall have

the power to create it into a free and independent State if the Kurds at some future time shall request it.

Before the war Kurdistan lay partly in Turkey and partly in Persia. In Turkey it included the vilayets of Diarbekir, Bitlis and Mamuret-ul-Aziz, and in Persia the provinces of Adelan and Azerbaijan. Of these vilayets the new Armenia is to have Bitlis. Meanwhile, the Tartars of Azerbaijan starting from the Persian province have practically absorbed that part of Turkish Kurdistan which is dealt with in the treaty, and these Tartars are now fighting the Armenians and at the same time making peace with the Russian Bolsheviks.

The entrance of the Bolsheviks into Baku on April 27 and the Bolshevization of the Azerbaijan Republic have been treated of elsewhere in these pages. The report that Georgia had allied itself with Moscow was not confirmed.

## MESOPOTAMIA

Although Mesopotamia, like Syria, has been created into an independent State under Article 22 of the covenant of the League of Nations, with a mandatary nominated by the Entente, and although its independence is required to be recognized by Turkey, the boundaries of Mesopotamia—which includes the former vilayets of Mosul, Bagdad and Busra, with an area of 143,250 square miles and a prevailing nomadic population of over 2,000,000, or only about 10 persons to the square mile—became of grave concern to the British Government. In spite of the magnificent progress made in restoring this vast region between the Tigris and the Euphrates Rivers, as was shown in these columns last month, the criticisms of Mr. Asquith and the Opposition to a comprehensive mandate were later revealed to be not without reason in the eyes of the Government's experts.

Parts of the vilayets of Van and Mosul, lying between the Tigris and the Persian frontier, although administered by the British, are claimed by Kurdistan as far south as the Diaia River and the Bagdad-Khanikin railway. Even the British Government finally acknowledged that to extend the mandate over the northern section would be beyond its

strength, and that commerce must take its chance for the development of the Zakho oil fields; the rest of Mesopotamia could not have security unless the outposts of civilization were pushed to Mosul town on the Tigris; the southern section, including Suleimanie, must be included in the mandate; finally, it would be idle to pacify and hold Persia in order if a no-man's-land were continued between Persia and Mesopotamia.

The British Government placed great hopes in the Assyrian and Armenian migrations, which took place from Asia Minor to Mesopotamia during the closing year of the war, particularly in the 50,000 Assyrians who returned to the birthplace of the Assyrian Empire. Assyria ceased to exist, with its King, Sin-Shar-Ishkun—the Sardanapalus of tradition—about 606 B. C. According to historians her methods in prosperity had been an unhappy blend of Prussian *Shrecklichkeit* and Turkish administration—a blend that led the prophet Nahum to celebrate her downfall with triumphant poetry. As a just punishment for her cruelty, pride and intolerance, Assyria underwent a term of penal servitude, and for five and twenty centuries has been purging her soul in the house of bondage under various masters, the last of whom were the Turks.

## PERSIA

Both the British and Persian Governments were apprehensive of the military situation at Teheran, for in the Persian capital the strongest military force still consisted of a Cossack division under Russian officers. A mixture of Czarism, well leavened with Bolshevism, kept Russian influence alive there. Every type of Persian malcontent or extremist, whether reactionary or demagogic, was swept into its net, and among these Cossacks Great Britain was represented as a greedy, capitalistic and imperialistic power. The news of the Bolsheviks' victory at Baku, and their subjugation of the Government of Azerbaijan, caused fights between the reactionary and the radical factions of the Cossacks, which the Persian Gendarmerie was afraid to put down. The Persian



Government thereupon called upon the British Commissioner at Bagdad for troops.

Vossoukh ed Dowleh, the Persian Prime Minister, reorganized his Ministry and issued a manifesto in which he challenged his opponents on the highest

grounds of the country's future, justified his pro-British policy and appealed to the patriotic element to rally to his support. The independence of Persia, he said, was not endangered by either British relations or her foreign neighbors, but by the bad internal situation.

## Poland's New War on Soviet Russia

Pilsudski, in Alliance With Petlura, Pushes Offensive Toward Kiev and Odessa

ONE of the strangest developments in the Russian situation, from which so many surprises have already come, was the conclusion, toward the end of April, of a treaty of alliance for offensive purposes between Poland and the Ukraine and the initiation of a vigorous joint campaign to drive the Bolsheviks out of Little Russia. For Poland and Ukraine had long been enemies and had engaged in bitter warfare in East Galicia and along the line leading down to the borders of Western Ukraine, whose right to independence the peasant leader, Petlura, had supported for many months against the forces of Denikin, the Soviet Republic and Poland herself.

Petlura, faced with the occupation of most of the Ukraine by the Bolsheviks following the final defeat of General Denikin, had fled to Poland, and it was there that this Polish-Ukrainian compact was signed. Reading the handwriting on the wall, Petlura had already concluded a preliminary agreement in December, 1919. The terms of this first compact had been secret, but the Ukrainian press in some way had got wind of it, and printed it textually, with the result that a tremendous storm had been raised, especially in Galician and Ruthenian (White Russian) circles, who saw themselves betrayed in their aspiration of national independence by the very ones who should have been their national supporters. But Petlura, faced by the uninterrupted advance of the Bolsheviks and the prospect of losing forever the Ukraine's own chances of independent existence, preferred the alternative of a compromise agreement with Poland.

A proclamation issued by President Pilsudski said that, "together with the Poles, there are returning to the Ukraine its heroic sons under Simon Petlura, who have found refuge in Poland and help in the darkest days for the Ukrainians." The substance of the agreement concluded was that Petlura, embodying the Ukrainian Government, gave up his claim on Eastern Galicia, while the Poles in exchange promised to conquer for him Podolia, Volhynia and Kiev.

Following the signing of this agreement and Pilsudski's proclamation the Poles, on April 28, launched a whirlwind campaign on a 250-mile front, from the Pripiet to the Dniester, which gave the Bolsheviks, whose transportation and other weaknesses now became strongly apparent, but little chance to counter. Victory after victory was won by the Poles, with whom the Ukrainians were co-operating in the southern sector, and the Polish troops pushed deeply into the Ukraine, taking many prisoners and much rolling stock from the demoralized Bolsheviks. The official communiqué from Warsaw on April 30 announced the capture of 15,000 prisoners. Mohilev had been taken and the Poles were moving southeast along the Dniester.

Polish cavalry reached the outskirts of one of the main objectives—Kiev—by May 1. At this time Trotzky, Soviet War Minister, had ordered a new mobilization to defend the western and southern fronts. Despite a stiffening of the Red Army's resistance, the Polish forces drove ahead, and closed in on Kiev in a wide semicircle. Fierce fighting was raging on May 5 on a wide front around the



POLAND'S NEW WAR ON SOVIET RUSSIA: ARROWS INDICATE LINES OF SUCCESSFUL ATTACK IN RUSSIA AND THE UKRAINE

Kiev bridgehead, where the Bolshevik defense was concentrated. On May 8 the Poles took the hills overlooking the city, the Red Army retreating across the Dnieper. A relentless artillery battle continued both north and south of the city. Hand-to-hand fighting occurred between the Poles and the Bolsheviks in attempts made by the former to cross the river. Meanwhile the combined Polish and Ukrainian troops, supported by armored trains, were turning toward the south, already heading for the second objective, Odessa.

The campaign launched by Poland put an effectual quietus on the proposed negotiations of peace with Soviet Russia. Many preliminary notes had been exchanged, but no place for the meeting could be agreed upon, and now the project was abandoned.

The Polish War Minister, Major Boufall, in a statement made on April 15,

blamed the Bolsheviks alone for the failure to make peace. The Soviet proposal of a general armistice, he declared, was but a trick. Poland asked only the return of all territory annexed by Russia. Poland was ready to grant the people of all these territories—Latgalians, Lithuanians, White Ruthenians and Ukrainians—the right of self-determination. Poland admitted frankly that she desired to form a chain of buffer States under her economic and political influence. Because of the aggressive policy of the Soviet Government she did not wish to be Russia's next-door neighbor.

M. Patek, the Polish Premier, left Warsaw on April 24 to go to Paris and London to explain his country's policy both in regard to Soviet Russia and the Ukraine. Measures were being taken in Rome to counteract the effect on Signor Nitti and the Italian Socialists of M. Tchitcherine's charges of imperialistic aggression.



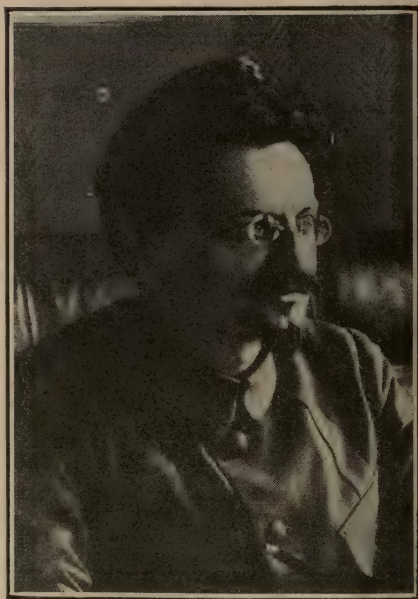


NIKOLAI LENIN

Premier, and called "the Brains" of Soviet Russia. From a new photograph  
(© International)

## THE RULERS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

The latest photographs of the chief leaders of Bolshevik Russia, given herewith, are intimate and characteristic likenesses of the two men who, since November, 1917, have ruled Russia with an absolutism more complete than that of the Czars. Kerensky fell through weakness and indecision. Lenin and Trotzky won by ruthless determination. Counter-revolution against the Red republic was punished mercilessly by thousands of executions; the Red Terror was fostered and encouraged. The Red Army organized by Trotzky as War Minister was given enormous extension, and sternly disciplined. One by one the Soviet's enemies, Kolchak, Yudenitch and Denikin, were defeated in the field, despite the financial and other aid given by the Allies. Triumphant on every front, the Bolshevik leaders turned to reconstruction and made their fighting armies over into armies of labor. Declaring for peace, they have had the satisfaction of seeing the Allies make indirect proposals for the reopening of trade. Lenin recently boasted before the Soviet Congress in Moscow that Soviet Russia had scored a complete victory over its internal enemies and the Entente.



LEON TROTZKY

Soviet Minister of War, second only to Lenin in the Government of Soviet Russia  
(© International)

# Russia and the New Baltic States

## Soviet Government's Tireless Attempts to Reopen Trade With the Outside World—Attack of Poles and Ukrainians

### RUSSIA

**S**PURRED on by the desperate economic situation at home, the Bolshevik authorities during the month under review multiplied their efforts to obtain resumption of trade relations with the outside world. Owing to the alleged temperamental unfitness of Krassin and the other Bolshevik delegates to the Stockholm conference, and to Krassin's insistence on the inclusion of Litvinov—formerly Russian Ambassador at London—in the commission which it was planned to send to England on behalf of the Russian Co-operative Societies, the negotiations fell through. The British Government's refusal to receive Litvinov, expelled from England for subversive Bolshevik propaganda, remained unshaken, while France, on her part, declined to admit the Bolshevik contention that the debt of pre-war Russia should be eliminated from the present Government's obligations—a proposal tantamount to complete repudiation of the debt of 26,000,000,000 francs due France on existing bonds.

The discussions of the Russian problem at the conference at San Remo—described elsewhere in these pages—led to no definite result. The view of Signor Nitti, the Italian Premier, that a resumption of trade should be encouraged was favored in general terms by the allied Premiers, but each nation was left free to take the steps it deemed expedient. France was cool to the project, but both Lloyd George and Nitti expressed their belief that the opening of trade relations was desirable. It was stated, soon after the close of the San Remo conference, that a well-known Bolshevik official, M. Klishko, would visit England to discuss the question. Italy, on her part, opened negotiations with the Soviet ostensibly to discuss the question of an exchange of prisoners, but the plain words of Signor Nitti at San Remo

left no doubt of his intention to reopen trade.

The Soviet authorities, meanwhile, did not remain inactive. A special commercial delegation was sent on April 2 to Copenhagen, where they were joined by Krassin, and on April 23 an agreement was signed with international commercial interests looking to an early resumption of relations. At this time a general industrial and commercial conference, to meet in Copenhagen toward the end of May, was announced. Krassin's attempts to conclude trade relations with Sweden proved abortive. The efforts of Moscow to stir up American interest continued unabated. Through the office of L. A. K. Martens, self-styled "Ambassador" to the United States, an offer was made on April 25 to deliver at Reval \$20,000,000 in gold for the opening of a trade credit in this country. Certain American business men, who had booked large orders with the Moscow Government through Martens, discussed this project enthusiastically, expressing resentment at their inability to fill these orders and regret that their European competitors were gaining advantage in the race for Russian trade. The American Commercial Association for Promoting Trade with Russia announced that it would at once send a new appeal to Washington to provide facilities for initiating active commercial relations.

The repatriation of British, German, French and Italian prisoners by Russia continued. The situation in Siberia generally remained unchanged, though a protocol was signed on April 29 between the Japanese, still in control of Vladivostok, and the Russian officials in that city which amounted to the practical elimination of the Russian forces in Far Eastern Siberia.\* The alleged arbitrary

\*By the terms of this agreement, which were at first resisted by the Russians, all Russian forces were to be withdrawn for a distance of 30 kilometers from the Japanese zone.



acts of the Japanese military group in Siberia elicited a strong protest from the members of the Interallied Railway Commission to their respective Governments, in which they declared that the guarding and running of the railway lines was being interfered with by Japanese soldiers. General Semenov and the Japanese leaders were said to be working hand in hand. A strong current of anti-Japanese sentiment, however, was setting in, and the general situation gave the Japanese much ground for anxiety. Japanese residents in many towns of Far Eastern Siberia were fleeing to other points. Several hundred Japanese at Nikolaevsk were reported on April 19 to have been exterminated, and on this date the Nippon Government sent two warships and a military contingent to rescue survivors. Because of Winter conditions, Nikolaevsk could not be reached; meanwhile, however, many Japanese residents were taken off at Alexandrovsk.

The Bolshevik armies, whose advance was so much feared by the Japanese, did not put in an appearance, and the distribution of Moscow's fighting divisions indicated that there was only one Soviet Army in the Far East (the Fifth Army), stationed west of the Lake Baikal region, which was controlled by the Siberian Social Revolutionaries, who in turn were in contact with the Japanese forces. Because of the strained situation and the danger to Japanese residents and property, the Tokio Government saw no immediate prospect of withdrawal. The main object of the Japanese occupation—the repatriation of the Czechoslovak soldiers—still remained only partially accomplished. According to Japanese reports, it was important to complete this repatriation as soon as possible, inasmuch as the Czechs, who had long been exposed to Bolshevik virus, were displaying pro-Bolshevik sympathies. There was no confirmation of the report that Moscow's offers of an alliance with China, including support of her national claims against Japan and other foreign aggressors, had been accepted.

With the capture of the three Cossack armies reported on May 4 the whole

campaign against Denikin was virtually liquidated by the Bolsheviks. Denikin himself, after a stay of two days in Constantinople, sailed on a British warship to England. He arrived in London on April 19, accompanied by the children of General Kornilov, who met his death under the Kerensky régime. General Denikin was met by British officials, and England gave him a cordial reception. The question of the treatment to be accorded to his captured army was discussed greatly by Great Britain with the Soviet Government. The Soviet answer to Great Britain's first note was considered highly unsatisfactory, the Soviet taking the ground that there was no essential difference between the position of Denikin's soldiers and that of the Red Communists arrested in Hungary, and implying that Great Britain's intervention in the case of the latter would be expected in return for concessions in the case of the Denikin forces. Further exchanges were continuing.

Relieved of the Denikin menace, the Soviet Government was faced with new dangers in a coalition of the Poles with the Ukrainian forces commanded by Petlura. [For a description of this campaign, in which the Poles and Ukrainians met with considerable success, see the article on Poland.] This new military offensive by Poland in union with Petlura gave much cause for anxiety to the Moscow Government, and had the effect of cementing the bond between Poland and Finland and of deterring the Letts from following Esthonia's example in making peace with Lenin. A long wireless message received at Stockholm toward the end of April protested at Poland's new aggression and stated that the Soviet would not again warn Poland that all negotiations toward peace would be impossible while the Polish forces continued this offensive. Finland's determination to retain the North Russian Finnish territory now in her possession remained unchanged by Moscow's refusal to arrange a temporary armistice for the purpose of discussion.

The economic situation in Soviet Russia remained deplorable in respect to food and fuel shortage, epidemics, lack

of rolling stock and complete disintegration of the transport system. Toward the end of April the assassination of G. Zinoviev, President of the Third Moscow International and known as the "fire-brand of the revolution," was announced. The circumstances of the assassination were not given. Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy, the well-known philosopher and editor of the journal *Logos*, died early in April at Moscow of starvation. The typhus epidemic was increasing from month to month.

Regarding the internal situation, Lenin, at the Ninth Communist Congress, advocated the concentration of power in the hands of one person. Trotsky's system of the military organization of labor was approved. The Soviet propaganda organization continued its world-wide efforts to distribute revolutionary literature. It was pointed out in the Swedish press toward the beginning of April that the Krassin mission should be looked upon with suspicion, and the statements of Zinoviev that all diplomatic negotiations aimed ultimately at the Bolshevization of Europe, and ultimately of the whole world, were pointed to as significant.

The State Department at Washington on April 18 gave out a memorandum through Secretary of State Colby which tended to show that the creation of a "World Soviet Republic" by international revolution was the common object of the Russian Communist Party, the Third Communist International and the Russian Soviets. This memorandum was prepared by D. C. Poole, Chief of the Division of Russian Affairs in the State Department, and all the material presented was from original sources, including the utterances of the Bolsheviks themselves, extracts from their party organs and from the official press, wireless messages from the Soviets, and the publications of the Third International.

## FINLAND

The situation in the Baltic States (exclusive of Poland, which is treated elsewhere in these pages) showed little change during the month under review. Finland remained in a state of armed

defense upon her borders, varied by sporadic conflicts with the Finnish Red Guard, many of whom were Bolshevized Finns. The tendency of the Finnish Government was to make peace with Soviet Russia, but only on condition that the Finnish terms, which embraced frontier rectifications, the obtaining of an ice-free port at Petchenga (north of Murmansk) and the taking of a plebiscite in East Karelia, be granted. This policy, as explained by the members of a Finnish political mission sent to England toward the beginning of April, was due to the sentiment that Russia was too powerful a neighbor to make it expedient to continue hostile relations, and also to the urgent necessity for Finland to have a larger food supply. In accordance with this belief Finland took steps late in April to open negotiations for an armistice; but the Soviet authorities, angered, it was said, by the failure of the Krassin commercial delegation to Sweden, refused to stop hostilities. Meanwhile Finland, strengthened by her understanding with Poland, refused to modify her terms, and the relations between the two countries assumed the nature of an impasse.

In Finland itself large labor meetings held on May Day resulted in the adoption of resolutions favoring a general strike. Serious rioting occurred the day before, with many casualties. Details of the March elections, made available on May 2, showed that the Socialist elements of the Government were growing stronger and had recovered the ground lost after the Red and White terrors. Germany had presented a bill of 127,000,000 marks for assistance in the Finnish war of liberation. It was announced from Washington on April 17 that John Reed, the American magazine writer, had been in jail at Abo since his arrest on March 17 for stowing away on an Abo steamer and for being in possession of large sums of money and much Bolshevik literature of various kinds.

## LATVIA

The Lettish negotiations with Soviet Russia, like those of Lithuania, made little headway. This was due partly to the strong showing made by Poland in



the military operations undertaken by that country against the Reds, and partly to the Lettish demands, which the Soviet representatives deemed excessive. The preliminary negotiations for both countries were being held at Moscow in the middle of April. The demands made by Latvia included, besides strategical guarantees, a guarantee of Latvia's independence and the rectification of the Lettish frontier; also an indemnity of 2,000,000,000 rubles for damage done in the war and for railway stock, bank funds, cattle and machinery which the Bolshevik troops carried away. The Letts also asked for a proportionate share of Russia's national gold fund.

The Bolshevik Government was opposed to compensation for war damages, regarding these as a war indemnity which should be waived on both sides. The Letts' claim to Russian national property they proposed to defer for later discussion. They also held that Latvia should give Russia the right to use her ports. By April 30 it had been agreed that Latvia should be independent and that she should take over part of the Russian national debt in exchange for a proportional share of the Russian gold reserve.

The German Government, it was stated at this time, had agreed to pay the Lettish Government the sum of 150,000,000 rubles as an indemnity for damage done by the troops under General Avalov-Bermondtt.

An unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of the Lettish Premier, M. Ulmanis, in April, in the City of Walk. The would-be assassin escaped. This was the third time that M. Ulmanis had been attacked.

## LITHUANIA

Peace negotiations between Lithuania and Soviet Russia were agreed to on April 7. The negotiations began in Moscow on April 15. The independence of Lithuania was agreed to and a delimitation of Lithuanian territory on an ethnographical basis was mapped out. Lithuania insisted on a recognition of her claim to the towns of Vilna and Grodno. The whole question of the Lithuanian frontier dispute with Poland was a vexed one and could not be settled pending the continuance of the Polish offensive on the Soviet front. The temper of the Lithuanian population was dangerous, owing to food scarcity and unsettled conditions, and Bolshevik propaganda was said to be finding here a fertile field.

## The Caucasus Republics

### Azerbaijan Capital Opened to Bolshevik Forces—Threat of Soviet Control of the Whole Caucasus Region

[SEE MAP ON PAGE 509]

**T**HOUGH the main issue before the San Remo Conference was the compulsion of Germany to disarm and to fulfill in other respects the strict letter of the Versailles Treaty, decisions were confirmed regarding the partition of Turkey, and especially the countries lying just to the east of the Mediterranean, which rank in historical importance with the collapse of the Byzantine Empire and the ascendancy of the Turk in Europe. These decisions allowed the Sultan to remain in Constantinople, while stripping him of executive power,

internationalized the straits, gave Smyrna and its hinterland, as well as a strip of the southern coast of Asia Minor, to Greece; authorized Italy to retain the strip of this same coast occupied by its forces, delivered a mandate over Syria to France, a mandate over Mesopotamia to Great Britain, and recognized the existence of an independent Arab State, exclusive of the French Syrian protectorate and the new State of Palestine. This last arrangement was not at all to Arab liking, for Emir Feisal had formed far-reaching plans for

the erection of a Pan-Arab State, including Palestine, Syria and even Lebanon, under his own rule. But neither the claims of France nor those of the Zionists could be disregarded by the allied Premiers.

With regard to the three new republics of the Caucasus—Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan—little could be done at the San Remo Conference either in the way of transforming these "Balkan States of Asia Minor" into a bulwark and buffer-State for Great Britain's rule in Egypt, Mesopotamia and India, or in harmonizing the serious problems arising from conflict between these three uneasy neighbors, and from their relations with the ever-present Turk and the militant Bolsheviks of Russia. The impending invasion of the Caucasus by Soviet forces indicated a secret pact between Russia and Turkey, which had for its object the breaking down of the weak Caucasian barrier between them. By May 8 it was reported that Tiflis had fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviks, and that the seizure of Batum by local Bolshevik adherents was momentarily expected. The ultimate fall of the whole Caucasus region under the power of Moscow seemed inevitable.

## ARMENIA

The situation in Armenia at the time of the sessions at San Remo may be sketched as follows:

Systematic massacres of Armenians by the Turks, Kurds and Tartars had so decimated the Armenian populations in Turkey that many districts had none left. The whole region that used to be known as Armenia, south of the Black Sea, was swept bare of these unfortunate people; 300,000 refugees had fled from the terrible massacres and were crowded on the soil of the Caucasus republic of Armenia, which has its capital at Erivan, and which is the only Armenia politically existent at present. No Armenian could cross the boundary of this little republic and return to his devastated home in Turkish Armenia without danger of death. [For a full account of this situation see article on Page 504.]

Before any decision could be taken by the Allies regarding Armenia, it was necessary to define and delimit its new boundaries. The problem was almost insoluble. Besides the enormous expense entailed in setting up a new Armenia large enough to defend itself, and in forming an army to drive out the Turks in those parts of it which, under the Armenian plans, should be embraced in their new national confines, it was seen to be imperative to afford Armenia constant protection against the aggressions of their Turkish and Tartar neighbors. Only a nation of great financial resources and great political idealism could venture to undertake such a problem in Armenia's interest. The British, French and Italian Premiers, realizing their own inability either to decide what the final borders of the new State should be, or to undertake to maintain them when delimited, passed the dilemma on to the United States. In a joint note to President Wilson they asked that the United States assume a mandate for Armenia, and that he draw the boundaries of the new republic as he should see fit.

Since this note was dispatched, new difficulties have arisen for the Armenians on the soil of their neighbor, Azerbaijan. The population of this Tartar republic are Turks by ethnology, religion and sympathy. They have long been hostile to the Armenians, and a serious quarrel has existed for some time between their Government and that of Armenia over the question of boundaries. The two nationalities in Azerbaijan are desperately intermingled. Armenian villages are found everywhere in the mountains; the Azerbaijani, corresponding to their later arrival as conquerors, occupy the plains. Conflicts between the two peoples have been constant; the Armenians have been attacked, beaten and in many cases massacred. The murder of a Tartar soldier at Shusha, following a street brawl which occurred in March, led to lynchings of Armenians in the provinces of Karabagh and Zangelour. When the official protests of the Armenian Prime Minister and the British High Commissioner at Tiflis proved fruitless, the Armenian Army marched to Karabagh to



defend their persecuted compatriots, attacked on a twelve-mile front, and occupied most of the district. They seized the Tartar Governor, Dr. Sultanov, and brought him to Erivan as a hostage. Fighting ensued and lasted up to the middle of April, when an armistice was arranged. The Azerbaijan Government sent an ultimatum to Armenia on May 1 demanding that the latter withdraw from disputed frontier territory, failing which armed forces would be sent into Armenia. Armenia refused to comply with this ultimatum. The hostile relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan was another aspect of the whole Armenian problem which the allied Premiers at San Remo found it impossible at that time to solve.

## AZERBAIJAN

The pro-Turk attitude of the Azerbaijan Government has long been evident. The Tartar republic, since its inception, has been looked upon as a protégé by the Young Turk and Pan-Turanian extremists, who see here a means of establishing communication with Turkestan and getting a foothold on the Caspian. The immense value of the oil fields around Baku has made the political control of this State additionally desirable. The British did their best to hold Baku, but were compelled, for military reasons, to withdraw their forces. Whether or not the report that a defensive and offensive alliance between the Tartar Government and the Nationalists of Mustapha Kemal was signed at Constantinople in October, 1919, be true, the Turks have never hidden their belief that they had rights over this republic. Since December, 1919, when the Allies recognized the republic, it has assumed more and more a pro-Turkish character.

As a consequence of this affiliation with the Turkish Nationalist and Young Turk parties, a pro-Bolshevist tendency has manifested itself more and more strongly, and the eyes of the Azerbaijani have been turned across the Caucasus to Soviet Russia, cut off from its logical partisans in Transcaucasia by this great natural barrier. The official "Mussavat" Government, however, through reasons of expediency, did not desire to take

this plunge into Bolshevism. Consequently it was overthrown. Moscow wireless advices of May 1 stated that a revolution had taken place, and that the Mussavat Government had been expelled from power. The Azerbaijan Provisional Military Revolutionary Committee had taken over control. Baku was in its hands. The committee had appealed to Moscow for assistance against the Allies and all other enemies. This appeal ended with the following words:

Not having sufficient strength of its own to resist the pressure of the Allies, the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee proposes to the Russian Soviet Republic a brotherly alliance for joint action against the world imperialists, and asks for immediate and real assistance by the dispatch of Red Army detachments.

In consequence of this appeal Russian Bolshevik forces occupied Baku on April 28. All parties met the day before and agreed to place the authority in the hands of the Soviet administration. The Azerbaijan republic was thereupon recognized by the Bolsheviks and the entry of the Red troops, it was declared, brought no abrogation of this agreement. By the occupation of Baku the Bolsheviks obtained control of enormous supplies of oil, which they needed for their industries, and which they planned to convey by means of their fleet on the Volga, via the riverways and canal systems, to the Russian capital.

## GEORGIA

The situation in Georgia in the month under review showed much obscurity. The Government long retained control over the strong Bolshevik factions, and officially refused alliance with Soviet Russia, proclaiming its fixed policy of maintaining its neutral status. Its claim to Batum has not been recognized by the Allies. A strong unofficial army, called the "People's Guard," estimated to consist of 20,000 men and commanded by one Jugeli, a former student of the Moscow University, was said to be the strongest organized force in the country, outrivaling by far the official Georgian Army. Jugeli's ambition was to conquer Batum for Georgia, and it was said that he desired to have Georgia ally herself with Soviet Russia. His attitude,

as well as his power, proved a source of embarrassment to the present Georgian Government.

On May 9 it was reported by Moscow wireless that the Georgian Government,

yielding to Bolshevik pressure, had concluded an alliance with the Moscow Government. Up to the time when these pages went to press this report had not been officially confirmed.

## Status of the Japan-China Dispute

### China Still Refuses to Negotiate

#### JAPAN

IN addition to her suffrage troubles,\* Japan toward the end of April faced new difficulties in respect to finances. An era of feverish speculation by the public led eventually to the closing of three Exchanges. The crash was precipitated by the fall of operators on margins. The stock market was swamped by securities. Tokio Exchange stock dropped 210 points. Baron Takahashi, Minister of Finance, issued a statement on April 16 which cautioned the people against speculation and promised the help of the Bank of Japan to concerns or banks deserving it. Contributing causes of the crash were the tightening of the money market, the loss of gold and the adverse balance of trade. The excess of imports during the first three months of 1920 was \$130,000,000, equal to nearly 50 per cent. of total exports. The Chinese boycott played an important part in the unfavorable trade balance.

This boycott was resolutely continued by the Chinese throughout the month under review. The Chinese Government at Peking, though controlled by the pro-Japanese militarist party, has found itself unable to go counter to the intense national feeling aroused in China by the cession of Shantung Peninsula to the Japanese. In a document drawn up at the request of Premier Chin Yung Peng last March, but killed by the militarist group before it could be presented to the foreign legations in Peking, the exact motives of the present Chinese policy of refusing to negotiate over Shantung are explained. This document sums up

China's condition of negotiation as follows:

The Chinese Government insists that before entering upon negotiations with the Japanese Government, the latter, now at peace with both China and Germany, should cease to occupy the concession of Tsingtao, the Kiaochow leased territory, and the Tsingtao-Tsinan railway and should make unconditional restoration of these concessions and properties to China. If Japan's occupation of Chinese territories and properties were abandoned China would be ready at once to enter into a convention with the powers interested in trade in Shantung, with a view to the internationalization of the port of Tsingtao and of the port's public utilities, the complete control of the customs of the port by the Chinese Inspectorate of Customs, and the flotation of an international loan to repurchase the German shares in the Tsingtao-Tsinan railway, after which it could be incorporated in the Chinese Government railways and its management placed under international supervision. \* \* \*

Having frankly stated its present attitude toward the Shantung question, which the Japanese Government is now desirous of settling through direct negotiations, the Chinese Government expresses an earnest desire that an opportunity may be afforded to bring the whole question before an international tribunal to be judged according to international law and equity.

This attitude of China, voicing completely the sentiment of the people, the Japanese have found themselves thus far utterly unable to shake. Repeated overtures have encountered only passive resistance, delay and a clear intention not to negotiate. That the Japanese are equally determined that the Chinese Government shall negotiate is obvious. Late in April the Japanese Foreign Office instructed Minister Obata again to make official overtures for discussion of the return of Shantung to China direct. Foreign Minister Uchida explained to

\*See *Current History* for May.



the Cabinet on April 23 that the period of three months after the signing of the Versailles Treaty prescribed for the vesting of Germany's former rights in Japan had elapsed on April 9. The representations of the Japanese Ambassador, like all other previous attempts to bring about discussion, met with failure, and the tide of popular feeling against Japan, expressed particularly by the boycott, ran high in China through April and May. This feeling has even spread to the Chinese residents in other lands—in San Francisco, on May 8, a huge bonfire was lighted in the Chinese quarter and fed with thousands of dollars' worth of Japanese imported goods, including silks and other fineries.

## CHINA

Thomas W. Lamont of the American group of financiers negotiating, in concert with British, French and Japanese representatives, with the Peking Government for a loan of \$50,000,000 or more to China, stated on May 1 as he left for Tokio that China's repudiation of the German issues of the Hukuan Railway bond coupons was a serious obstacle to further loans being made to China and that he had so warned the Chinese Government. The development of the Hukuan Railway on a large scale was among the main considerations of the consortium, Mr. Lamont pointed out. Japan, he intimated, was ready to withdraw its reservations with regard to Manchuria and Mongolia, which had long been a stumbling block in the way of the proposed consortium.

This withdrawal was officially announced in Tokio on May 7. A two years' effort by the United States Government to provide for the financing of China by representative groups of bankers in each of the four countries mentioned above was thus crowned with success. Japan had long contended that Manchuria and Mongolia should be excluded from the operation of the consortium because of her special rights and concessions in these provinces. The United States had refused to consent to

this exclusion. By the terms of the agreement concluded, Japan will have the right to object to loans for any work which she feels will jeopardize her national life or vitally affect her sovereignty. Under this head would fall the construction of railroads in certain sections of China, particularly Manchuria. All loans made by the banking groups, which in the United States include thirty-seven banks in all parts of the country, must be approved by the State Department. The same procedure will be followed in the other countries. After full discussion in Japan, Mr. Lamont stated that the Japanese understanding of the project had been much clarified.

China, like Japan, is having her internal troubles, but far more serious and long standing. The lawlessness of the Tuchuns and of their unpaid armies, the inability of the Southern and Northern Government to reach a settlement of the civil war that has so long kept the country in a state of anarchy, with dissensions in the Governments of both sections, have conspired to destroy inward peace. Wu Ting-fang, former Minister of Finance in the Canton Government, was restrained through an injunction issued on April 15 by the British Court of Shanghai from collecting a large sum in Government moneys deposited in his own name at the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank. Fierce factional fighting occurred toward the end of April in the Anhui district of South China. More than 1,000 people were killed, and the soldiers were raiding the country, while the people fled from their homes. New conflicts were preparing. In Northern China students' demonstrations and the anti-Japanese boycotting activities of the students' and merchants' associations continued.

As stated elsewhere in this issue, the Chinese official Government made no reply to the Russian Soviet Government's proposals of an alliance, and its attitude, as between the Japanese and Bolshevik forces in Siberia, has been professedly one of neutrality.

# CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

## With the Best Cartoons of the Month From Many Nations

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 15, 1920]

### LORD KITCHENER'S DEATH

SIR GEORGE ARTHUR'S "Life of Lord Kitchener," which recently appeared in London, gives a full and interesting account of the career of one of England's greatest soldiers. The dominating position which Kitchener of Khartum occupied in the military and political counsels of his country, his long and memorable service abroad, in Palestine, Cyprus, Egypt, South Africa and India;

[POLISH CARTOON]



—Mucha, Warsaw

### SENTENCED FOR ETERNITY

WILHELM (to the Entente): "I will never become your prisoner"

SATAN (to Wilhelm): "Nor will you ever cease to be mine"

the important part he played in the early stages of the World War as War Secretary—all lent to his tragic death off the Scottish coast in 1917 the aspect of a national disaster. In Sir George Arthur's work the events leading up to that tragedy are made available.

Things were going badly in Russia in the Spring of 1917 and the Czar had sent word in May that he would like to have Lord Kitchener visit his country to see conditions for himself. Kitchener consented and it was decided that he should embark at Scapa Flow—a place now doubly historic—for Archangel on June 5. After lunching with Lord Jellicoe in Scapa Flow, he went on board the Hampshire—the ship which was to carry him to Archangel. The subsequent course of events is recounted by Kitchener's biographer as follows:

The wind at Scapa that day had been northeasterly and the Admiral, with intent to make the passage to the northward as easy as possible, directed that the Hampshire should proceed on what, with that wind, would be the lee side of the Orkneys and Shetlands. By an unhappy error of judgment an unswept channel was chosen for the passage of the cruiser, and Kitchener—the secret of whose journey had been betrayed—was to fall into the machinations of England's enemies and die swiftly at their hands.

At 5 o'clock the Hampshire steamed from the Grand Fleet to her doom. She sped forward so fast and under such stress of weather that the destroyers who formed her titular escort turned about, leaving the vessel to her fate. When the crash came—the death-knell of all but some thirteen souls on board—Kitchener was resting, reading in his cabin. He was summoned thence by the Captain and was seen standing on the deck looking outward, Fitzgerald faithful at his side.

Nothing is known of what then happened to him—little, indeed, comes within just surmise. One thing is certain—that



the brave eyes, which had faced so many difficult and dangerous passages in life, looked steadily in the face of death.

\* \* \*

#### TUNNEL UNDER ENGLISH CHANNEL

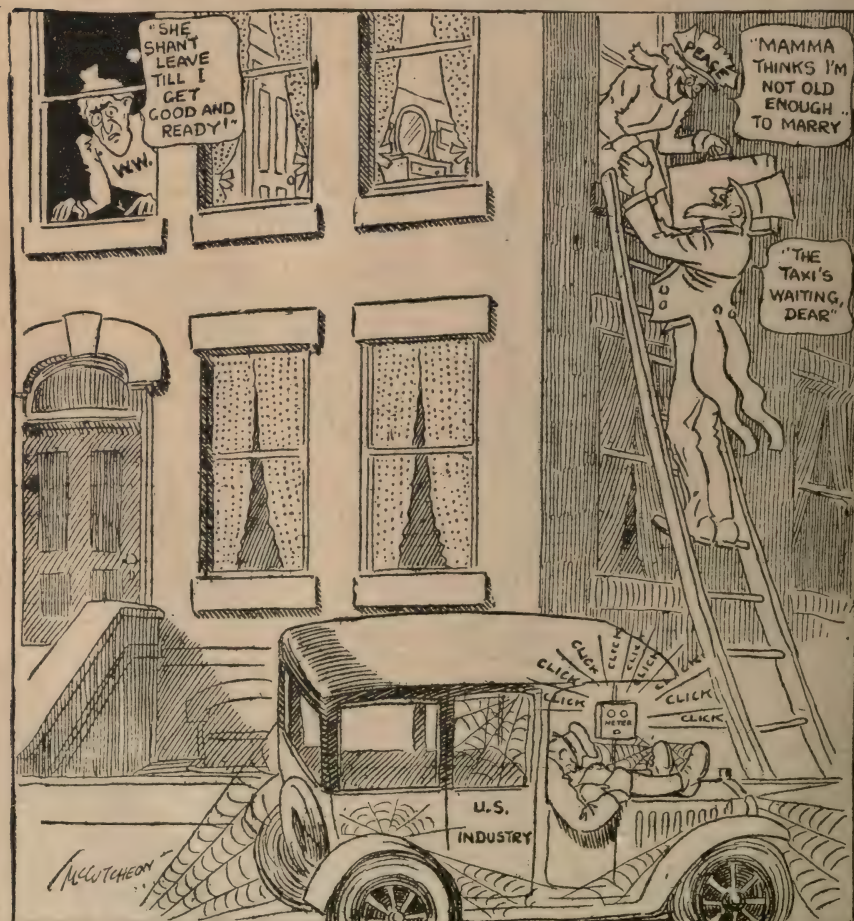
A PROJECT which for half a century was considered as fantastic—the linking of Great Britain and France by means of a tunnel underneath the English Channel—is at last to be realized and official authorization has been given to competent experts to begin the work.

More than a hundred years ago the French engineer, Mathieu, proposed to Napoleon Bonaparte the construction of such a tunnel. Nothing was done, but

the idea was again taken up—this time under Napoleon III.—by the Belgian, Thomé de Gammond, and by Caillaux, the father of the ex-Premier of France, the story of whose trial appears elsewhere in this issue. De Gammond's appeal for support was answered on both sides of the Channel and societies to further the undertaking were formed. The advent of the Franco-Prussian war put a sudden stop to these activities.

In 1875 the French Tunnel Society resumed the interrupted labors, and even erected at Sangatte, south of Calais, a factory which is still in existence. It made more than 7,000 soundings and

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



WHILE THE TAXI WAITS

—© Chicago Tribune

finally constructed an under-water gallery nearly 2,000 meters in length. A similar tunnel was dug from the English side of the Channel. The great project seemed to be near realization. Suddenly the spectre of invasion aroused a wave of opposition to the scheme in England. An anonymous pamphlet representing Dover as invaded by disguised soldiers increased the public commotion, which rose to such proportions that when the contracting companies presented the bills for authorization the Parliamentary committee refused to approve them and recommended that the work be abandoned.

Again in 1906 it seemed as though the

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—The New York World

BOGUS

long-deferred dream would be realized; but the hopes based on the entente cordiale did not materialize and a new war came to interrupt the project. Too late, after Great Britain had joined

hands with France against the German danger, did the two allied nations regret that the scheme had not been fulfilled and realize the innumerable advantages which the existence of such a tunnel would have brought to the common cause. The lessons of the great upheaval, however, were not forgotten, and Bonar Law was finally able to announce the

[ENGLISH CARTOON]



—The Star, London

"TICKLE, TICKLE!"

official consent of Great Britain to have the work carried through to completion. Sir Francis Fox, engineer of the English company, was made Director of the work in collaboration with M. Sartinaux, Director General of the French company. Both of these experts have published detailed studies of the projected plans.

According to these plans the tunnel will consist of two cylinders at a depth of 50 feet and 32 miles in length. Electricity will furnish the power and the ventilation. A military guard is con-



templated. It is stated that the entire work can be completed within four years. If no further obstacles intervene, political or otherwise, Great Britain will cease to be an island in 1924.

\* \* \*

#### HOSTILE TRIBES IN HINDUSTAN

**T**HE revolts stirred up against the British in India by Bolshevik emissaries have been particularly grave on the northwestern frontier, where, for over six months, the British Indian forces have waged war against the Pathan tribes defying capture on the inaccessible peaks of Hindu-Koosh. This natural fortress is cut by only three passes, and only two of these, the Khyber and Kurram Passes, are large enough for an army to pass. All invasions, from prehistoric to modern times, have depended on the forcing of one or the other of these defiles.

Hindu-Koosh, more than any other region of India, has been affected by its geographical location. Every valley, or group of valleys, is settled by a special race. Here are found black tribes, descendants of the first inhabitants of India; white tribes, Aryans who came originally from Bactriana and dominated the blacks, and who have degenerated into a condition approaching savagery; yellow tribes, with high cheek bones and slanting eyes; Semitic tribes whose ancestors were deported by the Assyrian Kings to Mesopotamia, and who fled eastward to escape further oppressions; Greek tribes, descendants of soldiers of the army of Alexander the Great, which invaded India through the Khyber Pass.

The only common trait which all these diverse tribes possess is the love of fighting, either among themselves or against the peaceful populations of the adjoining plain. The most belligerent, as well as the most powerful of all the tribes, says a contributor to *Les Annales*, is that

of the Afridis, who number some 300,000, and who live in fortified villages built in inaccessible valleys and defended in purely mediaeval style by a system of outer and inner walls, with a central tower of refuge and last defense. Formerly Zoroastrians by religion, according to the tradition, they are now fanatic Islamites. The men are tall and strongly built, with fine features. They wear their hair long upon their shoulders. In the past fifteen years, thanks to the connivance of Ger-

#### [GERMAN CARTOON]



—Jugend, Munich

#### THE LAST

**TAX DRAGON:** "And, for the fig leaf, in addition to import duty you must also pay luxury tax"

man agents, they have obtained modern rifles, and in the last year they have obtained through the Bolshevik large supplies of smokeless powder. Dressed in stone-colored tunics, their sharpshooters, practically invisible, decimate from their rocky fastnesses the marching columns of the Indian Government on the plain below.

The Afridis, as well as others of these hostile tribes, represent one of the greatest problems with which the British Government has to deal. All means to pacify these rebellious folk have failed: bomb-

ing airplanes have merely drawn their fire and affrighted them not at all. Owing to their incorrigible treachery, attempts to make peace with them have proved equally ineffectual, and many an English officer has been ambuscaded and slain by them after the conclusion of an armistice. Emboldened by Bolshevikist propaganda, they represent a menace to

England's power and prestige in India which the British themselves have little disposition to deny.

\* \* \*

#### MEMOIRS OF VON HINDENBURG

THE bulky volume of Field Marshal von Hindenburg's war memoirs is of value chiefly for the light which it throws on the mentality of the Prussian

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



'RAUS MIT HIM!

—San Francisco Chronicle



of the old school. A careful reading of this whole autobiography makes it easier to understand why von Hindenburg, and not von Tirpitz or Ludendorff, became the national idol of the German people. The London Telegraph says in this connection:

These memoirs show us better than any other literary fruit of the war the legendary figure of the Prussian officer of the departed type, in all his strength, yet in his essential quality as a born enemy of freedom and a standing danger

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Central Press Association

THE POWER BEHIND THE THRONE

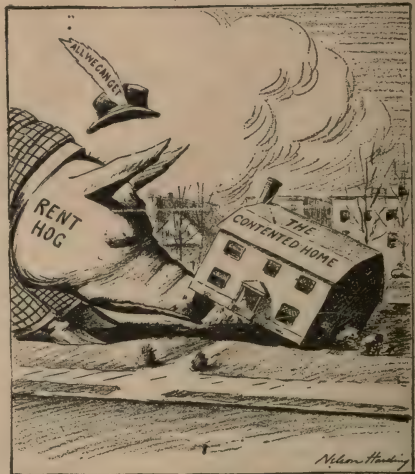
to Europe. That Germany, in a state of war, should have made such a man its demigod was a natural consequence of German history, tradition and mental training. The very nature of the man inspired confidence in the people, bitterly needed as it was while the soldiers and statesmen of the new Germany were screaming feverishly at their country's enemies, and plotting against one another round the throne of a ruler who embodied all that was weak in the new militarism, as Hindenburg embodied all that was powerful in the old.

The feeling of Germany for von Hindenburg, adds the same critic, is one for which popularity is an utterly inadequate term. He has been idolized—even literally, as in Berlin's colossal image of wood—as no other German military leader ever was by a race for which its great soldiers were always the favorite

objects of hero-worship; for what Frederick the Great was to Prussia, Hindenburg has been to all Germany. Yet others showed themselves not only more furious haters, but more formidable enemies of Great Britain than Hindenburg. Von Tirpitz and the other fosterers of the submarine warfare did far more damage to the Entente than von Hindenburg ever did in the field. The real military dictator was Ludendorff, not von Hindenburg. Yet neither von Tirpitz nor Ludendorff was ever idolized, and both now rest under a cloud of opprobrium, while von Hindenburg remains the popular idol which he had been ever since his victory at Tannenberg in the early stages of the war.

What is the explanation? Tannenberg began his fame, but his victories in East Prussia contributed greatly to increase it. The Russian invasion of this district was the only invasion of German soil that took place during the war, and its

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



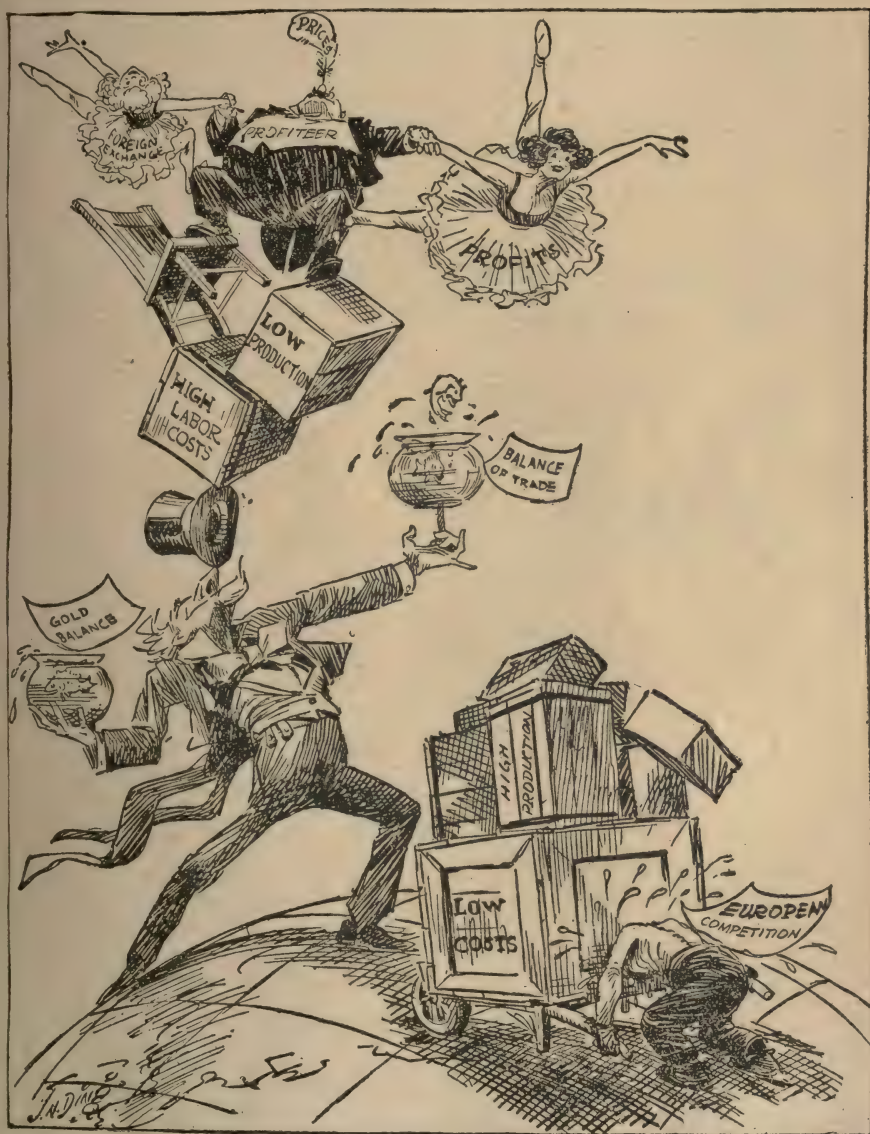
—Brooklyn Eagle

ROOTING IT UP

occurrence at the very beginning appalled the German people. The feeling of relief and of gratitude to von Hindenburg, when he repelled this danger, can be easily understood. The savage power with which Samsonov's army was annihilated aroused only pride and jubilation.

But the true explanation of Hin-

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—© New York Tribune

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WHEN THEY MEET?



denburg's popularity is that he belongs to the heroic age of German militarism; to the generation which built up, with iron and blood, what the present generation was to bring to nothing by the same barbarous means. He embodied the spirit of 1870, and all that was admired in it. His personal character was a symbol; he was a junker of junkers, believing only in force and Prussia's destiny to dominate the whole world. These beliefs he combined with religious conviction, honesty, simplicity. Hindenburg, the creation and

### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Cincinnati Post

### HOW MUCH MORE WILL IT STAND?

the slave of a barbarous ideal, could say more truly than any of his contemporaries: "Throughout my life and conduct, my criterion has been, not the approval of the world, but my inward conviction, duty and conscience."

\* \* \*

### SHORTAGE OF UNSKILLED LABOR

THE Interracial Council declared toward the end of April that American industries were short from 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 unskilled workers as a result of dwindling immigration during the war. This statement was given out by the President of the council in answer to statistics issued at Ellis Island tending to show that emigration from

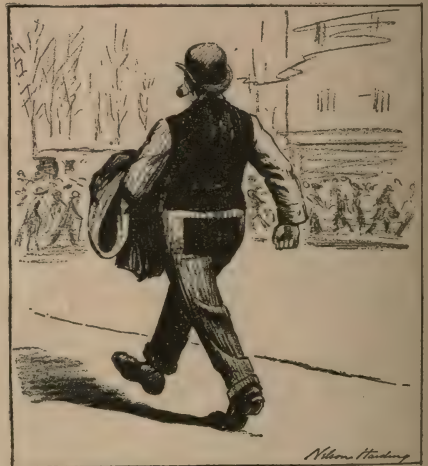
America had been offset by immigration. It said in part:

For the twenty-two white races supplying unskilled labor, chiefly in the iron and steel mills, textile factories, railroads, farms and construction work, the official figures show that 68,790 came into this country and 166,925 went out, and of these coming 38,000 were Mexicans, who did not relieve the labor market except in three Southern States. Eliminating Mexicans, we have a total of 30,000 unskilled immigrant workmen and their families. This demonstrates that approximately five times as many unskilled male immigrant workers left this country from November, 1918, to October, 1919, as came in during that period.

In view of the fact that there has been no official survey to determine accurately the extent of the shortage of unskilled workers, the Interracial Council holds to its estimate of a shortage of from 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 immigrant workers, which is borne out by a close study of conditions and by inquiry among the industries in the country.

One important reservoir of labor supply—Italy—is still being generously tapped. Some 13,000 Italians left their homes

### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Brooklyn Eagle

### THE NEW BADGE OF COURAGE

for the United States in January, 17,000 in February and 50,000 were forced to await later steamers. In March more than 29,000 were granted visés. The American Consulates in Genoa, Trieste, Palermo and Naples, even now, are being besieged by applicants. Italy apparently

is quite willing to speed at least one element of this strong outflowing tide. Speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, Signor Treven, a Socialist Deputy, said on April 15: "The police would like to sweep out these people (the Reds) as quickly as possible while there are no restrictions." The reasons given are two: Italy, by emigration, hopes to reduce the army of the unemployed, and also to rid the country of its anarchistic and turbu-

lent elements. This summarizes a situation which may have far-reaching importance for the United States.

\* \* \*

#### HUMAN LIFE AND AUTOMOBILES

**S**TARTLING revelations are made in a report published by the National Safety Council. The conclusion reached is that "the automobile, as much because of the carelessness of pedestrians as of drivers, is now the deadliest ma-

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—San Francisco Chronicle

BUT YOU CAN'T MAKE HIM DRINK



"chine in America, and, unless quick and "decisive action is taken, is destined to "become even more deadly, because of "its rapidly increasing popularity." According to the mortality report of the Census Bureau, supplemented by available statistics from other sources, automobile accidents in recent years have resulted in approximately one-half the number of deaths caused by industrial accidents of all sorts. In Chicago 420 persons were killed in automobile accidents during 1919; in Cleveland, 136; in St. Louis, 97; in New York, 677, including 191 children under 15 years of age. In Rochester, N. Y., as many deaths were caused by automobile accidents as by street cars, railroads and industrial accidents combined. "Even more alarming than "these statistics," says the report, "is the fact that in "almost every case a comparison, year by year, of "the number of automobile "deaths and the number of "automobiles in use indicates "that the deaths are increasing in almost exact mathematical ratio with the increase in number of automobiles." In 1910 there were 400,000 automobiles in the United States, and out of every 100,000 population during that year an average of two and one-third persons were killed by automobiles.

In 1917 there were 3,000,000 automobiles in use, and an average of nine and one-sixth persons were killed out of the same unit of population. In 1920 it is estimated that 9,000,000 automobiles and trucks will be in use. It remains to be seen whether the average of fatal accidents will mount to 27 in 100,000 population.

\* \* \*

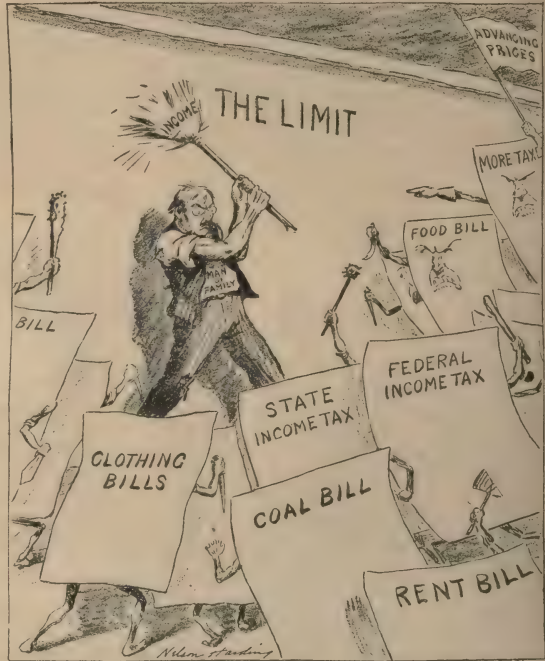
#### AN ALL-MOSLEM TRAINING SCHOOL

A WRITER in The London Daily News, while on a recent visit to Cairo, heard Egypt described as the junction of the Mohammedan world. This definition, on investigation, proved to be some-

thing more than a clever phrase; he found that Egypt was regarded as the true centre of Islam, as the spot where the prophet proclaimed his faith. And the nerve centre of this universal Moslem life he found to be El Azhar.

This world-university for Moslem students, situated in Cairo, is being attended by from 15,000 to 16,000 students, coming from India, Palestine, Syria,

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Brooklyn Eagle

#### WITH HIS BACK TO THE WALL

Morocco, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, Turkey and Afghanistan. Unlike ordinary students, they believe in mass intervention in politics, as their recent strike against the presence of the Milner Commission demonstrated. The potential importance, as well as the actual significance of this large body of young Mohammedans, is declared by this writer to be great. At El Azhar future agents of revolt against Great Britain, with her great Asiatic possessions, or against whatever European nation may be in control of a given student's country—be it Afghanistan, Algeria, or Morocco—are being constant-

ly sent out, to become new propagators of the social unrest and spirit of rebellion with which Egypt now seethes. The rôle which the Cairo university is playing should not be overlooked, declares this writer: it is actually a training centre of Pan-Mohammedanism, for "when you say the students of Cairo, you mean the youth of every Mohammedan country in the world."

\* \* \*

#### THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

**MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN**, United States Minister to Denmark from 1907 to 1918, recently explained the circumstances of the sale of the Virgin Islands to the United States in 1917.

Denmark was not, he said, eager to sell the islands. It was her "poverty, but not her will," which urged her to part reluctantly with the Danish West Indies for the sum of \$25,000,000.

The necessity of mobilization, due to fears of a German invasion, was costing the little country enormous sums of money. To these expenditures had been added the outlays for maintaining hospitals and providing for the comfort of the people. The buying power of Danish money had decreased. Danish agriculture in 1917, owing to the stoppage of fertilizers from the United States, Russia and other countries, was almost at a standstill, unable to overcome unaided "one

[A AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Des Moines Capital

CABINET MEETINGS RESUMED



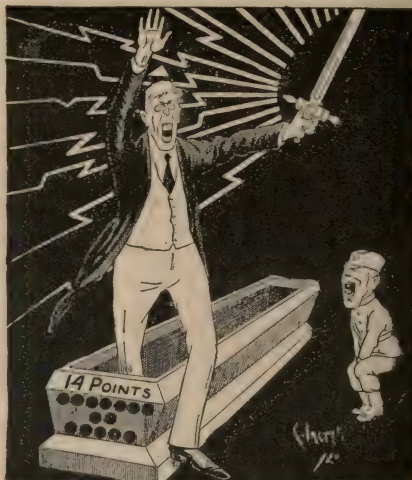
of the worst climates and worst soils of the world." Denmark's fats were decreasing; her cows and hogs were in danger of dying from starvation. To have a credit of \$25,000,000 in the United States was so tempting an offer at this time that the Danish Government found it impossible to refuse.

The motive of the United States in acquiring these non-supporting and—in themselves—insignificant bits of ocean territory was obvious. They were far more necessary to this country from a military point of view than even the Galapagos. Commercial considerations did not enter into the purchase in any

that they ought to be made to pay, that they ought not to become a financial burden; but first of all, we should consider, following our own example in the Philippines, the well-being of the inhabitants of these islands, whom, with the territory in which they live, we so benevolently assimilated.

Hope was expressed by Mr. Egan that a report on these islands soon to be presented by Senator Kenyon would stir

#### [ITALIAN CARTOON]



—Il 420, Florence

#### WILSON RE-ENTERS THE FIUME FIGHT

[When President Wilson recovered from his illness and sent his new Fiume note, the Italian press, which has become very hostile to him, published this cartoon, showing Yugoslavia crying, "Hail: Hail! Our savior is resurrected!"]

Congress to take adequate action to remedy the unfavorable conditions referred to.

\* \* \*

#### MR. KEYNES ON PEACE

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES, the official representative of the British Treasury at the Paris Peace Conference, resigned on June 7, 1919, because he had given up hope of any substantial modification in the draft terms of peace, which he strongly disapproved on economic grounds. His book on the economic consequences of this peace, which has recently appeared in England and the United

#### [A AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Brooklyn Eagle

#### OVER THE TOP

degree. As to the effect of the change of administration, Mr. Egan said:

One of the reasons for the opposition [to the sale] among the Danish philanthropists was that the inhabitants of these islands would fare worse under American than under Danish rule; and they have. \* \* \* The present condition of the island is, if we may judge from trustworthy reports, deplorable. It is true

States, was written as an apologia for his action in resigning, and as a warning for the future. An example of Mr. Keynes's skill in description may be found in his pen-picture of M. Clemenceau:

At the Council of Four he wore a square-tailed coat of very good, thick black broadcloth, and on his hands, which

were never uncovered, gray suede gloves: his boots were of thick black leather, very good, but of a country style, and sometimes fastened in front, curiously, by a buckle instead of laces. \* \* \* He spoke seldom, leaving the initial statement of the French case to his Ministers or officials; he closed his eyes often, and sat back in his chair with an impassive face of parchment, his gray-gloved hands

[ENGLISH CARTOON]



—The Passing Show, London

THE BREAKING POINT?



clasped in front of him. A short sentence, decisive or cynical, was generally sufficient, a question, an unqualified abandonment of his Ministers, whose face would not be saved, or a display of obstinacy reinforced by a few words in a piquantly delivered English. \* \* \* My last and most vivid impression is of \* \* \* the President (Mr. Wilson) and the British Prime Minister as the centre of a surging mob, and a babel of sound, a welter of eager impromptu compromises, all sound and fury signifying nothing, the great issues of the morning's meeting forgotten

and aloofness, and that he was not much concerned about the rest. It was the tenacity of Clemenceau that was mainly responsible for President Wilson's gradual compromises on positions that he had originally cherished most, thinks Mr. Keynes, though the President came through all the barter and argument convinced to the end that he had been true to his ideals. To Mr. Keynes the tragedy of the treaty lies in the fact that the

[ENGLISH CARTOON]



—The Star, London

### A MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE

and neglected; and of Clemenceau, silent and aloof on the outskirts—for nothing which touched the security of France was forward-throned, in his gray gloves, on the brocade chair, surveying the scene with a cynical and almost impish air; and when at last silence was restored, and the company had returned to their places, it was to discover that he had disappeared.

Mr. Keynes emphasizes throughout his book that M. Clemenceau got what he wanted for France, despite his silence

necessary alertness to overcome political chicaneries was not attained, nor even approximated. As an economist he takes the position that the basis of economics was almost utterly overwhelmed by "the weaving of that web of sophistry and Jesuitical exegesis that was finally to clothe with insincerity the language and substance of the whole treaty." He cites examples of language that he considers deliberately intended to confuse. He

then proceeds to erect his argument against the treaty on the basis of his statistics.

The gist of his conclusions, based on these statistics, is that, including all methods of payment—immediately transferable wealth, ceded property, and an annual tribute—£2,000,000,000 is a safe maximum figure of Germany's capacity to pay," and yet, he points out, the demand of the victors is for three or four times this amount.

This critic proposes that the demands for reparation be lessened so as to come

are in continuous warfare with the nationalist Arabs and the nationalist Turks, when the Bolsheviks have entered Baku and the Georgians are trembling before the menace of a Soviet invasion of Batum, is not what might be called a haven of safety for man or woman. The conditions of anarchy prevailing have recently been emphasized in a most dramatic way. The French packet *Souirah* left Batum on May 6, en route to Marseilles. The steamer was crowded with refugees, fleeing from the uninterrupted advance of the Bolshevik tide into the

Caucasus. Most of them had converted their property into money to avoid confiscation by the Bolshevik leaders. Among these refugees was Mrs. Haskell, wife of Colonel William Haskell, Director General of American Relief in the Near East, and other ladies whose husbands have been connected with relief work in Armenia.

At 9 o'clock on the night of May 6 fifteen unknown men, who wore black masks and were apparently Russians, sprang up from various parts of the ship, where they had been booked either as passengers or as members of the crew, covered officers and passengers with revolvers and shouted warnings that they would kill any one who resisted them. For two hours they were busy robbing every one of cash and jewels.

Mrs. Haskell saved \$20,000 in cash by hiding it in a waste-water receptacle in her cabin, but all her other money and \$2,000 in jewels were taken from her. All the cabins were searched repeatedly. The pirates' guard over the wireless prevented the flashing of appeals to the allied warships cruising in the vicinity of Batum. Until 2 o'clock the next morning the passengers were terrorized, while the pirates forced the steamer to continue its way on a route dictated by themselves. Finally they went ashore in boats which they compelled the crew to man. The whole raid was evidently

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland  
**"HERE'S YOUR KAPP, WHAT'S YOUR HURRY?"**

within what he considers Germany can actually pay; that the treaty clauses relating to coal be modified, and provision for an exchange of iron ore be made so as to permit German industry to continue, and that a Free Trade Union be formed under the League of Nations.

\* \* \*

#### PIRACY IN THE BLACK SEA

**T**HE Transcaucasus region in these days, when Armenia and Azerbaijan are at swords' points, when Armenians are being massacred by the Azerbaijanis and the Turks alike, when the French



carefully planned and worked out with the greatest efficiency.

\* \* \*

### THE "RED TERROR OF FALKENSTEIN"

THE capture and imprisonment of Max Hölz, the "Red Robber Baron of Saxony," ended a picturesque criminal career more suited to the Middle Ages than to the twentieth century. Hölz was a German Communist of the Spartacan type, who undertook to run amuck

[ITALIAN CARTOON]



—L'Asino, Rome

### AFTER THE KAPP FIASCO

GERMAN MILITARISM (peeping out): "Bad weather! it is better to go in and be dead again—for the present"

against modern civilization by becoming a robber baron of the mediaeval sort, seizing Falkenstein Castle in Saxony as the base for his bandit raids and gathering about him a force of about 5,000 men, many of them returned soldiers influenced by Bolshevik propaganda. With this small army he became a scourge to the whole region, until he was finally driven across the Czechoslovak boundary, where the Czechs promptly arrested and imprisoned him on April 20.

At the height of his sway in Saxony this up-to-date bandit made raids on the smaller towns near Falkenstein Castle, burning the homes and destroying the property of all who refused to join his "army." His greatest exploit was that of demanding a tribute of 100,000 marks weekly from Plauen, the chief manufacturing town of that district. All the principal men were locked up, and the whole town was placed under guard by the outlaws until the first installment was paid.

After this feat Hölz decided that the climate elsewhere would be more conducive to long life, and, taking all his treasure, he started for Czechoslovakia in an automobile. But some of his duped followers, furious at his desertion of them, went in pursuit and helped to

[ITALIAN CARTOON]



—L'Asino, Rome

### AT THE ODDS-AND-ENDS SHOP

"Take this, Sir; it is so rare"

"Rare?"

"Very rare; it contains the Fourteen Points, which even the author does not remember"

hasten his journey; barely had he crossed the frontier when he was seized by Czech soldiers and imprisoned at Eger, near Carlsbad. Hölz is a small, lithe, dark-complexioned man, extremely energetic, of great calmness and assurance, a fluent

and effective public speaker. He had previously been a moving-picture lecturer. He was apparently a convinced Communist of the extreme type. His exploits became notorious all over Germany, and the German press gave him much attention.

\* \* \*

#### DYNASTIC MARRIAGE FOR PRINCE CAROL

**T**HE love romance of Prince Carol of Rumania, who married Miss Lambrino, daughter of a Rumanian General,

[GERMAN-SWISS CARTOON]



—Nebelspalter, Zurich

#### GERMAN MICHEL'S BOOTS

"I can polish them as much as I like—but I can't wear them."

in defiance of the wishes of his parents and the Ministry, and who was placed under arrest for desertion from his regiment, while his marriage was declared null and void, was supposed to have been definitely settled by the Prince's letter to the Rumanian Cabinet renouncing his right to the throne in favor of his younger brother Nicola. But the Queen

mother refused to accept this solution in view of the fact that Nicola was a weak and delicate boy, and that Rumania could not afford royal matrimonial escapades at a time when the country was just out of an expensive war, and surrounded by enemies watching for a chance to get back what the Peace of Versailles had given her. Queen, Parliament and Ministers therefore worked together once more, and finally persuaded Prince Carol to withdraw the letter

in which he had renounced his royal rights and to promise to marry a Princess which the Rumanian Government should choose for him. In consenting to this plan he reaffirmed his love for the woman who has been his wife for a year or more.

\* \* \*

#### DEATH OF BISSOLATI

**L**eonida BISSOLATI, whose funeral was held in Rome on May 8, had been a picturesque figure, a man of robust intellect, virtually the leader of the Socialist Party in Italy for many years. An ardent patriot, whose slogan was "Political honesty and love of country," he won the esteem of all, irrespective of party, and his writings and speeches were always received with the greatest respect. His work and teaching as editor of the Socialist paper *Avanti* did much to contribute to the complete democratization of the Italian Nation. A man of strong convictions, Bissolati left his party with the rise of the new and

irresponsible Socialist element in Italy and elsewhere. His belief in political evolution, as against revolution, made it impossible for him to support the violent upheavals advocated by the Bolshevik apostles of the party of which he had been the soul for many years. Bissolati was an enthusiastic supporter of the allied cause during the



war. He worked to induce Italy to enter the conflict, voted for it in the Chamber, which he had entered twenty years before, fought in the army as a Sergeant of the Alpini, though already past 50 years of age, and abandoned the field only after receiving a severe wound.

Signor Bissolati's resignation from the Orlando Cabinet in December, 1918, marked his condemnation of the ultranationalist policy represented by Sonnino, which ended in the rupture of Italy with her allies at the Peace Conference in Paris. Much blamed for his withdrawal, hooted and heckled in Milan, Bissolati awaited his justification from time. A bare six months sufficed to prove to Italy the clarity of his political vision.

In character Bissolati was lovable; in dress and manner simple. His soft, wide-brimmed hat was as much a part of his exterior personality as "Uncle Joe" Cannon's inevitable cigar, and seems about to pass into the Italian language as a hat "alla Bissolati."

\* \* \*

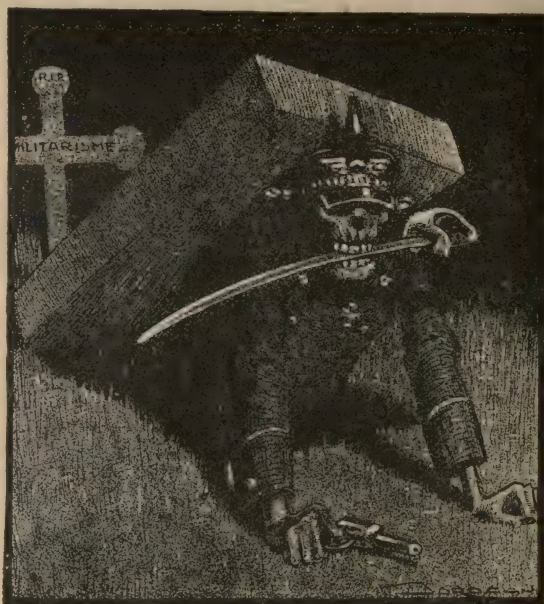
#### ADVICE OF BRITAIN'S NEW ENVOY

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, the new British Ambassador to the United States, arrived at New York on April 19 with Lady Geddes and was met by British diplomatic officials. Threats made by the Irish women pickets in Washington and fears of other Irish demonstrations led to the decision to take the new Ambassador off the ship at the Quarantine Station. Before he landed he received a bouquet of roses from the sky as a token of welcome. The flowers were dropped by a young woman war worker, Miss Florence Parbury, who flew over the ship in an airplane. Irish demonstrators, who arrived with banners at the pier to make a demonstration, were disappointed to learn that the Ambassador had already been taken off and

eventually dispersed with no attempt to parade their banners.

The Ambassador, in a statement given out on arriving, said that he looked on his appointment as the highest honor, as he believed that the hope of world peace depended on mutual respect and harmony between Great Britain and America. Asserting that his country was the defender of the oppressed and the bearer of progress, he took occasion to discuss

#### [DUTCH CARTOON]



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

#### RESURRECTION OF MILITARISM IN GERMANY

briefly Great Britain's difficulties with Ireland. In this connection he said:

The British Government, after careful study of the Irish question, is convinced that now the only hope of ending that centuries-old distemper is to place fairly and squarely on the shoulders of Irishmen in Ireland the constitutional responsibility of finding for themselves within the framework of the British Empire the solution for their political differences.

The new Home Rule bill, which passed its second reading in the British House of Commons by a great majority on March 31, is designed with intention to

secure that end. When it becomes operative it will be the duty of all British subjects who are not domiciled in Ireland to stand aside and leave those who live there to solve their problem. I venture to add that it will also be helpful if the many in all parts of the world who are not British subjects, but are interested in Ireland, likewise stand aside and leave the Irish in Ireland to grapple with their own political difficulties.

Another subject discussed by Sir Auckland was the project of resuming trade with Soviet Russia. He denied that Great Britain was seeking her own selfish interests in this policy, and declared that she was working in close co-operation with the United States on behalf of the economic needs of the entire world.

\* \* \*

#### LANSBURY ON BOLSHEVIKI

SOON after his return from Soviet Russia, where he went to investigate conditions, Mr. Lansbury, a prominent representative of British Trades

#### [ENGLISH CARTOON]



—Sunday Chronicle, Manchester

#### THE HARP THAT ONCE, &C.

LYDD GEORGE: "Now, here's the music; let's have a little harmony"

Unionism and Socialism, described some of his experiences to a large audience of London Bolsheviki on March 21. He had never been so proud and happy, he

said, as when he crossed the border and got among these men and women—"my friends." He then went on to admit that his belief that the stories of Bolshevik atrocities were without foundation had been a mistaken one. In this connection he said:

I am not now of opinion that people who come back from Russia and tell stories of atrocities are simply lying. I have heard so much on both sides. I am

#### [DUTCH CARTOON]



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

#### SPRING IN EUROPE

"Confound it! I sowed helmets, not liberty caps!"

now quite certain that, irrespective of the leaders on either side, a very great many atrocities have definitely been committed. But I am convinced that the Central Government in Russia has done more to put down terrorism than any



other Government in similar circumstances could be expected to do.

Dealing with the alleged persecution of religion, he admitted that he had seen a poster near the Kremlin with the words: "Religion is the opium of the People." But, he said:

It all depends on what you mean by religion. I do not think that religion any more than Socialism is a matter of organization and words. It is a matter of spirit and deed. There is perfect freedom in Russia. The Government has disestablished and disendowed the Church. In Russia they have done to the Greek Church exactly what Clemenceau

compel every able-bodied citizen to work or starve. No Socialist, he declared, could logically object to the application of this principle, especially in Russia, ravaged by famine and pestilence. Groups of peasants and workers were still organizing and managing local food and factory industries. Work on railways, in mines and great economic industries was work for the nation, and it was for this that the Labor Armies were being employed. This was the "bloodless front." Iron discipline of the workers by the workers, he declared, was necessary in

### [ENGLISH CARTOON]



—Westminster Gazette

### LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD IN IRELAND

THE ULSTER WOLF: "You needn't be afraid of me! You're not worth biting!"

and his friends did to the French Church a few years ago.

In an article in The London Daily Herald of April 5 Mr. Lansbury praised Trotzky's Labor Army. Soviet labor conditions, he had told Lenin, combine common sense with expert direction. For every workshop two managers are elected by the workers and one of these is an expert. Mr. Lansbury defended the right of the Soviet Government to

Russia, as it would be necessary in England and other countries when the workers gained the power. "We have," he said, "no love for coercion of any kind, "but we cannot visualize a modern State "without it. Our choice is for that compulsion which aims at transforming the "chaotic, anarchical struggle of today "into the ordered co-operative State of "tomorrow."

Mr. Lansbury also praised Lenin for

his belief in the continuous education of the lower classes. The children, particularly, were being brought up and treated "in the most lovable, beautiful manner." In discussing the social revolution which was to sweep away all "capitalistic" Governments, Mr. Lansbury reported Lenin as saying:

You, Lansbury, believe in Christianity. You believe that you can bring about in England a peaceful revolution. I do not believe that. But if you can, nobody will be more pleased than we in Russia. Bloodshed is a bad business. But look at Finland, where the middle class have armed a White Guard and refused to allow the Parliament to make peace with Russia or to give an amnesty to political prisoners.

\* \* \*

#### GREEK OPTIONAL AT OXFORD

THE abolishment of compulsory Greek was voted at Oxford in convocation, by a vote of 434 to 359, on March 1. Only those taking final honors other

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Cincinnati Post

#### A GIFT FROM MR. HOOVER

than in natural science, mathematics or jurisprudence, were still required to pass in Greek. To celebrate the decision, hundreds of undergraduates organized a "rag," and, attired in ancient Greek costumes and headed by a Hellenic high priest carrying an urn filled with red-

hot ashes, paraded the town and recited Greek verse in the market place.

\* \* \*

#### TAX ON CAPITAL IN ITALY

THE bill for taxing capital was laid before the Italian Parliament before the end of February, and by March 31 every person in Italy was bound under a heavy penalty to send in a return on his capital. This tax is payable not only by Italian citizens, but by all foreigners

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—New York Times

#### DRY!

[The cartoonist's way of showing to what extent the new law is enforced in New York]

on their "capital consisting of property existing within the State." All foreigners, British or others, must pay an income tax on all property valued above 20,000 lire (only about \$1,600 according to the present rate of exchange), but are exempt from the additional tax on property owned outside of Italy. Non-resident



foreigners are excused from paying on investments in the Italian War Loan, provided the scrip is kept abroad. Foreign diplomats are exempt, if not engaged in trade in Italy. All churches are exempt from taxation on their property. The proposal to tax foreign capitalists has been severely criticised by Italian ex-

perts as likely to discourage foreign investments in Italy.

\* \* \*

#### PARIS STREETS RENAMED

SOME of the best-known streets and boulevards in Paris have received new names to commemorate men who won fame in the war. Boulevard St.

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

#### THE PROHIBITION FIGHT

The cry is still, "They come!" Our castle's strength will laugh a siege to scorn. \* \* \* Blow, wind! Come, wrack! At least we'll die with harness on our back—Macbeth

Germain, the aristocratic avenue on the left bank of the Seine, will henceforth be known as the Boulevard Georges Clemenceau from the Seine to the Rue du Bac, and from this point as far as the Rue Napoléon it will be called the Rue Maréchal Pétain. The Boulevard Raspail, also on the left bank, will be named the Boulevard Maréchal Foch as far as the Rue de Rennes, and thence to the Boulevard Montparnasse it will be

he had made a record worthy of pride. As a scout and guide in the battlefields of France he had upheld nobly the best traditions of his race, and thrilled the paleface with his daring. And after the war's close he had returned to his reservation or his home with a brighter and keener vision and a better understanding of life. Mr. Sells said:

The war was in many ways a liberal education to the Indian, and he is coming out of it with greater individuality and a diminishing tribal propensity. He is less timid, has greater self-confidence and greater respect for authority. He realizes more than ever that there is a place for him in the community, and that he is a unit in the great nation he went forth to defend. The Indian soldier has high qualities that will go into his life and character as a citizen.

Out of a total of some 33,000 Indians eligible for military service approximately 10,000 entered some branch of the army or navy, inclusive of those from the northern border who joined the Canadian organizations, about 7,000 by enlistment, among whom were many commissioned officers and a considerable number advanced to the rank of Captain and Major. The Indians made subscriptions to the five issues of Liberty bonds amounting to nearly \$25,000,000, or an equivalent of about \$75 for every Indian of any age in the United States, and large purchases of War Savings Stamps were made by both adults and children, chiefly from their own earnings. These thrift purchases now exceed \$1,000,000. Incomplete returns show that the Indians

took more than 10,000 Red Cross memberships.

It is reasonably due the Indian to mention the contributions of his more primitive endowments to the methods and strategy of modern warfare, as disclosed in individual adroitness of attack, in trench tactics, in concealed approach and creeping offensive, and in many successful features of reconnaissance and manoeuvre, conceded to be largely borrowed from the aboriginal American, who was ever a natural trailer, who slipped noise-

### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—*Knowville Journal*

### NOT DANIEL—DANIELS

called the Boulevard Maréchal Joffre; beyond this point it will retain its old name. The Rue de Babylon will be known in future as the Rue Président Poincaré.

\* \* \*

### THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN THE WAR

THE Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Cato Sells, pointed out in a speech on Dec. 7, 1919, that the Indian had acquitted himself well in the World War, in which



lessly through tanglewood and made himself a part of the trees, who was a born sharpshooter, a scout by intuition, and an instinctive artist in the intricacies of camouflage.

Our recent policy clearly has been that we want no dead Indians, good or bad, but will do all in our power to save their lives and keep them in health. That much has been fundamental, and every possible energy has been directed to that

end. The facilities have not been fully adequate, but the remarkable results are seen in better homes, better sanitation and hygiene, more healthy, laughing babies, and more vigorous, happy adults.

At a meeting of Indian tribal representatives held at Riverside, Cal., in February, 1920, Chief Red Fox of Washington urged a movement to urge the abolishment of the Federal Indian Bureau

[A AMERICAN CARTOON]



—© New York Tribune

### THE SUFFRAGE SITUATION

All ready but the last button

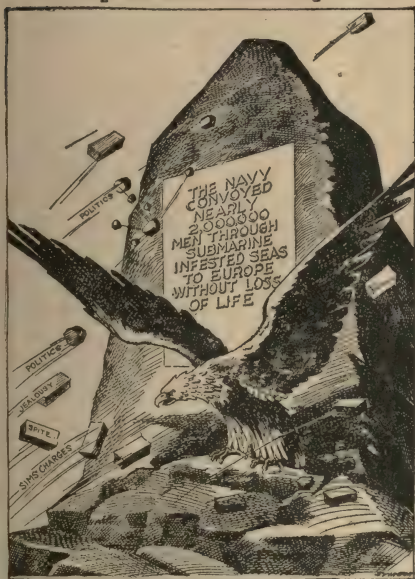
and to ask that the red man be given the full rights of United States citizenship. He held that the bureau was doing more harm than good, and attacked the Government for giving the ballot to European immigrants and refusing it to the Indian, American born, and in most cases more ready for citizenship than the alien. The younger educated Indians at the California gathering were all in favor of the movement, and a mass meeting addressed by Chief Red Fox adopted resolutions favoring citizenship.

\* \* \*

#### RAPID RECOVERY OF FRANCE

A BRIGHT future for France was predicted by Premier Millerand in a speech delivered before the International Interparliamentary Conference at the

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Dayton News

#### THE RECORD STILL STANDS

Sorbonne on May 7. He stressed France's financial solvency. Ever since the San Remo conference the exchange rate for the franc had been rising. In other re-

spects, also, the situation was encouraging. The general strike, which the Government was controlling, had proved a failure; railway, dock and mine workers were returning to their work. M. Millerand pointed out that French exports for the first three months of 1920 had more than doubled those of the corresponding months a year ago. "If this progress continues," he said, "we have

#### [DUTCH CARTOON]



—De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

#### THE UNSUCCESSFUL COUP D'ETAT IN DENMARK

DANISH PEOPLE (to King Christian):  
"Take care! Don't overreach yourself"

a right to expect that France will recover completely her position among the nations. Speaking of interallied unity M. Millerand said:

Each day should contribute to make closer the ties which unite us, so that, from the financial, commercial and industrial, as well as the diplomatic point of view, we may form that Society of Nations which we desire to make a reality.



# Pigeons in the War

## What Bird Messengers Did

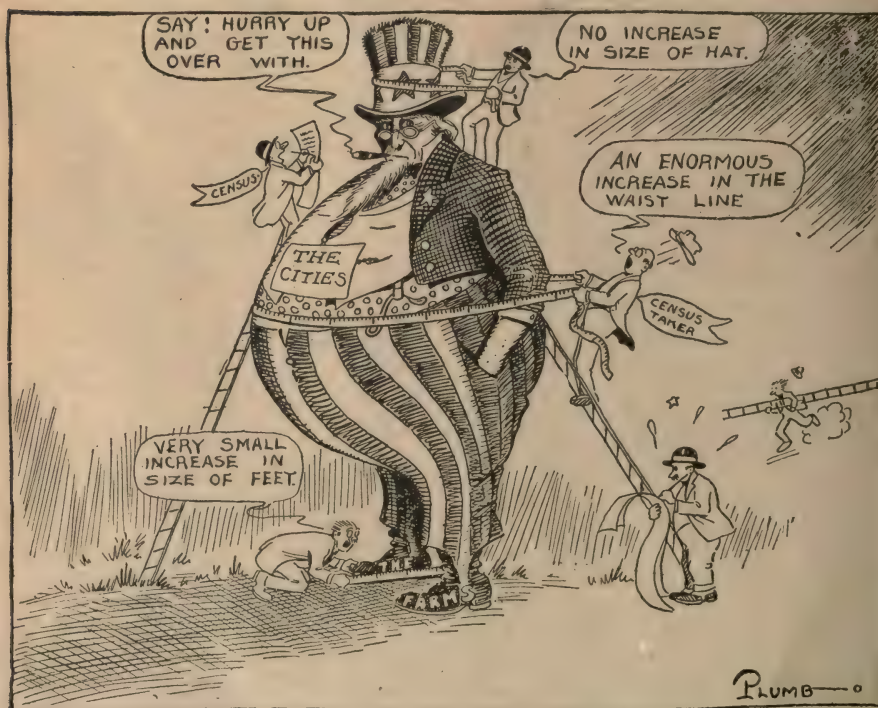
A FORMER dispatch rider in the European war has contributed to the Japan Weekly Chronicle an interesting account of the part played by pigeons in bringing important news from the front to positions behind the lines. The extent to which pigeons were used, says this writer, is little known to the public; in fact, it was not until successful experiments had been carried out during the early stages of the war that their value was realized by the British General Staff as a means of communication from the front-line trenches to the back area. A special pigeon section was then organized, forming a branch of the Signal Service, which had hitherto employed only the traditional methods of

communication by telephone, telegraph, &c.

A great number of homing pigeon clubs already existed in the Midlands and the North of England. From the men in charge of them was recruited the personnel of the Pigeon Service, which was directed only by those who had had previous experience in the rearing and training of these birds. The method of training may be summarized as follows:

Pigeon lofts were placed in suitable locations in the back areas at intervals along the whole of the front. The number of these lofts varied with the activity of the line in that particular region, so as to meet the demand for the birds at the most active moments. The pigeons were

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Chicago Drover's Journal

AN UNHEALTHY WAISTLINE

reared at centres far behind the lines, and when old enough to cultivate their homing instinct to military advantage they were taken to the lofts and trained. The only training which they really needed was to acquire a knowledge of the country in which their particular loft was situated, so that they would be able to locate the position when released for flight. It was partly instinct and partly their wonderful sense of locality

sufficient number of these recreative flights, they were taken a mile or so away and released. After circling once to obtain their bearings, they would fly straight for their loft. This method was carried out with increasing distances, until the birds were considered proficient enough to be released from the line. They were then given one or two practice flights from the front trenches to make sure that their homing instinct was not destroyed by the din of gunfire. Many of the poor birds were terrified; they were quite unsuitable for the dangerous work, and were not used.

Transferred by fours in large hampers to a point near the line, the efficient ones were then brought in pairs to the front. Here they were used only in case of emergency, such as S. O. S. messages, when other forms of communication had been destroyed and cables blown up, from isolated positions after an attack. In many cases the first message stating the situation of a new line after a successful attack was by a pigeon message. This was owing to the fact that when an attack was made the lines of communication were usually destroyed by the enemy's defensive barrage. A good example of

an isolated position may be found in tanks, which often broke completely through the enemy lines, thus making it necessary to inform headquarters of the results accomplished and the position attained. If such a message were required, a pigeon was released bearing the necessary information.

The paper used in these messages was very thin, similar to cigarette paper, arranged in the form of a writing tablet with carbon sheets, so that every message might be duplicated. The paper was then screwed up and placed in a small aluminum cylinder about an inch long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, with a

### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Tacoma News-Tribune

### IN A TIGHT PLACE

which enabled them to return home when released.

To enable them to acquire a knowledge of the region they were released from their loft at regular intervals during the day. They circled around in a flock in the vicinity of their abode, performing extraordinary evolutions, each apparently having its particular place in the ranks of the wedge-shaped formation in which they flew. One bird invariably assumed the lead, and it was interesting to watch the maintenance of their position in the formation, although the leader directed a most erratic course.

When the younger birds had had a suf-



cap fitted to secure the message. Two pliable metal projections were fixed on the exterior of the cylinder, by means of which the receptacle was clamped to the pigeon's leg. The bird was then released, often at a most critical time, amid a tornado of bursting shrapnel, bearing a message often of vital importance to the men who released it. Amidst the storm the pigeon made one circle and then flew off at a tangent straight for the loft

which it had formerly occupied in the rear. At this loft a man was always on the watch for carrier pigeons. The moment a homing bird entered its loft, it was taken to a signal office and the message telegraphed to its destination. Some of the birds arrived in a frightful state, with feathers disheveled and pierced by shrapnel wounds.

Whole companies of men marooned under fire and threatened with extinction

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Sioux City Journal

"I CANNOT SING THE OLD SONGS"

were rescued by means of the messages thus carried. An officer of the British Pigeon Service, writing for The London Chronicle, discusses the invaluable services performed by these war pigeons as follows:

The breeders who presented the Government with the 80,000 pigeons used for war service have been sent an official letter of thanks from the Air Council, together with a list of those birds which rendered signal service and have been especially mentioned in dispatches. Many of the incidents mentioned are extremely thrilling, and in a few cases old, war-worn birds have been pensioned off by the Government, and are now living in peace and plenty. One of these is a pigeon which was shot through the eye while delivering a message. It recovered from the wound and is now at Westgate, on "light duty."

The number of lives saved by pigeons during the war will never be known, for in

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—San Francisco Bulletin

## CLIMBING UP



—Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland  
TURKEY: "ALLAH! ALLAH!"

addition to the many pilots and observers who have been rescued from wrecked machines as a result of messages faithfully delivered, the birds have been used to establish communications with troops who were surrounded by the enemy, by dropping them from airplanes in baskets attached to parachutes.

Carrier pigeons were employed in all parts of the battle zone, even in the front-line trenches, by British, French and American contingents. The Meuse-Argonne offensive, particularly, was a challenge to the swift wing of the pigeon. On this front, 442 birds were used by the American forces alone, and 403 important messages were delivered. Owing to the rapid change of American units, the distance to be flown varied from twenty to



fifty kilometers. Not more than 10 per cent. of the little messengers failed to return to their lofts, and no important message went astray, according to the account of a writer in *The Home Sector*.

At the close of the war many of these trained British and American pigeons

were disposed of by sale and in various ways. More than 500 of the American birds, however, were sent back to the United States by the military authorities, and most of these bird-veterans can be seen today at their lofts in Potomac Park at Washington.

[GERMAN CARTOON]



—Wahre Jakob, Stuttgart

### THE SICK MAN IN CONSTANTINOPLE

"By Allah! I wonder which stilt the Allies will take away. Perhaps both!"

# THE MARCH OF SCIENCE

## Professor Einstein's Theory of Relativity and Its Revolutionary Effects in Practical Physics

**E**VEN before the guns of the World War had ceased their thunder preparations were making in England for the expeditions to observe and photograph, at Sobral, in Northern Brazil, and at the Island of Príncipe, off the west coast of Africa, the solar eclipse which was due to appear there May 29, 1919. The object accomplished by these solar eclipse expeditions was the verification of a hypothesis which was almost the only piece of pure-science knowledge not set aside by the war emergency. Since the announcement of the results of these expeditions at a joint meeting of the Royal Society and the Royal Astronomical Society in London, Nov. 6, 1919, this hypothesis—the Einstein principle of relativity and the deflection of light by gravitation—has stood as the most revolutionary discovery in physical science since Newton.

Einstein's theory in no way invalidates the law of gravitation discovered by Newton, but only supplements it. By itself the principle of relativity is insufficient to lead to a law of gravitation; it merely acts as a criterion of the conditions which must be satisfied by such a law. Still, it necessitates a very fundamental alteration both of our theories of gravitation and ether and of our whole conception of time, space, mass and motion.

The penultimate overthrow of our physical-scientific way of looking at the universe was consummated 350 years ago. Up to that time mediaeval humanity had lodged quite comfortably in the three-story world edifice erected on the theory of the old Greek, Aristotle. The earth extended as a flat plain in all directions into the unknown, and was inhabited by men created in the image of God. Over the earth arched the heavens like a great bell, and therein lived the saints and the angels. The nethermost story was

the space under the earth. The deeper it reached the hotter it became; and here his Satanic Majesty had his realm. All the stars were in relation to the earth only diminutive lights, which by some mysterious mechanism described fixed orbits in the heavens.

This concept was overturned in the sixteenth century by Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo. With a bold stroke these put the sun in the centre of the universe and left the earth as a little, insignificant planet traversing its orbit around the central fire. Today these views have become so thoroughly bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh that we no longer sense the magnitude of the revolution of those days.

### NEWTON AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The Copernican way of looking at the universe prevailed in the face of the enmity of the Church, and 150 years later the great English physicist, Newton, finished this theory scientifically. Newton began with the mechanics of the heavens, but he created over and beyond this a mechanics universally applicable to all earthly phenomena.

In his theory of light, however, Newton held that light rays consist of minute particles expelled at high velocities from a luminous source and traveling through empty space in straight lines. Hooke, on the contrary, suggested the wave theory of light, and Huygens demonstrated that the theory of the wave motion of light easily explained the law of refraction. Newton's theory prevailed among his contemporaries, but later scientists found that on this point he was wrong. It remained for Young and Fresnel to establish the undulatory theory of light by their experiments early in the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century saw many other changes, passing early into an age of steam and latterly into an age of elec-



tricity. It dawned on men that mass and matter were electrical at bottom. Peering into the nature of the atom, they no longer conceived space as an infinite vacuum in whose cold void rolled the planets. It was pervaded by restless energy whose medium was the light-bearing ether. The ether also pervaded all matter. To reconcile the new laws of electricity, however, with the classic dynamics of Newton was a hard problem. Gravitation stubbornly resisted every effort to bring it within the scope of the electrical theory of matter. Every known property of matter was electrically explicable except the one common to all forms of matter, namely, weight. Ether began to lose standing.

The failure of Newton's view of the universe to accord with the philosophical doctrine of the relativity of space and time has seriously troubled men's minds. Neither do his laws account for the distinction made by the physical relations between "fixed direction" and "fixed position" of a body in space.

### MICHELSON'S PROBLEM

Hailing with relief the advent of ether as a substitute for empty space, physicists made vain attempts to measure all velocities and rotations as relative to it. They could not make the ether disclose the measurements. In 1881 Michelson, then an ensign in the United States Navy, devised an experiment for measuring the velocity of the earth relative to the ether, which he performed in the astro-physical laboratory at Potsdam. He was astonished to find no indication of the earth's motion through ether. Michelson and Morley repeated the experiment with greater care at the Western Reserve University, with the same negative result. All that could be inferred from their failure was that either the ether was carried along with the earth or more likely the ether had no being except as a creature of the scientific imagination.

With the turn of the twentieth century came the marvelous discoveries of radio-activity and the exploration of the electro-magnetic mysteries of the atom, but still no inkling of the relation of

electricity to gravity and no proof of the existence of ether. But the precursors were at hand of the new revolution in physical science; the achievements of Einstein, in fact, resemble those of Newton in bringing together and unifying many loose threads of scientific knowledge, after showing the interrelation of several independent antecedent discoveries.

### EINSTEIN'S SOLUTION

Dr. Albert Einstein, though holding a professorship in a research institution affiliated with the University of Berlin, is legally a Swiss, who formerly held a chair in the Zurich Polytechnic School. Also, for some time he was a professor in the University of Prague. He protested against the manifesto of the German professors in 1914. He is 45 years old.

Einstein's theory of relativity grew out of his participation in the effort to explain the Michelson-Morley experiment on the so-called ether-drift of the earth and its negative result. Professor Michelson suggested that the negative result might be owing to a shortening undergone by the apparatus in the direction of the line of motion. Later, that everything undergoes shortening, thus as it moves through space was assumed by the Dutch physicist, Lorenz; that the earth's diameter of 7,899 miles gets shortened up three or four inches, enough to explain scientifically why the Michelson-Morley experiment failed to show that the earth was moving through ether. The same explanation of the paradox was independently given almost simultaneously by Fitzgerald. But none of these physicists appreciated the bearing of their suggestions.

That the necessary higher mathematics was ready to Einstein's hand to prove the principle of relativity by a formula of electrodynamic equations was demonstrated when Minkowski (building better than he knew) showed how the life history of a moving particle could be represented by a curve in four-dimensional space. The conception of time as a fourth dimension was by no means new. The history of the world passes inseparably in both time and space. So,

by plotting time mathematically as a fourth dimension (not on paper), the old philosophic doctrine of the relativity of space and time is vindicated.

As early as 1905, when Einstein was employed in the Swiss Patent Office, he incorporated all the foregoing points in his relativity theory, which he formulated with remarkable perfection in a short article entitled "Concerning the Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies." He showed that there is no such thing as "fixed position" for a body in space; therefore all motion is relative, so that there can be no permanent, absolute standard against which motion can be measured. The velocity of a moving body is only relative to the velocity of some other. There are two ways of measuring a moving body; either by taking its measure on the moving body itself or by observation from another moving body. Each method of measurement gives a different result, as a moving body shortens in the direction of its line of motion. Also, its mass increases with the speed, becoming infinite as the velocity of light is approached. The velocity of light, 186,000 miles per second, is the maximum speed attainable. Gravitation is brought into the scope of electric theory on the principle that gravitation is rooted in energy. A beam of light has momentum, also weight, and is subject to deflection when passing through a gravitational field. The motion of the existence of an ether thus becomes superfluous, and more of a hindrance than an aid to scientific progress.

Einstein published in 1911 the paper which deduces the influence of gravity on the propagation of light, and which astronomical observations have since confirmed. Also he solved the problems which scientific querists presented to him as growing out of his statements in his article of six years before. Out of the equations and expressions in the pure mathematics of Riemann, Christoffel, Ricci and Levi-Civita he selected and applied those most nearly akin to those of mathematical physics. By these he was able to plot space and time in four and even five dimensions, without which facilities he could scarcely have proved

his theory. So we are called upon to consider a four-dimensional map which can be both warped and stretched to represent what takes place in space and time.

#### NEW SCOPE OF GRAVITATION

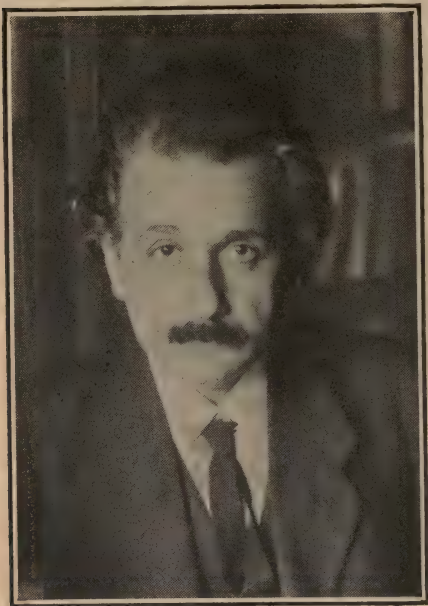
We are called upon to forget the old Newtonian view of space as something absolute and extending in all directions into infinity, and to learn that the essence and attributes of this space are influenced by the bodies present in it. Likewise we are to relegate to limbo the absolute notion of time that we have held since Newton as something that passes at all places in space with perfect uniformity, uninfluenced by spatial occurrences. The old notion of the relativity of time and space, which has so long been held as a doctrine by philosophers, only now receives the sanction of scientific demonstration.

It is out of the question even to intimate, within the present compass, the full content of the new doctrine that goes under the name of the Theory of Relativity and overturns our collective view founded on Newton. It can only be stated that time and space exist in nowise independently of each other, but as closely united parts of a four-dimensional form, the "universe," in the sense of the Relativity Theory. Furthermore, mass and energy likewise do not exist side by side as two independent things, but, on the contrary, can pass over into each other. Mass can be transmuted into energy and energy into mass. Also, energy possesses weight; and light, that form of energy which we, in the Newtonian sense, are wont to represent as absolutely imponderable, is, by the attractive power of the stars, attracted just as much as any mass-body. Light-rays that pass close to the sun from the stars are therefore warped, so to speak. This was proved by the observations of the eclipse of the sun in Brazil in May, 1919, and since that time the correctness of the new theory could no longer be doubted.

This new way of looking at nature demands of our imagination and perceptive faculty something almost superhuman. Little as the milkmaid or even the



learned village pastor of 1550 could comprehend that "above" and "below" are only relative notions which constantly change from one place on the earth's



DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN  
(Times Wide World Photos)

surface to another, just so little will it be obvious to us that even time and distance are also merely relative notions and can be shifted from place to place and even be bent out of shape.

#### PRACTICAL BEARINGS OF EINSTEIN'S PRINCIPLES

As navigators at once drew useful technical conclusions from the labors of such theorists as Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo, and as a Columbus then reasoned, "If the earth is a ball, I can cruise around to India," so the investigator and technician in radio-activity and electro-magnetism in our day are already evaluating the new theory in practical work. Witness the research laboratory maintained by the General Electric Company, where the basic nature of matter is being studied in the light of the Einstein theory.

Hitherto, we have assumed, after the Newtonian theory, that the active energy

of a body equals the product of half its mass by the square of its velocity. A projectile which possesses a mass of ten kilograms and is shot with a velocity of 1,000 meters a second has therefore an active energy of 10,000,000 meter-kilograms. According to the new theory, on the contrary, every mass possesses, besides this, another energy, which equals the product of this mass by the square of the velocity of light. The velocity of light amounts to 300,000,000 meters (186,000 miles) a second. That projectile of ten kilograms mass would, therefore, even at rest, possess another energy of 900,000 billion meter-kilograms.

Now it is for us to free this energy, to make it available and to turn it to our uses as soon as fortune favors us with the fit way of disintegrating the atoms of this projectile. Its mass would therefore be annihilated; its atoms disintegrated. A kilogram mass would vanish from the universe without a trace, a thing impossible, according to the Newtonian theory; but an amount of energy of almost a trillion meter-kilograms would thereby become of use.

At the outset of the investigations of radium, one had, without exception, to deal with great, hard portions of matter, intricate in structure. These spontaneously collapsed in giving off gigantic quantities of energy. It was then assumed that the act of creation must not have been quite successful in these hardest substances, or that the relations of the created world must have somehow changed in the last billennium, so that these particular substances contained no more energy. Today we know, according to the new theory, that every material contains these gigantic quantities of energy; and here are opened up vast perspectives.

The whole amount of energy that we have laboriously dug out of the earth, in the yearly output of hundreds of millions of tons of coal, inheres also in a few blocks of common sandstone, which we could conveniently remove from the earth's surface. To pulverize these blocks into nothing, to resolve them into such stuff as light is made of and thus make available their latent energy—such will be the task of the coming technic.



DR. F. H. MILLENER AND HARVEY L. GAINER LISTENING FOR SOUNDS FROM MARS WITH THE MOST POWERFUL WIRELESS TELEPHONE INSTRUMENT IN THE WORLD

## Listening for Martian Signals

It will be several years before Mars again comes as near to the earth as it did during the week ended April 25, while Dr. Frederick H. Millener, a radio engineer of Omaha, assisted by Harvey Gainer, electrical expert, carried on their impressive experiments to get into communication with the neighboring planet. Though no sounds came across the abyssal space between the two worlds to reward the listening ears of the scientists, these Omaha experiments are memorable as titanic achievements in wireless telephony. No other radiophonic feat on record is comparable to them.

In the matter of equipment, whereas the antennae of an ordinary commercial radio station covers not more than ten acres, those of Dr. Millener's station cover an area of twenty-five square miles. While the wave length of the ordinary commercial wireless station is seldom as high as 16,000 meters, and wave lengths above 18,000 meters have never been used except for experimental

purposes, Dr. Millener used a wave length of 300,000 meters.

The night of April 21 being the time of Mars's greatest earth-nearing, Dr. Millener and Mr. Gainer began their vigil at 8 o'clock P. M. At first they used wave lengths of 15,000 to 18,000 meters. For several hours, as mere side issues of their task, they picked up messages from Mexico, from Berlin, and from all the large stations. They seemed to hear every sound in the world. There was much static interference, including that of a distant thunderstorm, whose lightning dinned all around them "like hailstones on a tin roof." About 2 o'clock in the morning the weather cleared up and all was quiet. Then they hitched up the long wave lengths that took them out into space beyond hearing of anything that might be taking place on earth. For hours they listened, but there came no answer from the earth's planetary neighbor to show whether or not it is inhabited by intelligent beings.



## Talking Through the Ground by Geophone

Under the exigencies of trench warfare, French ingenuity devised the geophone as a defensive means of locating German countermining operations. Since the war American engineers have increased its sensitiveness by application of the wonderful improvements in wireless telephony, until they have developed what the United States Bureau of Mines (after numerous experiments) pronounces a priceless aid to the protection of life and property in the mining industry.

Those who earn their living far underground in quest of the treasures of the earth have to be alert against the invasion of fires, explosions, and fire-damp, and the menace of entombment. If miners are still alive after being cut off by a cave-in of rock and earth, the geophone becomes the means of locating their signals of distress; or if the distance is not more than 150 feet the buried miners can use the geophone to talk with their companions and rescuers through the ground.

When fire is burning through a valuable coal seam the geophone makes it unnecessary for anybody to risk his life in a personal exploration of the fire area with the aid of a breathing apparatus. Fire sends through the earth a characteristic sound whose source can be located by geophone often from a distance as high as 1,500 feet. When the fire is thus located from above ground, partly with the guidance of a blueprint

plat of the underground operations, boreholes can be sunk at the right points and streams of mud poured down to form a wet bank against the fire's further progress, and thus to seal it off, so that it will die out for lack of air. Or, if the fire has to be located from points underground, the geophone facilitates the choice of a place at a safe distance from the fire to build a sealing bank to arrest and deaden it.

French scientists took their idea for the geophone from that of the old seismograph, or earthquake recorder. In that the records of the earth tremors were obtained through the relative motion between the earth and a suspended mass possessing large inertia. In the case of the geophone, which was developed into an instrument to be used like a physician's stethoscope, the relative motion takes place between an iron ring, which is in contact with the ground, and a leaden disk. This leaden disk is fastened between two mica disks and is thus held in a central position within the iron ring. The mica disks are held in place by two metal caps. Through a hole bored in the upper cap the variations of internal air pressure are borne to the ear by means of a rubber tube. When a distant blow, as of a pick, imparts a feeble tremor to the earth the leaden disk is comparatively undisturbed. Hence the characteristic sounds are produced by the compressions and rarefactions of air within the case.

## An Aerial Sextant and Other Aeronautic Aids

The seafarer's problem in finding his latitude and longitude is simple compared with the aeronaut's. The latter, however, is getting valuable aid from other departments of applied science. Lieut. Commander H. L. Byrd, U. S. N., perfected a sextant applicable to air navigation, without which the transatlantic flights of the NC-1, the NC-3 and the NC-4 would have been as impossible as Columbus's voyages without a mariner's compass. Until these flights no airplane

had flown far enough out to sea to call for a fixing of its geographical position by the sun, moon, or stars. As in the ordinary mariner's sextant, the purpose is to measure the altitude of the sun, or another heavenly body, above the horizon, or the angular distance of two stars or other objects. The aerial sextant, however, must give the measurement as much more quickly than the common sextant as the speed of the airplane exceeds that of a ship. Also, the aerial sextant

must be independent of the horizon during flight by night or above clouds. There remains the old relation between the horizon-glass and the index-glass, and the mirror of each to bring into coincidence the images of the two objects sighted. But the special feature of the Byrd sextant is a bubble, which takes the place of the sea horizon and observations. A specially constructed lens is used for sighting the bubble, which is reflected in a mirror, and the sun is reflected in the other mirror. Both the bubble and the sun are brought simultaneously tangent to a line, and this gives the observer the altitude of the sun. At night the bubble is lighted. In calculating position with this aerial sextant, the curvature of the earth can be disregarded. In connection with the aerial sextant, a projection chart of the ocean was devised, which enables the aeronaut to perform his astronomical calculations in one-fifth of the time formerly necessary, and without difficult mathematical processes.

The air navigator cannot use the mariner's log in order to ascertain the speed he is making. Moreover, being more at the mercy of side winds than the sea navigator, the aeronaut must have surer means of ascertaining how much he

drifts sidewise. In order to fill these needs, which the compass cannot fill, use is made of depth bombs, which ignite on striking the surface of the water and burn for ten minutes with dense smoke and a bright flame. For use in conjunction with this bomb an instrument is devised for taking the necessary observations. By sighting on the light of the bomb by night and on the smoke by day, the air navigator can determine the direction and velocity of the wind. Having made the observations necessary for this, with the speed and drift indicator, there is available for him still another instrument for solving the triangle of forces, so that, after making allowance for speed and drift, he can calculate his true course without having to go through cumbersome mathematical processes. This latter instrument is called a course and distance indicator, as by it he also ascertains how much distance he has left to cover. To facilitate all these observations and calculations, the navigator's cockpit, in the forepart of the fuselage, has to be equipped with a chart-board, a chart-rack and lights; also a wireless telephone headset for communicating his orders to the pilot in spite of the din of the motors.

## Airmen's Problems in Tropical Africa

The wonderful clearness of the African atmosphere enables the aviator to observe a strip from 50 to 300 miles wide, so that he sees more of the Dark Continent in a few hours than Dr. Livingstone could see in a decade. But the picking of air routes differs from the choice of jungle and desert trails in necessitating the selection of altitudes needed to shun monsoons and tropical thunderstorms. Success in dodging one thunderstorm not long ago is attributed by a British aviator to his depending on the instinct of three African vultures which he followed to a region of clear air, keeping within 200 yards of the birds.

Then there is the problem of temperature, which becomes arctic at certain heights—even above the equatorial plains and mountains. Probably the

lowest natural temperature ever registered is 150 degrees Fahrenheit below freezing point, recorded some years ago by an experimental balloon sent up from Victoria Nyanza. During the extensive wartime aviation in East Africa the general experience of airmen, flying at an average height of 6,000 feet, showed an atmosphere differing little from that of temperate climes, except in the presence of air pockets, which they found at even greater altitudes. They had to carry on long reconnoissance the same amount of warm clothing as on a Winter trip from London to Paris. One aviator, while flying from Dodoma, on the Central Railway, got a carburetor frozen at 7,000 feet.

The winds of the tropics present an important problem. One British army



aviator, during the East African campaign, had to fly on a reconnaissance assignment from Kilwa to a point about 60 miles inland. The wind was blowing due east with a velocity of 40 miles an hour. Thus favored, he reached his objective in 30 minutes. After completing his reconnaissance he turned homeward, expecting a rough experience, but on reaching an altitude of 5,000 feet he was astonished

to find the wind blowing there due west at a velocity of 60 miles an hour. He regained Kilwa in 20 minutes, and, dropping to 2,500 feet, he found the wind still blowing due east. People on the ground, who could not believe he had carried out his reconnaissance, told him that the wind had not varied in direction or velocity.



ILLUSTRATION FROM A HISTORY OF OLD NEW YORK REPRODUCED QUICKLY AND PERFECTLY WITH THE PHOTOSTAT  
(Courtesy New York Public Library)

## The Photostat: A Revolutionary Aid to Research

Next after the printing press, the greatest mechanical aid to learning is the photostat, the commercial camera primarily intended to reproduce manuscripts and the printed page. It is of great importance to American scholarship, especially, as it facilitates scholastic enterprises in this country otherwise impossible. In its brief period of existence it has become indispensable in the equipment of our larger metropolitan and university libraries, and has changed our whole method of advanced study. This is because it so often relieves the student of going abroad for research work; it makes it cheaper for him to import reproductions of the necessary

books, manuscripts, maps, pictures, &c., than to study the originals in Europe. Moreover, these photostatic reproductions are just as clear as the originals—when they are not better—thanks to the combination of powerful prismatic lenses and sensitized paper in the work of the instrument. The work of a copyist with pen or typewriter is never sure to be accurate, and is several times as expensive as photostatic service.

For so-called negative, or first-print copy, where white letters on black ground are obtained, the New York Public Library charges twenty cents a pair of pages. Such copy serves well enough for most purposes; but even, as often in the

case of pictures, maps and obscure passages, where need of greater clearness calls for a second reproduction, to secure black on white, this double cost is less than handwork or typewriting. Not only is the photostatic work accurate to the least detail, but also it can enlarge print or handwriting for greater legibility or reduce pictures and maps to more convenient sizes. An expert with a photostat can be sent abroad for about \$1,500

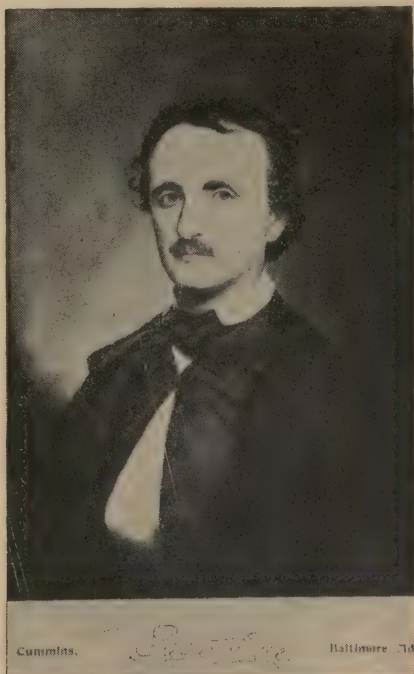


PORTRAIT OF POE REPRODUCED AS A "NEGATIVE" BY A SINGLE CONTACT EXPOSURE WITH THE PHOTOSTAT  
(Courtesy New York Public Library)

and can reproduce enough work in a season to keep a scholar busy for over a quarter of a century.

A rare manuscript or book that has become yellow and brittle from age and deterioration can be manifolded and improved by the photostat so that the original need seldom be used; and copies can be sold to many institutions for more general use and safekeeping. In this

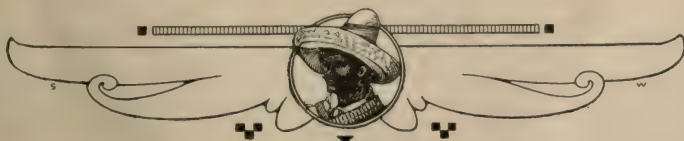
way the American Nation is coming by a great wealth of cultural treasure from abroad, and the world is getting insured against such cultural tragedies as the



SAME PORTRAIT OF POE REPRODUCED AS A "POSITIVE" AFTER SECOND PROCESS WITH PHOTOSTAT  
(Courtesy New York Public Library)

destruction of the ancient Alexandrian Library.

The photostat is coming into general use also in large engineering offices and institutions, where it is invaluable as an accurate reproducer of maps, plans, specifications, drafts and designs. The adjustments of the instruments are automatic, and little skill in photography is needed in its operation, though the more photographic expertness and judgment the operator has the better.





# Some Facts About Armenia

By BENJAMIN BURGESS MOORE

[FORMERLY CHIEF OF TIFLIS PARTY, RUSSIAN FIELD MISSION, AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE]

WHEN the Turks began their systematic attempts to exterminate the Armenians, the latter inhabited a strip of territory extending from the Caucasus Mountains to the Mediterranean, roughly parallel to a line drawn between Tiflis and Alexandretta, but did not form a large majority of the inhabitants. Armenians were for centuries divided into Turkish and Russian subjects, which fact has created a certain difference in the characters of the Turkish and Russian Armenians of today. The territory of the present Armenian Republic, however, occupies, roughly speaking, only the former Russian provinces of Kars and Erivan, and lies therefore entirely to the north of the frontier which separated the Russian Empire from Turkey and Persia. In this restricted area there are now living, in addition to the native population, some 300,000 refugees from Turkish Armenia—practically all the inhabitants of the latter region which were not exterminated by the Turks.

Transcaucasia, of which the Armenian Republic forms a part, is occupied to the north by the lofty mountains of the Great Caucasus, to the south by the Little or Anti-Caucasus, a high plateau with volcanic summits, sloping toward the Armenian highlands. These ranges are separated by the narrow valleys of two rivers flowing, one westward into the Black Sea, the other eastward into the Caspian. Through these valleys runs a railway, which joins Batum on the Black with Baku on the Caspian Sea and forms the great artery of communication across Transcaucasia to Persia and Central Asia. At Tiflis, about half way between Batum and Baku, the famous Georgian Military Road crosses the mountains northward to Vladikavkaz, and a branch railway runs south to Kars and Erivan in Ar-

menia, forming, with the exception of a bad road to Batum, her only means of communication with the rest of the world. From the strategic and economic points of view, Transcaucasia is therefore like a narrow corridor between the Black and Caspian Seas, with in the centre one outlet northward and one southward. This fact, not to mention potent political and economic reasons, makes the three Transcaucasian republics—Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia—completely interdependent.

A glance at the map on Page 509 will show that the Armenian Republic is completely surrounded by an unbroken chain of hostile peoples. To the west, the province of Batum is theoretically under British military administration, and the port of Batum is fortunately still occupied by British troops; but between Batum and Armenia the country is under the control of hostile Mohammedans. To the north lies the "Democratic Republic of Georgia," whose inhabitants, although Christians, were at war with Armenia in December, 1918, and are still ill-disposed to her. On the north and east she borders on the Mohammedan Tartar Republic of Azerbaijan, whose hatred of Armenia is second only to that of the Turks and constantly leads to hostilities. On the south and southwest she faces the Kurds, and the Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

The geographic situation of the Armenians is the primary cause of their persecution; the attempts of the Turks, abetted by the Germans, to exterminate them were due to the fact that they created the single break in the great Pan-Turanian chain that was to stretch from the shores of Asia Minor to Central Asia. Today the followers of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and of Enver Pasha may hate the Armenians for racial-religious reasons, but the enmity of both leaders



BARDIZOG, A TYPICAL ARMENIAN VILLAGE

is created by their Pan-Turanian ambitions. Even with its present restricted territory, the Armenian Republic is exposed to peculiar dangers by its geographic position.

#### NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

With the exception of a few princes created by Russia there is no aristocracy among the Armenians, who may be divided into the following classes: A large peasantry, robust, hard working, religious and patriotic; a commercial class, which has spread over the entire world owing to extraordinary business ability not unlike that of the Jews; and a small but very powerful *intelligentsia*. Members of the last class frequently held important positions under the Imperial Russian Government, and are generally highly educated, many of them—particularly professional men—having secured their education by their own efforts in the face of obstacles and persecutions difficult for Americans to realize.

Armenians of all classes are often criticised as selfish, and some of them are most untrustworthy. Their business success makes them hated by other races, and this feeling is increased by their own lack of tact. Nevertheless the patriotism, determination, industry, intelligence, and European culture of the Ar-

menians call for admiration and place them on a higher level than any of the neighboring races.

#### GOVERNMENT OF ARMENIA

When in the Autumn of 1917 the Russian Army on the Caucasian front had dissolved and Transcaucasia had been automatically separated from the central Russian Government by the Bolshevik revolution, an anti-Bolshevik Transcaucasian Federal Government was formed by Georgian, Azerbaijanese and Armenian politicians with the purpose of governing the country until order had been restored in Russia, there being at that time no intention to establish an independent State or States. During the Winter and Spring of 1918 the Turkish advance into Transcaucasia created the gravest dangers for this Government and led to dissensions among its various racial elements. On April 22, 1918, the Transcaucasian Federation declared itself independent of Russia; but when the Turks were within thirty miles of its capital, Tiflis, the representatives of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia were unable to agree upon a common policy, and, between May 26 and 30, successively, declared the independence of their respective countries.

This was the origin of the present Ar-





A BEGGAR IN TURKISH ARMENIA

menian Republic, the only one of the three Transcaucasian Governments whose *de facto* existence the United States has recognized (April, 1920), although the Supreme Council of the Allies in January of this year recognized *de facto* the Governments of Georgia and Azerbaijan as well as that of Armenia.

The Armenian Republic is governed by a Parliament and by a Cabinet of six Ministers, one of whom acts as Minister-President. Mr. Khatissian, who has held the post since its creation, was Mayor of Tiflis under the Russian Government and played an important rôle in

the Transcaucasian Federal Government. He is subtle as an Oriental, but is also a man of real ability and a sincere patriot who has bravely faced crushing difficulties and dangers. The other Ministers and political leaders vary in ability and disinterestedness, corruption being one of the most dangerous elements in the political life of all the Transcaucasian peoples.

The Parliament, which has eighty members, was formed in the following way: In September, 1917, all the Armenians living within the boundaries of Russia elected an Armenian National Assembly. After the Transcaucasian Federal Government had been disrupted this Assembly, which had controlled Armenian affairs from Tiflis, moved to Erivan in Armenia (the seat of the present Government) and expanded into a Parliament, the original members selecting twenty-nine new ones. When in June, 1919, the Ministry without consulting Parliament proclaimed the independence of united Turkish and Russian Armenia, and seated twelve representatives of Turkish Armenia in Parliament, a parliamentary crisis occurred, as the People's Party, considering the procedure followed by the Ministry to be illegal, withdrew its representatives from both the Ministry and Parliament. Elections to a new and larger Parliament, the first directly elected one Armenia has had, were then held, the Dashnaksutun gaining seventy out of the eighty seats, as the People's Party refused to participate.

The two political parties just mentioned are the only ones of any importance. The People's Party (or Liberal Democrats) is opposed to Socialism and to the Dashnaksutun. It, however, believes that political agitation should be suspended in order to concentrate all energies on the problems of national existence. In many ways it stands for what is best in Armenia, and was well represented in the Ministry and Parliament until last June. Its withdrawal from political life, even should it prove only temporary, is to be regretted.

The Dashnaksutun is a secret society rather than a real political party. It

was founded in 1890 to secure the liberation of Turkish Armenia, and until 1902 worked against the Turkish Government, principally in the army. It then began propaganda throughout Europe in favor of Armenian independence, thereby coming into conflict with the Russian Government, which arrested several of its members. In retaliation it resorted to terrorism directed against Russian officials and took an active share in the Russian revolution of 1905. In 1917 it played a very important part in the Transcaucasian Federal Government, and in 1918 was largely responsible for Armenia's valiant resistance to the Turks. Its strongest section is "The Bureau," a secret political club of ultra-Socialists, who terrorize the more moderate elements in the Government. The Dashnaksutun is highly organized, has agents everywhere, and now rules Armenia, as it controls both Parliament and the Ministry, where it is represented by five out of the six Ministers. It terrorizes the people at elections, is aggressive and intriguing, and has done and does much to increase hostility to Armenia. Despite its patriotic aims, it is not likely that sound government can be established in Armenia unless this society be suppressed or rendered harmless.

#### ATTITUDE TOWARD FOREIGN POWERS

The Armenians were the only race in the Caucasus which the Imperial Russian Government oppressed, not for general reasons, as it frequently did all its subjects, but—like the Poles and Finns—for racial ones, this in the case of the Armenians being due to their participation in terrorism and the revolution of 1905. Nevertheless, they are at present the only people in Transcaucasia well disposed toward Russians (not Bolsheviks), dislike of whom as oppressors has of late been artificially developed among the other races by local politicians from purely selfish motives.

The Armenian Government did not share the hatred and dread of General Denikin and his anti-Bolshevist army felt by those of Georgia and Azerbaijan. Indeed, one of the reasons why these Gov-

ernments harassed Armenia was because they feared she might form an alliance with Denikin. In Armenia there is practically no field for political Bol-



ARMENIAN GIRL SPINNING STRANDS FOR THE WEAVING OF RUGS

shevism, and Government and people are heartily opposed to the Soviet Government of Moscow. The fact that since the collapse of Denikin's forces the Bolsheviks have advanced into Transcaucasia, have, after overthrowing the Tartar Government of Azerbaijan, occupied Baku, with its endless supplies of oil, and will probably soon be in control of all Transcaucasia, creates new difficulties for Armenia. Unless unforeseen events arrest the advance of the Bolsheviks, she must inevitably make terms with them. Should these be favorable and the Bolsheviks restrain the Tartars, and perhaps the Turks, her situation might in some ways be improved, for—to cite an Armenian General—"Better the Bolsheviks than the Turks."



Whatever may occur in the immediate future, Russian influence will long remain strong in Armenia, and she will probably be well disposed to the non-Bolshevist great Russia, which sooner or later must be re-established. This disposition is fortunate, since it favors the peace of Transcaucasia, and, incidentally, of the Near East.

For Great Britain the Armenians have always entertained the most friendly feelings, but during the British occupation of Transcaucasia (November, 1918, to August, 1919) they were aggrieved by British policy, which, although well intentioned, was, largely through force of circumstances, in several instances seriously mistaken. Armenians ought, however, to remember that if the British had not occupied Transcaucasia, Armenia as a State would probably not be in existence today.

The Armenian Nation is naturally drawn to the United States, where many of its members have lived and been educated, and where its propaganda (one of the most active and effective in existence) has aroused wide interest in its cause. Armenians are also sincerely grateful to us, since it is no exaggeration to say that they would have disappeared as a nation had it not been for the splendid help given them by the Near East Relief and the American Food Administration. Both gratitude and interest therefore bind Armenia closely to the United States. Her treatment by Turkey and Germany is too notorious to need mention here.

### RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

From the ethnological point of view, the Caucasus offers one of the strangest and most complex problems in the world, as its small area is still inhabited by some forty distinct racial groups. This ethnic diversity is further complicated by the fact that, with the exception of a fairly compact group of Georgians and another of Tartars, these races are not settled in distinct regions, but are inextricably commingled. For the entire territory claimed by Armenia in Transcaucasia, figures furnished by Armenian officials, and therefore certain not to

favor other racial elements, place the total population at 2,160,000, of which only 1,293,000 (59.87 per cent.) are Armenians.

This extraordinary confusion of races is one of the main causes why political questions assume such acute and complex forms in the Caucasus. As the majority of the inhabitants are still half savage, race hatreds have continued to exist from prehistoric times, and during recent years have been deliberately inflamed by political agitators of all races. In addition to this, local enmities have, since the division of Transcaucasia into separate republics, been brought to white heat by territorial disputes and the resultant armed collisions in regard to an entire series of provinces, all claimed by two and some by all three of the Governments. In this connection it is necessary to call attention to two facts: First, that while the Allies at the San Remo Conference last April agreed to create an independent Armenia, they did not decide its boundaries; second, that whatever territory, great or little, be granted Armenia, the delimitation of it will increase hatred of her and almost certainly lead to armed attacks upon her.

Although a certain improvement has recently taken place, Armenia's relations with Georgia and Azerbaijan have been of the worst and are likely to remain most unsatisfactory despite the resolutions, intended to terminate the conflicts between the three republics, which were adopted by their representatives at Tiflis last April. Armenians consider that they were betrayed by Georgia in 1918 and thereby forced to make peace with Turkey. Ill-feeling was increased in December, 1918, by the small war between Georgia and Armenia for the possession of the Province of Borchalo. Georgian hatred of Armenians is really economic rather than racial, being mainly a result of the commercial superiority of the latter, who dominate commerce even in the Georgian capital, Tiflis. Georgia takes advantage of the fact that all traffic to and from Armenia must pass through her territory in order to exert pressure on the Armenian Government, and in June, 1919, the Georgian Government even impeded the transport



*Sketch of an official boundary map of the new Caucasus republics, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Areas still in dispute: (1) Batum, under British military governorship; (2) Ardahan, under local control of Tartars; (3) Olti, under local control of Kurds; (4) Borschalo, mixed Georgian-Armenian control under British arbitration; (5) Nakhichevan, under control of Tartar insurgents; (6) Karabagh, assigned to Azerbaijan but now under a local Armenian National Council. Armenia's territorial claims in Turkey are still in abeyance; no Armenian's life is safe south of the former Russian frontier.*

of American relief supplies to Armenia. (It should be stated that Georgia's behavior in this case, although impossible to approve, was natural under the circumstances.) After Georgia and Azerbaijan had signed a defensive alliance (June 16, 1919) they used fair means and foul to force Armenia to join it. Although an alliance, or even a federation, of all three Transcaucasian republics is highly desirable, Armenia could not under the circumstances accept her neighbors' proposals.

#### INTENSE RELIGIOUS HATRED

A predominant majority of the inhabitants of Azerbaijan are Mohammedan Tartars, between whom and the Armenians racial-religious hatred has existed for centuries. Not only in Azerbaijan, but also throughout the rest of Transcaucasia (including Armenian territory),

where they are widely scattered, they have frequently attacked and massacred the Armenians; the latter, as is natural, seldom miss an opportunity of retaliating. The presence of an important and very rich Armenian colony in the City of Baku is a cause of constant enmity and of frequent massacres, usually committed by the Tartars, but in at least one notable case by the Armenians also. As recently as last April the Allied High Commissioner to Armenia reported that local minor officials and natives were daily committing crimes against the Baku Armenians and that the latter were in imminent danger of extermination.

The Tartar Government (overthrown by the Bolsheviki on April 27), although it was in some ways the weakest in Transcaucasia, held a highly advantageous position owing to its control of the immense Baku oil fields. Like its sub-



jects, who fought on the side of Turkey, it was strongly pro-Turanian, harbored innumerable Turkish agents (including Nuri Pasha and probably also Enver Pasha) and allowed its territory to become a field for active and widespread Turkish intrigue. It even signed a secret treaty with Turkey in October, 1919, a fact that the Allies seem to have forgotten or to have been ignorant of when they granted it recognition.

### A DISPUTED DISTRICT

The mutual hatred of Armenians and Tartars has been greatly augmented by the question of Karabagh-Zangezur, the Alsace-Lorraine of Transcaucasia. This district, situated to the north and east of the present Armenian frontiers, is the cradle of the Armenian race, and in the mountain-region Armenians admittedly form the majority of the population. On the other hand, the very numerous Tartar shepherds have for centuries been accustomed to move to its mountains in Summer, when their flocks cannot live in the Azerbaijanese plains. Moreover, owing to its geographical situation, the economic outlet of Karabagh is not Armenia, but Baku. This fact is probably the principal reason why the British, at the beginning of their occupation of Transcaucasia, made Karabagh a part of Azerbaijan and placed it under a Tartar Governor. Their decision finally produced a state of warfare (still in existence) between the local Armenians and Tartars, as well as Armenian massacres perpetrated with the connivance of the Tartar Governor. It is certain that peace cannot be definitely established in Transcaucasia until the Karabagh problem has received a just solution.

Further trouble arose when in June, 1919, the British authorities assigned to the Armenians the Province of Nakhichevan (adjoining Karabagh), then under Tartar control, and permitted the repatriation of Armenian refugees in that district. The attempts of the Armenian Government to carry out the repatriation, and the mistakes of the civil administration they tried to install, led to hostilities, directed by a Turkish

officer, in this district also. Owing to the intervention of the ablest of the American officers assigned to duty in Transcaucasia, Colonel James C. Rhea, then acting Allied High Commissioner, acts of warfare were suspended, but have since recurred intermittently.

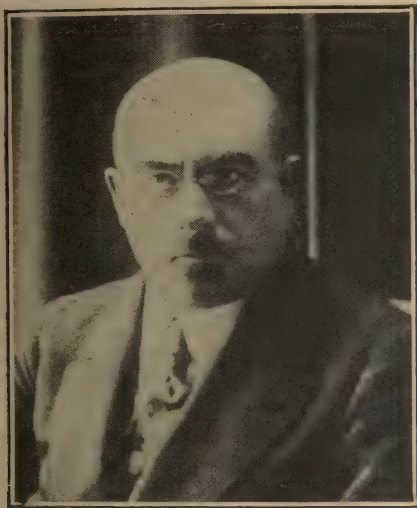
### ECONOMIC SITUATION

Economically Armenia is but slightly developed. Communications, fairly efficient under Russia, are now, as elsewhere throughout the Caucasus, completely disorganized. There are almost no railways, and the few existing miles form part of the single Transcaucasian system; there is also practically no rolling-stock, the number of locomotives owned by Armenia in the Summer of 1919 being just nineteen. Under Russia the Armenian peasant was land-starved and often forced to emigrate, as he was only allowed to hold one-thirtieth of the quantity of land allotted to Russians. He is now eager to till the soil, scientific irrigation is possible, and Armenia has her own European-trained engineers. Socialistic redistribution or nationalization of the land is unlikely.

Financially Armenia, like the other Transcaucasian countries, is bankrupt, a fact that under present circumstances does not seem to have the serious consequences one would expect. The value of her undeveloped resources is difficult to decide, Armenian estimates being rosy and those of competent allied officials varying greatly. The most important resources are: Minerals (salt, iron, copper), petroleum, water power, grain (wheat, barley, rice), cotton, grapes, cattle. Armenia appears to be naturally rich, but is probably less so than certain other parts of Transcaucasia. It must also be borne in mind that the country has been devastated, that the people are exhausted to the verge of extinction by massacres and war, and that their problem is complicated by the presence on their territory of some 300,000 miserable, diseased, and still half-starving refugees, who cannot be repatriated without the use of armed force.

The intense desire of all Armenians for autonomy is beyond doubt, as is their

right to it earned by preserving their national existence for centuries in the face of persecutions almost without parallel. This right the Allies recently acknowledged at the San Remo conference, but they did not solve the real difficulty. What territory ought to be



AL KHATISSIAN  
*Acting President of Armenia*

granted Armenia is a most complicated problem, but what can be granted her under existing conditions is one infinitely more so. Whatever limits be fixed, it is unlikely that a reasonably homogeneous State can be formed unless Armenia exchange certain populations with her neighbors, a process—on account of the nomadic nature of the races in question—less impossible than it seems.

Armenian territorial claims include half of Russian Transcaucasia and a large part of Asia Minor (the "six vilayets and Cilicia"), forming a great territory that would stretch from a boundary near the Caucasus Mountains across to the Mediterranean around Adana and Alexandretta, and also along the Black Sea for miles beyond Trebizond. There are almost no Armenians left on Turkish soil now, but in defense of their claims they assert that they ought not to be penalized because they have been driven from their homes and

their numbers shockingly reduced by massacres. Whatever weight this argument may have, it is doubtful, despite Armenian estimates to the contrary, whether many more than 2,000,000 Armenians can be found to inhabit a Greater Armenia. They could therefore never govern so large a country, and the attempt to do so would inevitably end in the extermination of many more of them. To grant all their historic claims for sentimental reasons would be like giving a child its dead father's razor to play with because it had cried for it.

On the other hand the circumstances, dissensions, and ambitions of the present time seem likely to end in the creation of an Armenia "so circumscribed, so beset by enemies, so mortgaged" as to make its existence impossible. The proposal to assign her only the territory she now occupies, with an outlet through Batum made a free port under allied control, is an impossible one. Even if Batum be kept open to her, Armenia cannot exist when all her transport must pass through an independent or Bolshevik-controlled Georgia. A direct outlet of her own on at least the Black Sea is indispensable to her very existence.

### A MANDATE

That Armenia cannot exist without foreign assistance for at least a certain period is a fact; that help can best be given her by a mandatory power is beyond doubt; but that a nation willing and able to accept the mandate can be found appears unlikely. Even if Armenia be granted her own direct outlet she must remain for years politically and economically in close interdependence with the other Transcaucasian Governments, both of them ill-disposed toward her. In order to maintain her Government, to repair devastations, construct indispensable means of communication, and exploit her resources, she must have foreign capital and guidance until she becomes strong enough to care for herself. Without foreign support she can not solve her political problems and establish civilized relations with her neighbors. Her present territory is too small for her inhabitants and the refugees, yet



she cannot send one of them across her actual borders without exposing him to certain death if not protected by armed force. To repatriate her refugees and to defend herself against aggressions certain to occur, no matter what means short of armed intervention the Allies may take to prevent them, she has only a brave but tiny, underfed, exhausted, and almost unarmed army.

Despite the keen sympathy Americans feel for Armenians, it would be an act of political and economic folly for the United States to accept a mandate for Armenia alone, the only practical mandate in the Near East being one for the entire Turkish Empire and Transcaucasia. This statement accords with the views of high American officials who know the situation in the Near East, but is one whose proofs are too lengthy to be given in a brief article.

If, however, we can not or will not accept the dangerous and costly mandate for Armenia, the efforts of eminent and well-intentioned persons in this country to force the burden on others should cease. The only two countries capable of assuming it, Great Britain and France, did, and suffered far more than

we during the war, and in addition have already assumed vast responsibilities for the protection and development of backward races, which tasks, notwithstanding all that criticism can allege against them, they have in the past fulfilled and are in the present fulfilling better than any other nations in history.

Should the Armenia whose independence has been recognized, but whose territory has not been delimited, be obliged, as now seems probable, to work out her own salvation without the help of a mandatory power, the best that sympathetic Americans can do is to continue and enlarge the present admirable work of the Near East Relief, and in addition organize—if possible with Government approval and support—to supply Armenia with arms, munitions, stores of every sort, and above all men competent to advise the directors of her various undertakings. Aside from the immediate material advantages of such assistance, Armenia would be greatly benefited by the fact that her enemies would realize she had the moral support of the entire American Nation, whose moral prestige in the Near East is, although waning, still potent.

## Great Britain's Share in the Victory

### Revised Official Figures

THE British Empire's contribution to the victory of the Allies over Germany is embodied in the following tables, which have the sanction of the British War Office, and which are more complete than any previously made public. Pride of place, so far as man power is concerned, belongs to France, though the actual figures of the strength of her armies are not available for comparison. Great Britain, who, between Aug. 4, 1914, and Nov. 11, 1918, passed more than 6,000,000 men through the ranks of her armies, occupies the second place in respect of the contingents contributed for military service. The third largest contribution was made by the United States, who sent close on 2,000,000 men to fight in France.

The captures of enemy prisoners and guns in France during the victorious offensive against the German Army between July 18 and Nov. 11 were as follows:

#### COMPARISON OF CAPTURES

	Prisoners.	Guns.
British armies.....	200,000	2,540
French armies.....	135,720	1,880
American armies.....	43,300	1,421
Belgian armies.....	14,500	474

Over and above the fighting on the western front 80,000 British troops helped the Italian Army in the final defeat of Austria, capturing 30,000 prisoners, and in Palestine and Mesopotamia about 400,000 British troops fought throughout 1918, where they achieved the complete defeat of the Turkish Army and took 85,000 prisoners.

## TOTAL OF BRITISH TROOPS

British Isles .....	5,704,416
Canada .....	640,886
Australia .....	416,809
New Zealand .....	220,099
South Africa .....	136,070
India .....	1,401,350
Other colonies* .....	134,837

Total..... 8,654,467

\*Includes colored troops recruited from South Africa, West Indies, &c.

The total casualties exceed 3,000,000, being in detail as follows:

## TOTAL CASUALTIES

	Approx. Killed, Died of Wounds, Died.	*Approx. Missing and Prisoners.	Wounded.
British Isles... 662,083	140,312		1,644,786
Canada ..... 56,119	306		149,733
Australia ..... 58,460	164		152,100
New Zealand... 16,132	5		40,749
South Africa... 6,928	33		11,444
India ..... 47,746	871		65,126
Other colonies†. 3,649	366		3,504

Total..... 851,117      142,057      2,067,442

\*Prisoners repatriated not shown. Men now known to be killed shown under heading of "killed."

†Includes colored troops from South Africa, &c., but excludes 44,262 African native followers—i. e., died and killed, 42,318; wounded, 1,322; missing, 622. The deaths were due mainly to epidemics.

In the table that comes next, "ration strength," comprises the total number of men (excluding colored labor and prisoners of war) who were being fed from army stocks in France. The figures under this heading include thousands of men whose duty it was, not to fight, but to supply, equip, and in other ways assist the fighting men. The "combatant strength" includes all fighting troops, together with the troops in divisional or base depots, while the "rifle strength"

is that of the officers and men of the infantry battalions alone.



LORD KITCHENER

*The man who planned the first British campaign against Germany*

(© Underwood & Underwood)

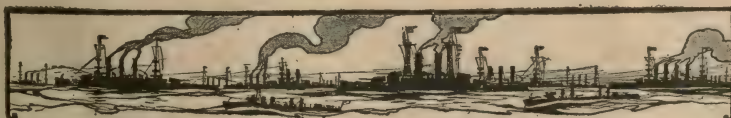
## BRITISH ARMY IN FRANCE, 1918

	Ration Strength.	Combatant Strength.	Rifle Strength.
March 11....	1,828,098	1,293,000	616,000
April 1.....	1,667,701	1,131,124	528,617
Sept. 23.....	1,752,829	1,200,181	493,306
Nov. 11.....	1,731,578	1,164,790	461,748

The following are the comparable figures for the United States drawn up from official sources:

## UNITED STATES ARMY IN FRANCE, 1918

	Ration Strength.	Combatant Strength.	Rifle Strength.
March 11....	245,000	123,000	49,000
April 1.....	319,000	214,000	51,000
Sept. 25.....	1,641,000	1,185,000	341,000
Nov. 11.....	1,924,000	1,160,000	322,000





# Costs of the World War

## Direct and Indirect Costs of European Conflict Reach the Gigantic Total of Almost \$338,000,000,000

**I**N a long and detailed analysis of the total costs of the war, alike direct and indirect, and to both the belligerent and the neutral nations, A. H. McDannald, managing editor of the *Encyclopaedia Americana*, contributes to the latest edition of that work a mass of data and statistics of the greatest value in estimating the gigantic outlays in money, life and material inflicted upon the civilized world by Germany and her allies.\*

War costs, he explains at the outset, are of two kinds—direct and indirect. Direct costs embrace all expenditures made by belligerents in carrying out hostilities; indirect costs include the economic losses resulting from deaths attributable directly or indirectly to the war, the value of property damaged or destroyed, the loss in production growing out of the transfer of men from civil to military pursuits, expenditures for war relief work, the costs of the war to neutral nations, and the like.

The direct costs of the World War, according to the latest and most reliable statistics, reached the stupendous total of \$183,333,637,097. The estimates of some statisticians are even higher. One authority has estimated that the seven major belligerents alone spent \$194,000,000,000. Another, Edgar Crammond, in an address before the Institute of Bankers in London on March 26, 1919, asserted that the total direct costs of the war amounted to \$210,175,000,000. The Secretary of War for the United States, Newton D. Baker, has placed them at \$197,000,000,000.

The indirect costs of the war are extremely hard to determine. A conserva-

tive estimate reaches the total of \$151,646,942,560. In this estimate is included a capitalized value of loss of life—allowing about \$3,000 as the economic value of each person that perished—amounting to a total of \$67,136,942,560.

In considering the direct costs one must remember that the war was fought mainly on credit. At the average daily cost of \$123,000,000 for the first three years of the war the gold coin available at the outbreak of hostilities was not sufficient to have kept it going for more than forty or fifty days. The total amount of gold coin available in July, 1914, was only slightly in excess of \$4,750,000,000, a trifle over one-fiftieth of the sum that was spent for war purposes during the slightly more than four years of fighting. Excluding the tabulation presented by the article under analysis, one remarks that Great Britain possessed gold reserves amounting only to \$190,000,000, as against France, \$830,000,000; Russia, \$800,000,000; Germany, \$390,000,000, and the United States, \$1,184,000,000. These figures are only approximate, and there are reasons for thinking that the gold reserves of England, France and Germany were greater than the figures stated. Even as estimated, however, they show clearly that to run this gigantic and widely ramifying war on a cash basis was a physical impossibility.

In order, therefore, to carry on the conflict from year to year all the belligerents had to resort to credit, including the issuance of notes, paper money and various promises to pay. Considerable sums were raised for war purposes in some of the countries by taxation, but it has been estimated that almost nine-tenths of the money expended was raised by loans, that is, by the sale of Government notes, bonds and other evidences of debt upon which, in certain cases, inter-

\* Most of these figures are credited in the original article to Professor Ernest L. Bogart of the University of Illinois, or to his volume, "Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War," published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and recognized as perhaps the most authoritative work yet issued upon the subject.

est will have to be paid for more than fifty years.

## DIRECT WAR COSTS FOR THE ALLIES

Taking up the direct costs of the war by countries, as treated in the *Encyclopaedia Americana* article, one must remember that a certain proportion, by no means inconsiderable, consisted of advances made to allies. This applies to Germany as well as to the Entente and the United States.

**UNITED STATES**—Although the last great power to enter the conflict, the net war expenditures of the United States amounted to \$22,625,252,843. This was almost twenty times the pre-war debt of the country and almost enough to have paid the entire expenses of the Government from 1791 to the outbreak of the struggle. It represented an expenditure of over \$1,000,000 an hour from the moment America became a belligerent down to April, 1919, and was sufficient to have carried on the Revolutionary War for a thousand years at the rate of expenditure disbursed during that conflict. England, a participant from the beginning of the war, spent barely \$12,000,000,000 more than America; France not quite \$2,000,000,000 more, and Russia about \$30,000,000 less. Had the war lasted another year the expenditures of the United States would thus have equaled those of Great Britain and Germany. Even as it was our gross expenses, including the net sum and advances to the Allies amounting to \$9,455,000,000, totaled \$32,080,266,968, exceeding the gross expenditures of France by about \$6,000,000,000. The advances of the United States similarly exceeded the advances of Great Britain to her allies by about \$1,000,000,000.

About two-thirds of the gross amount expended by America was raised by loans; the remainder by taxation. Few things were omitted from the taxable list, but incomes and war and excess profits were made to carry the greater part of the burden. Up to May, 1919, five Government loans were issued. The yield from these and from War Saving Certificates reached a total of \$22,478,416,250.

The United States began advancing money to the Allies soon after she entered the conflict. The largest loans were made to Great Britain, to which we advanced \$4,316,000,000. To France we advanced nearly \$3,000,000,000, to Italy about \$1,500,000,000. Other advances ranging from \$187,000,000 to \$5,000,000 were to Russia, Belgium, Serbia, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Rumania, Cuba and Liberia.

**GREAT BRITAIN**—Among the Entente Allies, the war bill of Great Britain was the heaviest. Her expenditures totaled \$44,029,011,868, but from this amount should be deducted advances to co-belligerents amounting to \$8,695,000,000, leaving \$35,334,011,868 to represent her net expenditures. Increased taxation and internal and foreign loans were resorted to to cover this cost. Over \$2,000,000,000 were lent to France, Italy and Russia, respectively; other loans to Belgium, Serbia, other Allies and the Dominions brought the total of advances up to \$4,493,813,072. India's expenditures included a gift of \$500,000,000 to the British Government, a gift from the Maharajah of Nahba of \$100,000, another from the Gaikwar of Baroda of \$33,000 and still another from the Maharajah of Mysore of \$330,000.

**FRANCE**—A report made to the Chamber of Deputies in February, 1919, fixes the expenditures of France at \$36,400,000,000. Professor Bogart places that at \$25,812,782,800, less advances to allies of \$1,547,200,000, making her net expenditures \$24,265,582,800. The gross cost of the war to France is estimated by deducting from the estimated cost of the five war years—a total of \$30,879,714,000—the normal expense for five peace years, or \$5,066,931,200, leaving a net balance of \$25,812,782,800. Deducting again \$1,547,200,000 to cover advances, a net expense of \$24,265,582,800 remains. This was provided from various sources; four national loans brought in \$11,012,200,000; the Banks of France and Algeria advanced \$3,430,000,000; Great Britain loaned \$2,170,000,000, and the United States \$2,852,000,000.

**RUSSIA**—Russia virtually dropped



out of the war in September, 1917, when the new provisional Government was ousted by the Bolsheviks. Up to that time the country's war expenditures totaled \$22,593,950,000. The usual methods were employed to cover this cost, and, in addition, enormous issues of paper money were made. Seven internal loans brought in \$6,176,000,000; \$2,840,000,000 was borrowed from Great Britain; \$187,000,000 from the United States; \$333,000,000 from Japan.

**ITALY**—The direct cost of the war to Italy was \$12,413,998,000. Of this sum \$607,840,000 represents her expenditures for mobilization and other military expenses between the outbreak of the war and May 24, 1915, the day she became a belligerent. Five internal loans yielded \$3,053,700,000; large sums were borrowed from Great Britain and the United States.

**BELGIUM**—Great difficulties have been encountered by statisticians in their attempts to estimate the direct cost of the war to Belgium. With most of her territory under hostile control, she was not in a position either to raise revenues or to issue loans. Accepting her borrowings as a gauge of her expenditures, an amount somewhat over \$1,000,000,000 would cover her costs. England loaned \$435,000,000; France, \$434,125,000; the United States, \$341,000,000. On March 21, 1919, the Belgium Minister of Finance asserted that Germany owed Belgium \$1,930,000,000 for cash requisitioned during the occupation; but as the Treaty of Versailles provides that Germany must restore the amounts commandeered, these sums have not been included in Belgium's war costs.

**OTHER ENTENTE ALLIES**—The war expenditures of all the other Entente allies, taken together, amounted to \$2,809,400,000, distributed as follows: Rumania, \$1,600,000,000; Japan, \$40,000,000; Serbia, \$399,400,000; Greece, \$270,000,000; Brazil, China, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Portugal, San Marino and Siam, an aggregate of \$500,000,000.

#### GERMANY'S DIRECT COSTS

Whether or not Germany was primarily responsible for starting the war, one

cannot survey her pre-war plans without reaching the conclusion that her statesmen considered war inevitable, and were preparing for it financially as well as militarily. As far back as the days of Frederick the Great a fund known as the "War Chest" was created. Into this was placed \$30,000,000 from the indemnity forced from France at the close of the Franco-Prussian war. In July, 1914, the funds in the "War Chest" totaled \$51,000,000. In 1913, after France adopted compulsory military service, Germany enacted legislation to raise \$250,000,000 to defray the expenses of her own enlarged army. Soon after the outbreak of the war many financial measures were enacted by Germany that undoubtedly had been prepared in advance to meet just such a contingency. Her gross war expenses have been placed at \$40,150,000,000 by her Minister of Finance. Advances to cobelligerents totaled \$2,375,000,000, leaving her net war costs \$37,775,000,000. To cover this cost she resorted at first to war loans, nine of which were floated, yielding in all \$24,640,419,925. Before the end of the war, however, she was driven to taxation of everything taxable.

**AUSTRIA-HUNGARY**—The war cost Austria-Hungary \$20,622,960,000, all of which she was forced to borrow, as the outbreak of hostilities found her in a very bad financial condition. Her debt in 1914 was burdensome, her credit impaired. This was due to the large sums of money borrowed in the preceding decade to increase her armaments. War loans yielded \$6,957,914,200 in Austria proper; \$3,665,546,400 in Hungary. Bank advances and foreign loans brought in more than \$20,000,000,000 for both countries.

**TURKEY AND BULGARIA**—The war is said to have cost Turkey \$1,430,000,000. Bulgaria spent \$815,200,000. Both countries were in financial straits at the close of the war.

#### INDIRECT WAR COSTS FOR BOTH SIDES

The most formidable and tragic item of indirect costs of the war is that recording the loss in human life. Professor Bogart says: "The loss of human

life and the race deterioration resulting from war are the most appalling and permanent costs of the war, for they affect not only the present, but are traceable through future generations." Official and semi-official reports of both main and minor belligerents prove that 9,998,771 men of all nations made the supreme sacrifice. The death toll of all the wars fought during the preceding 125 years, beginning with the Napoleonic war of 1790 and ending with the Balkan war of 1912-13, was only about one-half as great. The percentage of dead estimated by various statisticians from the "prisoners or missing" list of the World War would bring the tragic figure up to 12,990,570.

Before one can recover from the shock occasioned by the contemplation of so many deaths among the very flower of the world's manhood, one learns that to the deaths of soldiers must be added 10,000,000 more to cover fatalities among civilians resulting from causes directly or indirectly attributable to the war. Famine and cold took hundreds of thousands of civilian lives; Spanish influenza, attributed directly to the war, caused 6,000,000 deaths. More than 4,000,000 Armenians, Syrians, Jews and Greeks were massacred while the war raged. One-third of the civilian population of Poland was wiped out; 2,000,000 Russian noncombatants perished; Rumanian deaths numbered 800,000; Germany lost 800,000 civilians; Austria and Serbia nearly 1,000,000. The death rate in the occupied territory of France rose tremendously, while in Belgium, which Germany hoped to possess, it was not so pronounced. Approximately 100,000 fishermen and sailors lost their lives in mined waters or from causes due directly to the war.

Accepting the social value of each individual in the various countries at sums ranging from \$4,000 to \$2,000, the capital-

ized value lost is estimated at over \$67,-000,000,000.

To these indirect costs must be added the estimated loss of property\* on land and sea, the estimated loss in production, the enormous sums spent by all the countries for war relief, and the officially reported loss to neutrals. This last item covers \$672,000,000 for Holland, \$250,000,000 for Switzerland, \$429,800,000 for Sweden, \$130,000,000 for Norway, \$90,000,000 for Denmark and \$178,200,000 for other countries.

### TOTAL COST OF THE WAR

Combining all results of these calculations, the total cost of the World War, both direct and indirect, for the Allies and the Central Powers, as well as the neutral nations, would stand as shown in the following tabulation:

Direct costs .....	\$186,333,637,097
Indirect costs:	
Value of human lives lost:	
Soldiers .....	\$33,568,471,280
Civilians .....	33,568,471,280
Value of property lost:	
On land .....	29,960,000,000
On sea .....	6,800,000,000
Loss in production†.....	45,000,000,000
War relief‡ .....	1,000,000,000
Loss to neutrals.....	1,750,000,000
Total .....	\$151,646,942,560

Grand total .....\$337,980,579,657

\*The property losses in Belgium totaled \$7,000,000,000; in France, \$10,000,000,000; in Italy, nearly \$3,000,000,000; in Serbia, Albania and Montenegro, \$2,000,000,000; Russia, Poland, East Prussia, Austria and the Ukraine, Rumania, the British Empire and Germany all lost values ranging from one to two million dollars. Great Britain lost 7,756,659 tons of shipping, Norway nearly 2,000,000, both Italy and France nearly 900,000, other belligerent and neutral countries considerably less.

†Professor Bogart estimates that an average of 20,000,000 men served in the armed forces during each of the four and a half years of war. The total loss in production he bases on an average earning capacity of \$500 a year.

‡Statistics for war relief are available only for the English-speaking countries.





# Japan's Naval Effort

## How Her Fleet Aided the Allies in the Pacific and Mediterranean—Her Newly Acquired Islands

JAPAN declared war on Germany in co-operation with the Allies on Aug. 23, 1914. "From that day to this," says Captain Hitaka of the Japanese Navy, in a semi-official article in the Japan magazine of Tokio, "the Imperial Government never failed to guide its action according to the war situation and the tactics of the Allies."

When the war broke out, Captain Hitaka explains, the exact position of the enemy's fleet was not known, but it was soon ascertained that the main squadron on the Pacific was in the South Seas, and the rest of the ships in Oriental waters were in Tsing-tao. The Japanese objective assumed therefore a dual character, to destroy the German fleet in the Pacific and to attack the German naval base at Tsing-tao. Combined with this, of course, was the further plan of seizure of the enemy base of operations in the South Seas, in order to insure protection of allied trade.

To secure these objects the Japanese fleet was first separated into detachments to hunt down the German ships in the Pacific. One of these divisions remained about Tsing-tao and in adjacent waters; another steamed to the South Seas, while still another detachment proceeded toward South America to track down German ships in this direction.

Tsing-tao fell to the British and Japanese in November, 1914. The German fleet in the South Seas, furthermore, was destroyed by the British Navy. Thus all German ships were swept from both the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. The only enemy ships remaining in the Far East were those that had escaped into neutral ports, and these had been interned.

In these changed circumstances the Japanese fleet adopted a new formation and set itself to guarding the coasts of Japan herself, and of the territory of the Allies, extending its cruises also

in the South Seas, the Indian Ocean, and along the coasts of Russia. It took an important part in convoying the Australian and New Zealand troops to Europe. On invitation of the British Government, it sent in 1916 a force to the Mediterranean to protect transports and other ships from submarines. It also patrolled the waters between North India and the east coast of Africa, as well as the south coast of Australia.

Part of the Japanese fleet was sent into Siberian waters when the Russian revolution spread to the Far East in 1917; and when the Allies sent forces to aid the Czech troops isolated in East Russia, after German and Austrian influences had begun to penetrate there, the expedition was supported by the Japanese fleet.

### THE DETAILED STORY

The interesting story of Japan's naval co-operation with the Allies is summarized by Captain Hitaka from official records. When the war began, he says, though some of the enemy's Pacific fleet was in the South Seas, other ships were at Tsing-tao, and some of these escaped into the Pacific before Japan declared war on Germany, and were seen off the coast of Hawaii and along the coast of North America. The great battle cruiser Kongo was dispatched in pursuit of the enemy ships in the Pacific; and two squadrons were dispatched to the South Seas, the one to secure the enemy base of operations, the other to keep open the route of communications. The German colonies in the Marshall Islands surrendered to Japan in due course, while her ships patrolled all the adjoining waters among the islands everywhere. The enemy's base of operations thus having been captured, the German ships were obliged to gather along the coasts of South America. Thus did the Japanese navy do something to drive the enemy

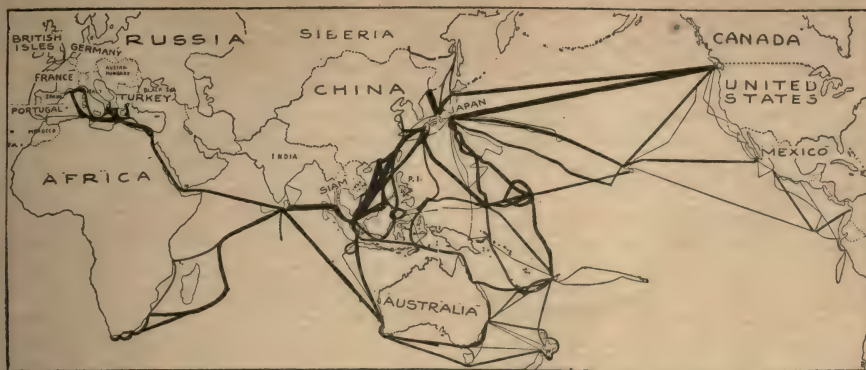


CHART SHOWING MAIN LINES OF JAPAN'S NAVAL OPERATIONS DURING THE WAR. THE BLACKEST LINES INDICATE THE ROUTES TRAVERSED MOST FREQUENTLY, OR BY THE LARGEST NUMBER OF WAR SHIPS

fleet into the hands of the British fleet, which destroyed it off the Falkland Islands. The Hizen and the Asama were sent to join the Izumo off the coast of Mexico to co-operate with the British squadron in that direction. At this time the German cruiser Geier appeared off Honolulu, and was obliged to take refuge with an attendant ship in the harbor there, owing to the presence of the Hizen and Asama outside, and so the enemy was interned by the American authorities.

Thus was the North Pacific made secure for allied troops. But the South Pacific was still menaced. On learning that a small detachment of the British fleet had been defeated off the coast of Chile, the Japanese fleet in the South Seas steamed in that direction, while the American coast squadron went forth with British ships on a search for the enemy along the west coast of Central America. Thus the German ships were forced southward, and the combined action of the three fleets drove the Germans into action with Vice Admiral Sturdee off the Falkland Islands. In this action the main force of the enemy was destroyed, only two cruisers, the Dresden and the Prince Eitel Friedrich, escaped, and were lost trace of for a time. Another German ship that had been hiding among the islands of the Caroline group, feeling itself in danger, fled to Guam, where it was interned.

The Chitose and Tokiwa were dispatched to the west coast of North Amer-

ica in February, 1915, to hunt down reported German ships, especially the Dresden and the Eitel Friedrich. The latter ship ran into Newport News and was interned. The former was torpedoed by a British cruiser off the coast of Chile in March. On hearing of this the Tokiwa returned and left the Chitose to patrol the coast of North America.

After America's entry into the war in 1917, the Japanese and American fleets co-operated to protect allied interests in the Pacific. Japanese cadet training ships shared the task of guarding and patrolling the American coasts at this time. In the transportation of British gold from Russia to Canada the Japanese fleet did valuable service; a total of about £50,000,000 was taken across these waters by Japanese ships.

#### IN SOUTHERN WATERS

After the declaration of war Japan sent three cruisers, the Ibuki, Tsukuba, and Nisshin, to the Indian Ocean to protect British and allied trade along the coasts of South China and India from German ships escaped from Tsing-tao. The German sea-rover Emden was doing much damage in these waters. Meanwhile the Ibuki engaged in convoying Australian troop transports to Aden. "It was rather a risky task for one Japanese cruiser to convoy thirty-eight big transports full of soldiers," says Captain Hitaka, "but the Ibuki was equal to it, and she received high praise from the British authorities."



As the Emden's raids grew bolder, the Tokiwa and Yakumo were sent after her, but before they could reach her she was destroyed by the British ship Sydney, off the Cocos Islands. Relieved of this menace, the British organized three squadrons for the protection of the Egyptian route, and the Japanese cruisers went elsewhere.

From December, 1914, the Japanese fleet undertook the entire guardianship of Oriental waters, her ships constantly

patrolling the China Sea, the Sea of Solu, and around the Dutch East Indies, keeping open the course of trade. The Philippines were also included in this incessant patrol. A riot in Singapore in February, 1915, was put down by Japanese marines. A dangerous menace from an enemy converted cruiser off the coast of South Africa was eliminated by the raider's destruction by a mine. All these things go to prove how necessary it was to guard the seas, and how the Japanese Navy earnestly and efficiently participated with the British fleet in driving the enemy away, says this writer. The entire Pacific was well patrolled by the Japanese fleet during all the danger periods of the war.

#### IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

The Japanese naval service in the Mediterranean is described by Captain Hitaka as follows:

In February, 1917, the British authorities asked Japan to take part in guarding the sea traffic of the Mediterranean, and a special service squadron comprising the Akashi and two destroyer flotillas was dispatched to Europe, where, with a base at Malta, it co-operated with great effect in protecting allied transports and trade ships from enemy submarines. At this period of the operations British ships were under Japanese management in accordance with the request of the British Admiralty. A second Japanese squadron was intrusted with patrol of the waters between Gibraltar and Port Said, extending the service also to the ports of France and Italy. A good part of this time the Japanese Navy had most of the work on the Mediterranean to itself, and many allied transports were convoyed with safety. In fact the number of times transports were convoyed was 300 and the number of dangerous miles traversed in this duty was about 210,000, the number of ships under convoy totalling 680.

Enemy submarines were so active in these waters that there were many opportunities for battle with them, and in nearly all these battles Japanese destroyers gave the enemy the worst of it. The only destroyer lost was the Sakaki, which, with her brave Captain, went down by a mine explosion. The activities of the Japanese fleet on the Mediterranean were the admiration of the Allies for skill and efficiency in dealing with the enemy.

#### MUNITIONS SUPPLIED

While the ships of the imperial navy were assisting the Allies as above out-



PREMIER HARA OF JAPAN

*Who recently dissolved the Diet in his attempt to defeat universal suffrage*

(Wide World Photos)

lined, the naval arsenals in Japan were busy turning out munitions and weapons for the Allies, the quantity of guns and ammunition supplied for Great Britain totaling 27,600,000 yen in value, while twelve destroyers were built for France and other munitions totaling 6,500,000 yen were sent to that country. To Russia Japan returned the warships Tango, Sagami, and Soya taken from that country during the Russo-Japanese war, and supplied munitions to the value of 27,500,000 yen. These figures include only what the navy alone supplied to the Allies during the war, and not what Japan did outside of the naval department.

If, in all her numerous operations on behalf of the Allies [says Captain Hitaka], Japan did not have the honor of doing any very great exploits, it was due to her geographical position rather than to her want of willingness or any other reason. The point is that the Japanese Navy did all it was expected to do, and would have done more had it been possible. \* \* \* Japan relieved the Allies of all anxiety for their Pacific sea routes and left them free to carry on the war in Europe.

### JAPAN'S SEA BARRIER

The predominating position won by Japan in the Pacific, with her possession of the islands that fell to her with the

destruction of the German power, has assumed great importance in connection with the problem of checking the tide of Bolshevism in the East. The great alteration in the Russian situation brought by the collapse of the anti-Bolshevist armies, the rapid spread of the Red armed menace toward Persia, India, China, and Japan herself, and the withdrawal of American forces from Siberia, have brought the defensive and offensive potentialities of the Japanese Navy again to the fore. Japan's control over the portant bearing on the situation.

The Pacific islands north of the equator, won by Japan at the Peace Conference, constitute a natural barrier which starts with the Kuriles near Kamchatka and ends with Japan herself at the Island of Formosa. This chain runs via Bonin, the Ladrões, Mariana, and Carolina Islands, east of the Philippines to Micronesia. It is stated that Japan is making an intensive study of the possible use of submarines based on this long chain of islands, is training submarine officers, and making a special study of the operations of German submarines in the World War. These newly acquired islands, with those which were previously owned by Japan, are regarded as giving that nation immunity from naval coercion by any foreign power.

## Japanese Emigration

IN pre-war times, says the Japanese Chronicle, the Japanese emigrants to South America numbered from 1,500 to 2,000 on each steamer. The industrial boom during and after the war, however, lessened the number of these emigrants, so that at the end of 1919 the South American steamers were carrying only from 150 to 200 on each trip. A steamer of the Osaka Shoshen Kaisha Line took only one solitary emigrant from Kobe to South America on March 21 of the present year. It is now anticipated that the Japanese shipping agencies may give up completely further transportation of South American emigrants. One contributing cause of this

transformation may be found in the recent revision of the Japanese immigrant regulations made by the Argentine Government. Formerly any one not obviously a pauper was allowed to enter, but under the new ruling the regulation calling for proper certificates is applied with much greater strictness.

By an official ruling in February no Japanese women-emigrants are now allowed to leave for America as picture brides. Out of 3,239 emigrants in 1919 there were 485 picture brides. The system was officially abandoned for reasons of political expediency and not from any consideration of the happiness or unhappiness of such unions.



# Russia's Part in the Allied Victory

## Official Account of the Vast Sacrifices of Life on the Eastern Fronts Which Aided the Allies

*Through the courtesy of Colonel A. Nikolaieff, Military Attaché to the Russian Embassy at Washington, CURRENT HISTORY has received the official report (first part) issued in Paris in 1919 from the headquarters of the military representative of the Commander in Chief of the Russian Army. Under the title, "Russia in the War: 1914-1918," this report narrates briefly, from official documents, the various campaigns waged by Russia on all her fighting fronts, and shows how powerfully the continuous menace of the Russian arms affected the ultimate decision on the western front. In the following pages are given, in condensed form, the essential portions of this report.*

**A** WAR unprecedented in the history of humanity for its bloodshed and for the energies which it forced into war activities has ended in the victory of those with whom Russia entered it as an ally. But there was no place for Russia at the rejoicings of victory. She had left the ranks before the final triumph, and while the allied flags float proudly and joyously in the air, Russia herself is bleeding to death, ravaged by mortal illness. The sacrifices offered up by Russia, however, during her three and a half years of incessant combat were not in vain. Among the factors which brought victory to the Allies, they hold a place of honor. The record of Russia's campaigns, year by year, shows the part she played in the common struggle for truth and right, the powerful influence of her military efforts on the final decision. The official account of these campaigns may be summarized as follows:

### 1914

In directing the majority of her mobilized divisions to the western front, Germany's aim was to deal a crushing blow to France at the very beginning of the war. The force of this blow was somewhat weakened by the heroic resistance of Belgium. The task of weakening it still further, and of preventing Germany from bringing her forces on the French front to an overwhelming numerical superiority, was undertaken by Russia, and fulfilled with courageous stubbornness.

Our invasion of East Prussia and the

results of the first series of battles with the Austro-Hungarian armies forced the German High Command to turn its eyes anxiously to their eastern frontiers. The advance of our First and Second Armies in East Prussia was a matter of pure self-sacrifice. It was not necessitated by the events on our front, and was undertaken only on pressing appeals for help from France. Insufficiently organized and prematurely launched, this invasion of the enemy's territory ended in disaster for our Second Army. But its effect had been to force the Germans to withdraw several army corps from France, thus enabling the Allies to wage the battle of the Marne in much better conditions of relative strength.

The events on the Austro-Hungarian front caused Germany much greater anxiety. They had taken such a menacing turn for our foe that the German High Command was forced to prepare decisive measures to save her ally. These measures comprised the reinforcement of the eastern front with masses of German troops originally assigned for the crushing of France. The interplay of strategy developed by the ensuing operations may be summed up as follows:

1. August and September: An invasion of Russian Poland by the Austro-Hungarian armies was beaten off by forty days' fighting. The Austrian retreat was changed to a rout by Russian pursuit and by the menace of the armies of Brusiloff and Ruskay advancing from the Kiev zone. Galicia and its capital, Lvov, were captured with great war booty. This position of the Austrian armies was critical toward the end of September.

2. The menace to Germany of Austria's capitulation led her to withdraw eighteen divisions from the French front just at a time when she was preparing to throw into the balance on the western front eight divisions liberated by the Belgian retreat on the Yser, supported by twelve new divisions formed in the interior of Germany. At this time the well-known "race to the sea" was developing and the battle of the Yser beginning.

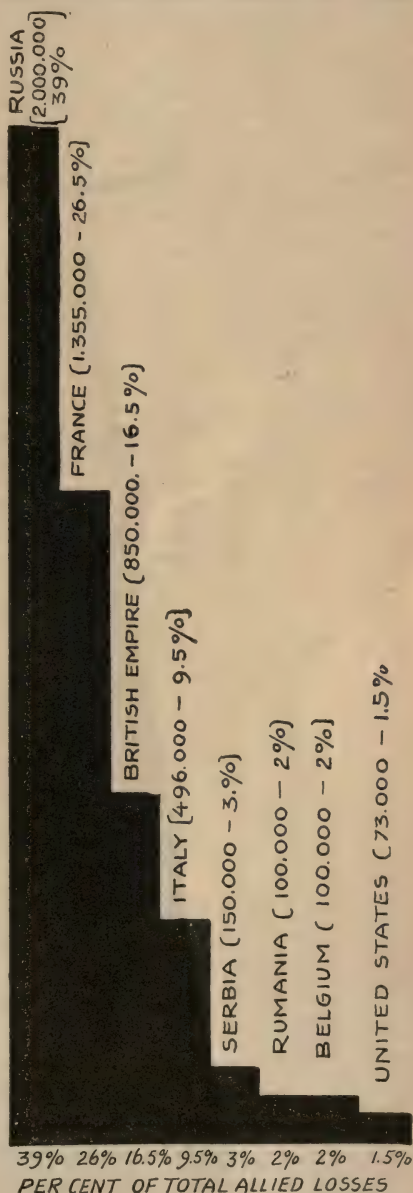
3. These new divisions, combined with Austro-Hungarians, began a counteradvance in Galicia and Russian Poland. This offensive led to the Transvistula battle, which lasted from October, 1914, to January, 1915. The German operations ended in failure: the Austrians suffered a severe defeat on the San and fell back on Cracow, losing thousands of prisoners.

4. A new German offensive on Warsaw was met by a Russian counteroffensive in the Lodz region; the German troops barely escaped disaster. By the end of November Austria suffered a third serious defeat. Diversive attacks on Warsaw by Germany lasted through the whole of December, 1914, and part of January, 1915. The Russians lost Lodz and other points, but they had checkmated Germany in all her attempts to save Austria from disaster, and the position of that country remained critical. The whole condition of the Russian front had compelled Germany to increase her forces in the east, making it impossible for her to force a decision in the west.

## 1915

Russia's disastrous defeats in the campaigns of 1915 are explained as follows: Since August, 1914, Russia had been in continuous heavy fighting with almost the whole of the Austro-Hungarian, an ever-increasing part of the German, and an important part of the Turkish forces. Being totally unprepared for such a long military strain, she entered on the fighting of 1915 with hardly any ammunition and with a loss of 75 per cent. in her infantry. The ammunition and artillery problems were serious. By the end of 1914 countless battles in Galicia, East Prussia, Poland and the Caucasus had emptied her small reserves of shells and transformed the greater part of her artillery into useless baggage. The material help which her allies gave her in 1915 was so insignificant that it could not better her position to any appreciable degree. She did not even receive the little she had counted on. Out of the 1,400,000 shells

she was to have received from France, only the negligible number of 57,000 light shells was ready for shipment to Russia by the end of August, 1915. In these circumstances Russia was bound



FIGURES INDICATE APPROXIMATELY EACH NATION'S TOTAL OF KILLED IN THE WAR, WITH PERCENTAGE OF GRAND TOTAL



to fight a losing battle with an enemy equipped with all implements of modern war. The only offset to this disastrous inequality was the wonderful buoyancy of her armies' morale.

The military and strategical operations of this year may be summed up as follows:

1. The right flank of the Russian armies in East Prussia was overwhelmed by German attacks in February, and the Russian forces flung back to their own soil. This placed the whole Russian line to the right of Warsaw in a precarious position.

2. Though struggling against lack of communications, scarcity of ammunition and food, bad weather and terrible fatigue, the Russian armies continued to harass Germany's ally. Severe Austrian defeats from January to March led to Russian forces penetrating the valleys of Hungary.

3. The complete disorganization of the Austro-Hungarian Army following these Russian victories completely changed Germany's policy of striving to deal a decisive blow to France and maintaining a system of defense (by offensive, according to the German tactic) on the eastern front. Russia now loomed before her eyes as a far more dangerous foe. She therefore determined to crush her once and for all, and thus secure a free hand to deal with the French and British armies as she desired.

4. To carry out this new policy, five new divisions were formed on the Russian front during March and April and twelve others were transferred from France. The fighting power of Austria-Hungary was reorganized. By the end of April all preparatory movements were completed. In June, after the offensive began, six infantry and two cavalry divisions were transferred from France, and seven new divisions were formed by "Ersatz" battalions on the Russian front.

5. The advance of the combined German-Austro-Hungarian armies began in Northwest Galicia at the end of April. In May and June the operations had spread to the whole of Galicia and Poland—by July, northward to Courland, covering in all a front of 1,300 kilometers.

6. The enemy's advance ended in September. The Russian armies left the whole of Poland and Courland and the greater part of Galicia and Lithuania in the hands of the enemy. They had lost two-thirds of their fighting effectives and shot away what small reserves of shells they had.

7. By the end of 1915 Russia was weakened to such an extent that Germany's hands were at last untied on this front. After closing the series of her operations in the east by the destruction of Serbia,

she gained the long-desired freedom of operation on the western front.

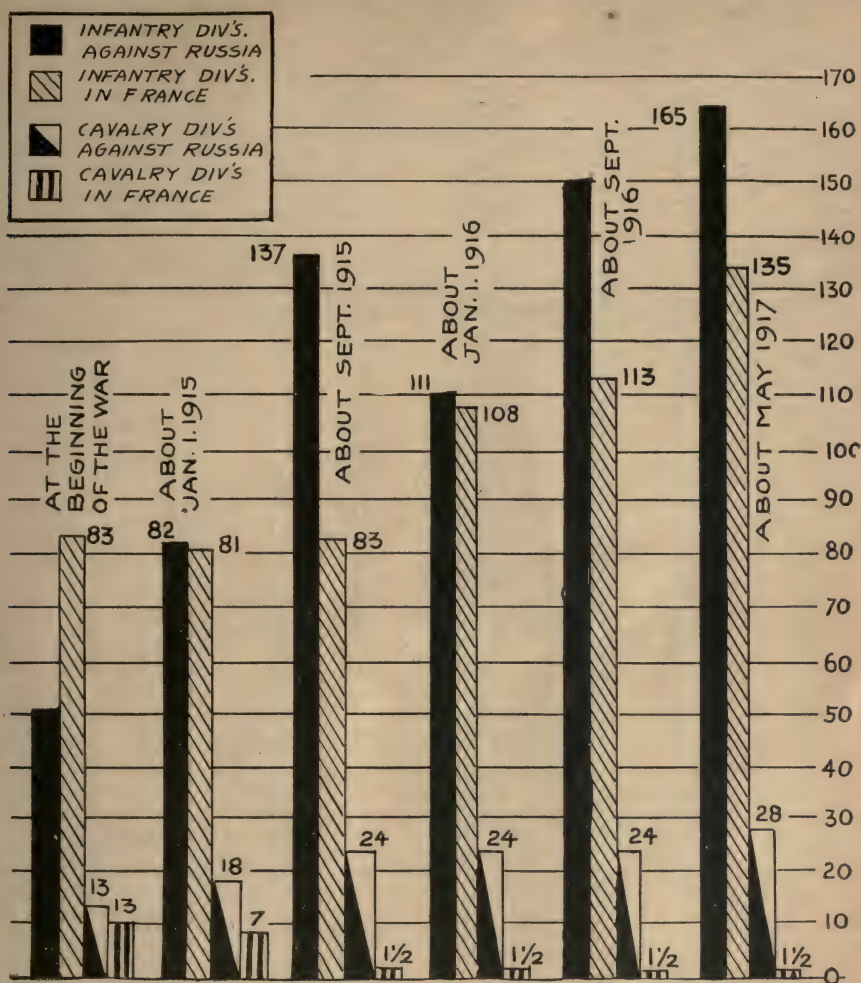
## THE TURKISH CAMPAIGNS

Meanwhile other Russian armies, ultimately placed under command of Grand Duke Nicholas, were delivering heavy blows against Turkey. The Turkish campaigns for the whole war period may be summed up here as follows:

On entering the war in November, 1914, the Ottoman Empire had concentrated its forces in two chief groups—one in the region of Constantinople for the defense of the straits, and another in the region of Erzerum against Russia. The second of these groups invaded Russia's Transcaucasian territory, but by the end of December suffered heavy defeats, the remnants seeking refuge under cover of the fortress of Erzerum and in the difficult passes of Upper Armenia, leaving thousands of prisoners and rich military booty behind them. From Bagdad and Constantinople this shattered army was reinforced, and continuous fighting went on through the whole of 1915 on a front reaching from the Black Sea to the Persian frontier; in this unceasing battle the Russians were nearly always the victors.

With five new army corps freed by the withdrawal of the Allies from Gallipoli, Turkey then undertook to strike a decisive blow at the Russians, who were menacing the most vital parts of the Ottoman Empire. Fully informed of these new plans, the Russian command took the heroic decision to attack the fortress of Erzerum in the middle of Winter and to defeat the Turkish Army before the arrival of the reinforcements from Gallipoli. Though defended by over a thousand guns, including 460 heavy guns from Krupp's, Erzerum was taken after ten days of heavy open fighting, in which the Turks lost more than 60,000 men (a loss of 50 per cent.) and several hundred guns. The Russians spread their operations to the coast and captured Trebizond. The arrival of the Turkish reinforcements could not stop the Russian advance; heavy fighting lasted till the end of the year, in which Russia captured a number of important places and inflicted a series of severe defeats upon her Asiatic foe.

The Winter of 1916-17 put a stop to Russia's active operations, and the revolution of 1917 prevented her from reaping the fruits of the junction with the British forces, which took place after the fall of Bagdad in the Spring of 1917. But her allies found the military power of the enemy broken by the heavy blows dealt by Russia during 1914-16, and the victories in Palestine and Mesopotamia were bought by the blood of Russia's Caucasian Army.



BLACK COLUMNS, AS COMPARED WITH SHADED ONES, SHOW HOW MANY MORE DIVISIONS GERMANY SENT AGAINST THE RUSSIANS THAN AGAINST THE ALLIES IN FRANCE

Only a year and a half after the beginning of the war did Germany obtain the possibility of concentrating in France a force sufficient for dealing what she planned to be a decisive blow. Her new offensive on the west soon followed. But conditions meanwhile had taken a considerably better turn for Russia's allies. The time that Russia had won for the Entente powers had allowed them to concentrate in France a British Army of over a million men, to supply the Franco-Anglo-Belgian Armies

with heavy artillery, to create a reserve of nearly 50,000,000 shells, to instruct the troops in the novel methods of trench warfare, to push the engineering of defenses to the limits of technical perfection, and to prepare Italy's mobilized fighting force. Though Germany, in beginning her "decisive" blow, was stimulated by her victories in the east, it was those victories which were responsible for her failures in France in 1916, and which contained the germ of her future final defeat.



## 1916

The position of Russia toward the close of the 1915 campaigns allowed Germany to start conveying back troops from the eastern front to France as early as October, 1915. The German offensive, which began in February, placed our allies in difficult straits. Al-



GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS  
*Commander of the Russian Armies in the  
Caucasus and Armenia*  
(© Underwood & Underwood)

ready at the beginning of March, 1916, the attacks on Verd had developed into the menace of a great enemy success, and forced the Allies to appeal to Russia again for help. Though our country, after the close of the 1915 campaign, had begun to reconstruct her broken armies, and the ranks had been filled up by the beginning of 1916, the rebuilding of the material and the forming of reserves of artillery ammunition up to the Summer of 1916 had met with serious difficulties, owing to the insufficient production of our industry. But, true to her obligations to her allies, Russia responded to the pressing appeals of France, and in March began an offensive on a large

scale from Riga to Baranovitchi without waiting to complete the rebuilding of her fighting power.

This operation cost her 250,000 men, and was stopped by the Spring melting of snows. Though it brought no decisive results, in consequence of the unprepared condition of the armies, it obliged the German command to transfer several divisions from the French front to the east in the midst of most strenuous operations.

This offensive had barely ended when the Allies again appealed to their long-suffering ally for help, this time for Italy. The Italian armies had been placed in such critical circumstances by Austria-Hungary's April operations on the Italian front, where she had concentrated 35 divisions (as against 39 infantry and 11 cavalry divisions opposed to Russia), that only immediate help could avail to avert a serious disaster.

At that time the Russian armies were preparing for new offensive operations on the Vilna-Baranovitchi front in accordance with the plan worked out by the Allied Military Conference at Chantilly in February, 1916. The Russian High Command, however, renounced the only chance it had had during the whole war of undertaking a thoroughly prepared offensive, responded to Italy's call, and improvised a new strategical manoeuvre the success of which depended on the high morale of our troops and the strength of their attack. A hasty concentration of our forces took place, and on June 6 the offensive of the armies of the southwestern front began under General Brusiloff's command. The direct results of this offensive, unequalled in history for the quantity of military booty taken, may be summarized as follows:

1. The immediate ending of Austria-Hungary's offensive in Italy.
2. The transfer of 7 divisions from Italy to the Russian front.
3. The transfer by Germany to the Russian front of 18 divisions from France,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  divisions from the Saloniki front, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  newly formed divisions from the interior.
4. The new defeat of Austria-Hungary.
5. The entrance of Rumania into the war.
6. The Autumn campaign in Rumania, which demanded new and strenuous

efforts by Russia by the end of 1916 and in 1917.

### THE RUMANIAN CAMPAIGNS

The disastrous series of events in Rumania may be summarized as follows:

The Russian High Command had foreseen the disastrous consequences which were certain to follow Rumania's declaration of war, and had done all it could to keep Rumania neutral. When she declared war, all General Alexieff's fears were realized. The Rumanian Army was wholly unprepared. Russia, forced to defend the Rumanian front herself, found her line lengthened by 500 kilometers, and was compelled to face two new foes, Bulgaria and Turkey.

The charge that Russia allowed the enemies to throw part of their forces against Rumania by not continuing active operations in Bukowina and Galicia after the opening of the Rumanian offensive in Transylvania is unjustified; the Russian offensive in the two regions mentioned had already died down and could not be renewed in the natural course of things. The four infantry divisions which Russia agreed to give for defense of the southern boundaries of Rumania during her Transylvanian offensive were furnished, and further help Rumania herself at this time declined. Beaten back to her own territory by Falkenhayn's army, Rumania appealed to Russia for help, which was given lavishly. But the necessity to face a new attack by Mackensen weakened the six army corps sent by Russia to Rumania, and the remainder, insufficiently supplied with artillery and shells, could not prevent Falkenhayn and Mackensen from joining hands and taking the Rumanian capital. To save the fleeing Rumanian Army, the Russian command transferred new forces to the Rumanian front, and stopped the enemy's advance on the Sereth, where the unhappy Rumanian campaign of 1916 came to an end.

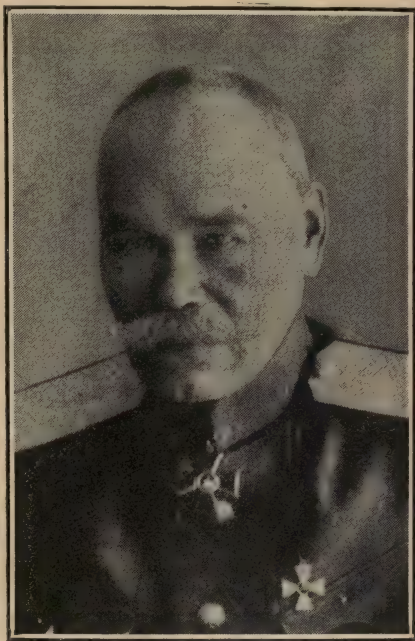
During the Winter, three Russian armies were forced to hold 465 kilometers of the Rumanian front. The double offensive conducted in the Summer of 1917 on the southwestern and Rumanian fronts broke down through the poison of the Russian revolution. To meet heavy attacks by Germany on the Rumanian front begun by Mackensen on Aug. 6, the Russian revolutionary troops and the whole re-organized Rumanian Army fought so obstinately that Mackensen's assault ended in failure, as a result of which all the Austro-German forces were chained to the Rumanian front till the conclusion of the Bucharest peace.

Summing up, Russia gave Rumania far more help than she had ever demanded, and the disasters encountered by Rumania were the result of conditions fore-

seen by Russia, which caused her to oppose Rumania's entry into the war, and which threw a heavy burden on Russia herself which she could ill afford to carry.

### 1917

During the Winter of 1916-17 Russia accomplished the gigantic task of reorganizing her army. The number of our



GENERAL ALEXIEFF  
*Russian Commander in Chief*  
(Underwood & Underwood)

infantry divisions was enlarged by 25 per cent., and we were considerably strengthened by artillery, machine guns and technical equipment, so that by the Spring of 1917 we were stronger than ever. The organized work of our factories secured for us the quantity of munitions necessary for any effective fighting. We were at last fully prepared for grappling with the foe.

But the blow which the enemy had vainly tried to deal us during the two years and a half of war was dealt us by the revolution at the beginning of 1917.

Our command, true to our allies, did all that was possible to prevent the rev-



olution from gaining control of the army; but they met with the opposition of the revolutionary leaders, headed by Kerensky. Having no faith in the Russian command, the Provisional Government kept pouring into the army the poison of politics, criticism and "revolutionary freedom"—things absolutely incompatible with military discipline. Demoralized by hasty and careless reforms, undermined by the pacifist propaganda of the Germans at the front and by the work of their allies, the Bolsheviks, in the rear, the Russian Army was doomed to die by what may be called a process of psychological disintegration.

Firmly believing in the effectiveness of the measures it had taken, and in the sane instincts of the people, the Provisional Government undertook an offensive on the southwestern front in July, 1917. The ignominious defeat which followed the first successes showed the demoralizing results of the revolution. After this, our fighting power declined rapidly.

The Bolshevik coup d'état at the end of October, 1917, definitely put us out of action, and at the beginning of 1918 the Soviet Government signed the separate peace of Brest-Litovsk.

But up to the Brest-Litovsk treaty Russia continued to hold important enemy forces on her front by the very fact of her remaining in the war, even though her armies suffered disintegration and defeat, and finally became inactive. When the enemy was at last free in the east and gained the long-sought freedom of action in the west, Germany was no longer the terrible menace she had been in the first periods of the war. The Allies had been strengthened by the entry of the United States into the struggle, and had themselves attained the maximum of their power; they could, therefore, enter the last and decisive stage of the war with full confidence, and win, for Europe and the world, a victory all too long deferred.

### CONCLUSION

During the great war the Russian Army at times had brilliant successes, at times suffered bitter defeats; but,

taken as a whole, the events on the Russian front were one of the most important factors that brought victory to the Allies.

From the very beginning the self-sacrifice of the Russian Army helped the Allies to establish a balance of power between themselves and the enemy; it



GENERAL A. A. BRUSILOFF  
*One of the most brilliant leaders of the  
Czar's armies*

helped to weaken the crushing blow which Germany sought to deliver to France, Belgium and England before the last-named country had had sufficient time to prepare adequate measures of defense.

Subsequently, Russia's unrelenting pressure on Austria-Hungary, which threatened to put an end to Germany's ally as a fighting power, forced the German High Command to pay more and more attention to the eastern front. As early as the Autumn of 1914 Russia had made it impossible for the German High Command to deal the Franco-Anglo-Belgian Armies a decisive blow. In 1915 she forced a radical change in the German plan of campaign, whose chief efforts were turned perforce against the Russian menace on the eastern front. The lull in the German offensive on the western front, which prevailed from November, 1914, to January, 1916, is to be

attributed directly to the Russian campaigns. This enforced suspension of the German offensive allowed Russia's allies to undertake a series of measures unhindered by the enemy—measures which gave them the possibility of facing the new onslaught begun by Germany subsequently with complete confidence of eventual victory. This possibility was purchased at the price of rivers of Russian blood, and was the fruit of Russia's unselfish and loyal spirit of self-sacrifice.

This sacrifice was continuous. Russia had just begun to recover from the terrible stress of the fighting of 1915, when, in March, 1916, there came an urgent appeal from France, hard-pressed at Verdun. To this appeal, as well as to Italy's cry in June of the same year, Russia could not turn deaf ears.

The entry of Rumania into the ranks of the Allies called for new sacrifices from Russia, sacrifices which endangered her most vital interests. Loyal she offered this sacrifice, the consequences of which she had foreseen, in full knowledge of Rumania's military impo-

tency, which made her defeat a foregone conclusion at the very moment of declaring war.

On the Asiatic front it was due to three years' heroic efforts of the Russian armies that General Allenby won his final victory. It was Russia who opened the gates of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine for the Allies. Even after the revolution, weakened and harassed by mortal illness as she was, Russia, up to the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, kept considerable enemy forces engaged against her. Her premature exit from the war deprived her of the happiness of taking part in the rejoicing of the victors, but it cannot impair the value of her services during the first and middle period of the fighting—for the sacrifices of Russia in that period had a decisive influence on the whole course of the death struggle with Germany and prepared the final victory of the Allies. This victory was due in large part to Russian blood spilled in the common fight for the triumph of right over brutal strength.

## Religious Customs in Russia

By CONSTANTIN FRABONI

THE Russian people, from the most remote time, have been deeply religious by nature; therefore, the present attempt of the Bolshevik leaders to alienate them from the ancient Orthodox faith is not likely to have any large degree of success. A brief account of the religious customs of Russia as they still exist—except where temporarily interfered with by the Lenin-Trotsky Government—cannot fail to be of interest to readers of CURRENT HISTORY.

In every public establishment, in every office, railroad station, post office, bank, tavern, store, and almost in every room of a private dwelling, there is an "ikon" (holy picture), placed in a corner, with an oil light before it, steadily burning. These "ikons" look like bas-relief; only the head and hands of the image are painted on the back-

ground; the rest of the picture is composed of engraved, gilded metal, very often of real gold and silver incrustated with diamonds and other precious stones.

The Russian believes that the ikon has a protecting and healing power. When a family moves from one house to another, the first thing to be brought into the new apartment and fixed in its place, is an ikon. When, after a wedding, the bride and bridegroom come back from the church, the mother meets and blesses them with an ikon, which afterward is given them as a symbol of future happiness. When a young man goes away to be a soldier, his mother invariably gives him an ikon. A new bank, shop, factory, store, school, office, or any establishment, whatever its nature, is scarcely opened before an ikon is put in the most conspicuous place and



a religious service is held, with choir and priests, who bless the new edifice and pray before the image.

Almost every school and factory, and almost every wealthy private house, has

ligion forbids him to cut his hair and beard; so that many priests, who have abundant hair, are obliged to plait it in the same way as a woman, hiding the braid under the tunic. Nobody can be-



PICTURESQUE TYPES OF RUSSIAN MUJIKS OR PEASANTS

a specially built chapel, with altar and rich images, where a mass is said every Sunday and holiday. Once a year priests go around in every apartment of the houses surrounding their churches and bless each room with holy water. Some ikons are believed to be miraculous and are brought in procession with great pomp and solemnity, from one town to another, followed by many clergymen and a crowd of devotees.

The "pope" (Russian priest) has always been considered as a holy person and his hands and tunic are reverently kissed by the peasants. The Orthodox priest wears a very wide and long tunic, black, gray, or brown in color; his re-

come a priest if he is not married, and not long ago clergymen were obliged to marry only clergymen's daughters. A country priest is generally very poor and lives exclusively on fees paid him at baptisms, weddings and funerals, and these fees are largely in the form of eggs, chickens, flour, &c., which he receives from the peasant instead of money.

The Russian clergy, being constantly in contact with the people, and especially with the ignorant mujik, has been a powerful instrument in the hands of the ruling powers, which used the priests to inculcate and maintain, under the guise of religion, such sentiments and beliefs



A LARGE GOLD "IKON" WITH PRECIOUS STONES GUARDED BY TWO MONKS

as would aid in maintaining that form of despotic government which predominated in Russia before the war. This fact has had much to do with the recent loss of that moral influence and prestige which was enjoyed to so large an extent by the clergy, and which has been greatly weakened since the Bolshevik revolution.

Churches are beautiful outside and inside, and many of them, especially in Moscow, Petrograd and Kiev, contain immense treasures. Services are very long, no music is permitted, and no chairs or benches allowed; everybody stands or kneels down. A sepulchral silence is maintained during a religious function, which is generally conducted

by three priests, who recite the prayers, singing them in a monotone with imposing deep bass voices. The altar is separated from the hall of the church by a low gilded door, and no woman ever can pass through it; this would be a horrible sacrilege!

Russian people observe rigorously all religious holidays; five at Christmas, ten at Easter, three at Carnival, and almost every week one extra day, when an anniversary of some saint is celebrated; on these days everything is closed and nobody works. The six weeks of fasting preceding Easter are strictly observed by everybody, and the more devout do not even eat eggs or drink milk, and do





A SHRINE IN A MOSCOW STREET, WHERE PEOPLE STOP ON THEIR WAY FOR A SHORT PRAYER

not use sugar, because it is refined with blood. The last three days of Holy Week are still more respected, for no food at all is consumed; it is not surprising, then, if the Russians celebrate Easter Sunday by stuffing themselves with all kinds of food, from morning till night. For this occasion (before the present scarcity), very large cakes, sometimes three or four feet high, were cooked with beautiful ornaments on the top, and eggs were skillfully painted. Both cakes and eggs, with other eatables, are brought on

Easter Eve near the church and placed all about on the ground. After the midnight mass a procession of priests and choirs comes out and walks around the church, blessing all the food, which is arranged before them as in a market.

Easter Sunday and the two following days are dedicated to paying visits. Every man calls upon his acquaintances. Before the war, when conditions were normal, it was not an easy task to follow such a custom, for in every house there was displayed a large table full of all

kinds of foods and relishes; beside the gigantic cakes and artistic eggs there were placed large hams, little pigs, caviar, turkeys, various kinds of smoked fish, preserves, fruits and scores of bottles with different wines, liquors and vodkas. Visitors were obliged to eat and drink wherever they happened to go, otherwise they would offend the host; the results may be imagined when such a merriment continued from 9 in the morning until after midnight.

A widespread custom in Russia at Easter time is that of kissing. When two acquaintances meet one says: "Christ is risen!" The other replies: "Indeed He is!" Then they give each other three kisses, one on each cheek and one on the lips. Many years ago it was not possible to dodge this custom when the sacred words were pronounced, but now the ladies may refuse to let themselves be kissed, and this is a great improvement, because it was not a pleasure, certainly, for a pretty and dignified young woman (even if very religious) to let herself be kissed by some intoxicated, big-whiskered fellow. On Holy Satur-

day, when the high mass is said at midnight, the priest solemnly pronounces, "Christ is risen!" and everybody in the church kisses all those who happen to be near him. On Easter Sunday every employe calls upon his employer, who kisses all of them. The powerful Czar himself, on that day used to kiss not only the dignitaries of his Court, but also his humble servants. Such a custom, though antiquated, proves the religious and humanitarian sentiment of the true Russian people, who believe in the fundamental principle of Christianity, that is: "We are all brothers in this world."

There is no doubt that the subdual of Russia by a group of usurpers was due mainly to the almost complete illiteracy of 90 per cent. of her inhabitants; but there is no doubt, also, that the strong religious faith of these same inhabitants will be the principal factor which will throw off the present yoke and promote the redemption of that unfortunate country.

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NOTE.—Mr. Fraboni lived fifteen years in Russia and knows thoroughly her customs, language and people.

## The Soviet Marriage Code

### How Communist Russia Legitimizes Illegitimacy—A Step Toward Abolishing Wedlock

THE full text of the new marriage law of Soviet Russia was published in the April issue of the *Contemporary Review*. In the main it avoids radical changes—for the present. Many of the provisions dealing with the necessary formalities to be observed in the case of marriage, divorce, maintenance, guardianship, &c., differ in no essential degree from the laws of other nations. The legal obligation of each party to a marriage, irrespective of sex, to support the other party in case of illness or incapacity is a new departure, in line with the Soviet attempt to place the two sexes on an absolute equality so far as marriage is concerned. The same principle is followed in allowing either party the absolute right to obtain a divorce by formally transmitting an expression of

his or her desire. The mutual consent of both parties, irrespective of the grounds for the divorce—in other words, what other marriage laws would characterize as "collusion"—is accepted by the Soviet law as a simple matter of course.

One aspect of the Soviet code, however, represents a radical departure from old standards, namely, its way of dealing with the problem of illegitimate births. The injustices of the social order in respect to illegitimacy have long been held up to opprobrium, but no definite, official step has been taken by any Government to remedy the alleged abuses. It has remained for Soviet Russia to make the rights of the illegitimate child absolutely equal to those of the child born in wedlock; to compel the mother to reveal the name of the father three months



before confinement, and to force the father to recognize and support the illegitimate offspring. In cases where the paternity cannot be established among various others with whom the mother has had relations, all those named are held to proportionate contributions for support. The clause relating to this subject are as follows:

### SECTION III.—FAMILY LAW

#### CHAPTER I.—CONCERNING PARENTAGE

133. The basis of the family shall be actual parentage; no distinction shall be established between natural parentage and legitimate parentage.

Observation I.—Children not born in matrimony shall have the same rights as children born to persons whose marriage has been registered.

Observation II.—The regulation contained in this article shall apply equally to illegitimate children born before the publication of the decree concerning civil marriage (of Dec. 20, 1917).

134. The persons entered in the register as father and mother shall be held to be the father and mother of a child.

135. Failing the registration of the father and mother, or in the case of a false entry in the registry, or an entry lacking sufficient detail, the interested persons shall have the right to prove paternity and maternity by judicial means.

Observation—Questions of parentage shall be within the competence of the local popular tribunal.

136. The right of proving the actual parentage of a child shall belong to the interested persons, and to the mother among them; and those persons shall be registered as father and mother of the child who, at the time of its conception, or of its birth, are united in registered marriage, or in a marriage which has the validity of a registered marriage.

137. If, during the inquiry into the matter, the tribunal shall prove that the entry in the register is false and based upon the false evidence of the persons who have passed themselves off as the father and mother, the persons guilty of false evidence shall be prosecuted under the criminal law, and the entry in the register shall be declared void.

138. Within three days of the passing of the sentence the tribunal shall advise the Registry Office where the birth is registered of the declaration of the nullity of the entry, and of the proof of actual parentage of the child, after having made the appropriate alterations in the entry.

139. In cases where the child is not acknowledged by the father, paternity shall be proved in accordance with the forms prescribed in Articles 140-145.

140. An unmarried pregnant woman shall make a declaration at the Registry Office

not later than three months before the birth of the child, indicating the date of conception, the name and domicile of the child's father.

Observation—A married woman may make a like declaration if the father of the child conceived is not her registered husband.

141. The Register shall advise the person named in the declaration as the father of that declaration (Article 140), and the said person shall have the right, within two weeks of the day upon which he receives the notice, to initiate an action for the nullification of the mother's declaration. Failure to dispute the declaration within the stated period shall be equivalent to the recognition of the child as his.

142. Questions of the establishment of paternity shall be examined in accordance with the usual forms, but the parties shall be required to speak the truth, and if they do not fulfill this duty they shall be held responsible as for giving false evidence.

143. If it shall be established that the connection of the person mentioned in Article 141 with the mother of the child was such, that in the natural course of things that person would be the father of the child, the tribunal shall pronounce judgment, recognizing that person as the father, and at the same time shall decree that he shall bear a share of all expenditure caused by pregnancy, confinement, birth and maintenance of the child.

144. If, during inquiry into the matter, the tribunal shall establish that at the time of the conception of the child the person mentioned in Article 141 had intimate relations with the mother of the child, but at the same time as other persons, the tribunal shall order them all to be summoned as defendants, and shall charge them with a share of the expenses provided for in Article 143.

That the foregoing portion of the Russian Communist Code is intended as a transition step toward the total abolishment of marriage is indicated by the following explicit statement recently made by Karl Kautsky, German Socialist leader:

The complete equality of rights between all the children, without distinction of parentage, is a measure of social psychology preparing the way for applying the care of the community to all children, removing the last foundations of bourgeois marriage, with its privileges, its narrow family interests, its isolation, and its patriarchal limitations.

This frank avowal of the intent to destroy the family and the home indicates the extent and nature of the revolution which the Moscow International is trying to force upon the rest of the world.

# Light on Austria's War Guilt

## Analysis of the New Red Book

By LOUISE E. MATTHAEI

[STAFF MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL SECTION OF THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, LONDON]

THE Austrian Red Book published at the beginning of the war gave not a single document between the dates of July 6 and July 21, 1914.

Three weeks of momentous history were ignored by the apologists, and the Hapsburg empire was blandly presented as proceeding, with a kind of dignified simplicity, in a direct line from the crime of Serajevo to its consequences. The facts were otherwise, and evidence produced by other parties showed it. But the Hapsburg authorities, having once stated their case, left it at that. Trained to address the most futile of official communiqués to a public which was too clever to accept them but too engrossed in music, drama, trade, and the whole art of amusing living to dispute them, the Austrian Government wrote its apologia to Europe as though it had been addressing the witty and indifferent public of Vienna. Europe could not turn it into a Schnitzler dialogue; and taken *au grand sérieux* it was ridiculous. But it had been drafted by the correct royal and imperial official in the correct royal and imperial department; it had obtained the royal and imperial apostolic consent through the royal and imperial Ministers, and that was all there was about it, in the eyes of royal and imperial officialdom.

The negotiations leading up to the war fell into two halves, before and after the presentation of the Austrian demands to Serbia on July 23, 1914. Serbia accepted most of those demands. She was not intended to do so; the Austrian bureaucrat had reckoned confidently on a refusal, and he was exceedingly taken aback; he had, so to say, all the trouble of starting over again. The history of his efforts has been discussed at great length by all who have written on the "twelve days." But his first and original scheme has been less discussed, owing to want of evidence.

The Socialist-Coalition Government of the Austrian Republic is now in process of publishing a new Red Book, the first part\* of which fills up that notorious gap between July 6 and July 21, 1914. It gives us, for instance, the minutes of two Ministerial councils held at Vienna on July 7 and 19; it was at these two councils that Austrian policy was shaped; it was here that a handful of futile and foolish officials contrived to evoke out of a threatening situation an "inevitable" war.

The policy pursued did not embrace within its vision the whole of the Triple Alliance, or even the whole of the Teutonic race. Nothing is more striking in these documents than the revelation of the inner disintegration of the three members of the Triple Alliance; this is particularly so when we consider the accepted and popular estimate of the interlocking nature of the Wilhelmsstrasse and the Ballplatz. But "Vienna worked while Berlin slept," says Vorwärts, and the description seems peculiarly apt.

### TISZA IN A NEW ASPECT

Again, up till now it had been supposed that "Vienna at work" was inspired by the Hungarian, Count Tisza, the great instigator of war, the best hated man in Europe. Vienna was supposed to be Budapest in rather more polite terms. It will perhaps be remembered what an extraordinary outburst of hate followed Tisza's fall half way through the war. This outburst was closely connected with the legend that Tisza was a bloodthirsty tyrant, who among other despotic acts had decreed the war. Yet very pronounced Hungarian radicals, who had not a good word

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\*A translation has now been published by Messrs. Allen & Unwin. The quotations I give are my own translation from the original text.



for such "Liberal" politicians as Count Apponyi, and whose enthusiasm even for Karolyi was decidedly lukewarm, could be heard to speak with real respect of Tisza, and even to the distant observer Tisza, if at heart a villain, did contrive sometimes to seem a better imitation of a statesman than his enemies.

The new records now put before us most remarkably reverse the popular view. It is Tisza alone who stands up against Count Berchtold and his theory of a "radical solution by means of military intervention." "The Hungarian Premier," we read, "pointed out what a frightful calamity a European war would be under present circumstances," and, as far as we can gather, he was the only person in that irresponsible group who did at all consider a European war as in the nature of a "calamity." It is the Hungarian Premier again who objects to forcing Serbia into fighting, because that will put the empire in an "impossible position" in the eyes of Europe.

Count Tisza, in fact, was the only person of authority in the Austro-Hungarian Empire who may be said to have had a European outlook. The rest, Counts Berchtold and Stürkgh and Bilinski, the War Minister and the navy representative *et hoc genus omne*, were true sons of that provincialism which was the mark of this dying empire. They were perfectly capable of carving Serbia up in their imaginations, of providing her (end of the first Ministerial council) with suitable "frontier modifications," or, alternatively, of "reducing" her by carving off large slices and handing these on a platter to Rumania and Greece; they could depose the Kara-georgievich dynasty and thoughtfully supply Serbia with a suitable new King from "somewhere in Europe"; they could put this new King with his little kingdom in a proper state of dependency, "military and economic," on the Hapsburg monarchy; but not one of these men was able to see Europe in front of him. There is a kind of wild satire, when we think of the present state of what was once the Hapsburg empire, in the argument of Count Stürkgh, who wanted the war brought on quickly, "so

that our trade and commerce may be spared a long period of unrest." So little was he able to understand what were the relations of his own country to Europe and what Europe would make of him and of his like.

### TIMING THE BLOW

These minutes, then, to a large extent rehabilitate the reputation of Count Tisza. But they condemn, even more than before, his entourage. It is apparent that both sides came to these councils with their minds made up; Tisza had lost before he had opened his mouth. It was only owing to his extraordinary force of character that he was able to carry the question over still nominally *sub judice* to a second council, and he would not have done so had it not suited the others to admit a certain delay.

We have a great deal of mention, in the letters which passed, as to the exact hour at which the note shall be handed over to Serbia; those who were playing with the destinies of continents were punctilious and precise on the question of minutes and spent a considerable amount of brain power in arguing whether 4:30 P. M. or 6 P. M. would be the better hour. The timing was very delicately done; Poincaré was to have left Petrograd when the news reached the Czar; consequently his influence would be lost to the world while he was tossing about on the high seas; it would also look polite to wait for the termination of this visit; on the other hand, the first fine flair of indignation about Serajevo was dying down; that which was absolutely calculated to the minute was to appear as spontaneous and natural indignation; but this is a little difficult when three weeks have passed, and, finally, Berlin was "getting nervous"; Berlin, in fact, was beginning to wake up and some most pertinent inquiries were coming through.

At that fatal council of July 7 the morning sitting had broken up under a threat of resignation from Count Tisza. The council had wanted impossible proposals to Serbia leading up to a war; the War Minister had tentatively suggested that it might even be advisable

to drop the impossible proposals and to proceed to war *sans phrase*, and he quoted the Russo-Japanese and the Balkan wars, both begun "without previous declarations of war"; Tisza had stood out for proposals, "hard, but not impossible of fulfillment." In vain he tried to buy off opposition of the others by dangling in front of them "a dazzling diplomatic success"; they would have none of it. He, in his turn, was equally unpersuadable; but in the afternoon they overbore him, not by quality of arguments, but by weight of numbers, by the deadly force of the united, narrow-minded Austro-Hungarian administration. The contest was then carried to the last and highest court. Berchtold duly reported to the Emperor and was forced by Tisza to carry with him a memorial recommending a note to Serbia "couched in a moderate, not in a threatening, tone, containing our concrete complaints and including definite demands connected therewith."

#### GERMANY'S SUPPORT

Tisza's appeal was in vain; the Berchtold policy scored a victory over the coolest brain and the most determined will in Europe. But it is doubtful whether Berchtold could have done this without making a skillful, though risky, use of an alleged "unconditional support" from Germany.

We here enter upon the complex question of the Austro-German relations during the month of July, 1914. The formal side of these relations, as they appear in the new Red Book, is as follows: A personal letter on the Serajevo affair was addressed by the Emperor Francis Joseph to the Emperor William and handed over to the latter by a special emissary, Count Hoyos, on July 5. It was not answered until July 14 from Bornholm. Both documents are printed at full length in the Red Book; they are conventional papers drawn up under Ministerial advice and contain safe sentiments of mutual esteem and support. One now looks for some report from Vienna to Berlin, via the two Foreign Offices, of the all-important council of July 7 at Vienna. The astonishing thing is that there never was any such report.

Truly amazing is the way in which Vienna condescended to inform Berlin of what she had decided. Imbedded in an unimportant communication to the Austrian representative at Berlin, the following sentences occur:

Will your Excellency also communicate to Herr von Bethmann Hollweg that a joint Ministerial council was held here yesterday to discuss the further measures to be taken, and that I am today going to Ischl to report to his Imperial Apostolic Majesty? As soon as final decisions have been taken (the date also depends on when the inquiry into Serajevo is concluded), I will communicate these without delay to the Imperial Government. (Red Book, No. 11.)

And that is all that Berlin ever heard of either council until the day when rude Socialist fingers broke open the secret dossiers of either Foreign Office. Such was the formal side of the negotiations between two powers which were popularly supposed to make up only one diplomatic dog between them, where the head was supposed to growl and the tail to wag in perfect unison.

But the Red Book also reveals another side. Long before Emperor William had put pen to paper to reassure his cousin and brother, Emperor Francis, Count Berchtold, at the July 7 council, had been able to tell his brother Ministers of Germany's unqualified support, and, strange to say, although he was to a certain extent forestalling events, he was not altogether telling lies.

#### THE KAISER'S RESPONSIBILITY

The fact is that it is a mistake to talk of "Vienna" and "Berlin"; just as there were at least two Viennas, *i. e.*, Counts Berchtold and Tisza in rivalry, so also were there two Berlins, in this case the Emperor and his Ministers. In so far as the Emperor spoke his mind, while his Ministers remained sublimely asleep, he had the advantage over them. That the Emperor *spoke* his mind, although he *wrote* nothing that was not safe and good, is apparent from the following reports of the Austrian Ambassador at Berlin to his home Government:

At first his Majesty told me that he had expected serious action on our part against Serbia, but he must confess that in consequence of the exposition of my imperial sovereign he must consider the



possibility of a serious European complication, and therefore would give no definite answer without consultation with the Chancellor. After lunch, when I again put the seriousness of the situation with the greatest emphasis, his Majesty empowered me to announce to our gracious sovereign that in this case, too, we might count on Germany's full support. As said before, he must wait to hear the Chancellor's opinion, but he had no manner of doubt but that Herr von Bethmann Hollweg would be completely of his opinion. More especially would this be true in relation to any action of ours against Serbia. But in his (the Emperor's) opinion this action must not be delayed. Russia's attitude would certainly be hostile; but he had been prepared for that for years past, and even if it came to a war between Austria-Hungary and Russia, we might be convinced that Germany would stand at our side in wonted loyalty. However, at the present juncture Russia was not at all prepared for war and would certainly pause long before appealing to arms. But she would make interest against us with the other powers of the Triple Entente and would fan the flame in the Balkans.

He understood very well that his Apostolic Majesty, with his well-known love of peace, would find it hard to march into Serbia, but should we really become convinced of the need of warlike action against Serbia, then he (Emperor William) would regret our neglecting the present very favorable opportunity. (No. 6.)

#### Further this:

But in addition to these political considerations weighing with the Government, there is in the case of Emperor William a purely personal factor; this I know from a most authoritative source, one very close to his Majesty's person; that factor is his superlative (*unbegrenzten*) enthusiasm for our gracious sovereign, and for the extraordinary energy he shows in his personal communication in supporting the vital interests and the prestige of the lands committed to his care. (July 12, No. 15.)

#### HOW BERLIN WAS INFORMED

The Red Book contains also a very interesting communication from Berchtold to Tisza (No. 10), in which the former tries to bear down Tisza's opposition by, so to say, threatening him with the displeasure of Berlin—a very ill-calculated movement over against the proud Magyar, who had already remarked acidly at the council that "It was not Germany's place to judge whether we should deal a blow to Serbia or not."

It is true that among the early communications of this Austrian representative at Berlin, Count Szögyény, may be found some expressions from which one might infer that the German Ministers were also agreed to the "forceful blow" theory. But their interpretation of a forceful blow deserves to be quoted; it is (interview with Zimmermann on July 4, No. 5) to recommend "the greatest caution and advise against putting humiliating demands to Serbia." That is, at an early stage. The head of the German Foreign Office then went off on his honeymoon. Later, when the alarm had been sounded, the Berlin authorities begin to question Szögyény. Two most striking telegrams came from Szögyény to his Government on July 21 (Nos. 39 and 41), in which even he took upon himself the unprecedented course of disobeying an explicit order. This explicit order (it seems almost incredible) had been only to communicate the *démarche* at Belgrade to Berlin simultaneously with communicating it to all other European Cabinets. Some paragraphs of this letter-telegram deserve to be quoted:

In my telegram of today's date, No. 271, I had the honor to announce to your Excellency that in my opinion it was urgently necessary to communicate the note we intend to hand on to Serbia on the 23d of this month at an *earlier* date to Berlin than to the other Cabinets, and, indeed, as soon as may be.

Seeing that from the very first moment all authoritative persons here from the Emperor William downward have promised us their support in the most loyal way without making the slightest difficulty, I think we should avoid a state of offense here such as might arise in that we, by making known our note to Serbia to *all* Cabinets simultaneously, treat the Cabinet of Germany, who is our ally, on a level with the Governments of the other great powers.

I therefore reckon confidently on your Excellency's empowering me to communicate immediately to the Government here the information in question. (Annex to Decree No. 3426, confidential, of the 20th of this month.) \* \* \*

Finally, I hold it incumbent on myself to emphasize to your Excellency that the Secretary of State gave me clearly to understand that Germany would obviously support us unconditionally and with all her power, but that just on this account it was of vital interest for the German Government to be informed in good time

"whither we were going," and, in particular, whether we proposed a provisional occupation of Serbian territory, or whether, as Count Hoyos himself allowed it to be hinted at in the course of his last interview with the Chancellor, we contemplated a partition of Serbia as *ultima ratio*.

The rest of this communication retails von Jagow's advice to do nothing without previous arrangement with Italy, which clearly proves that he had no conception either of the quality or of the pace of the Austrian diplomacy, for Austria had long since determined to proceed without consulting Italy.

To sum up, an honest reading of this Red Book makes the case against Austria, and not least the case of her German ally against Austria, fairly clear. The Austrian answer is, very briefly, a categorical statement from Count Berchtold\* that the text of the Serbian note was in the hands of the German Ambassador at Vienna, Count Tschirschky, on the morning of the 21st, and that it was his responsibility to hand it on. This would seem confirmed by two short documents (Nos. 47 and 46) in the new Red Book. Yet even this important point is not perfectly clear, nor can it be argued that a communication only two days before action was taken made good the dishonest silence of the previous fortnight.

#### STATEMENT OF VICTOR SCHIFF

In any case, the following communication—drawn from an unofficial source—seems of sufficient interest to bear quotation *in extenso*, although I do not assert that it is a final proof, or that there might not be quite reasonable explanations which would reconcile it with Count Berchtold's statement. It is a statement by Victor Schiff, published in the *Sozialistische Korrespondenz*:

In July, 1914, I was editor in the central Berlin office of Wolff's Telegraphic Bureau. As such I was on duty, together with other colleagues, on the evening of July 23, 1914, when the note of the Vienna Government, handed in at Belgrade at 6 o'clock, was being expected. We all took for granted that it would come through by telephone from the Vienna official Correspondence Bureau about 7 o'clock, at

latest about 7:30. But 8 o'clock came, half-past 8, even 9 o'clock, and the expected call still did not come.

Meanwhile the official authorities themselves at Berlin began to get nervous; they rang us up again and again. In particular the Foreign Office and the Chancellery kept on calling us up: "What's the matter with the Austrian note? What does the note say? Where is the note?" Among the official personages of whom I can say with certainty that they asked us questions of this kind, again and again, over the telephone, I will here mention the Chief of Department of that date in the Chancellery, Wahnschaffe, Bethmann Hollweg's right hand, and Privy Councillor Hamann, the doyen of the Foreign Office. On our repeated assurances that we still had nothing from Vienna, these gentlemen begged us most urgently to telephone on the contents of the note as soon as it arrived. It was half-past 9 before the first call came through from the Vienna Correspondence Bureau; the bureau began by telling us that the document was an unusually long one and would scarcely be got through in five calls.

When this was communicated to the authorities I have mentioned their nervousness apparently increased more and more, for at first they wanted the text to be sent to them by messengers as soon as obtained, but afterward—it was now 11 o'clock—they sent Councillor of Legation v. Weber down to the Wolff Bureau, who was to wait for the complete document.

From all these calls and questions I inferred with certainty that Wilhelmstrasse did not know the document handed in at Belgrade, neither as to contents, nor as to length, nor as to character. They did not know that it was an ultimatum,\* for they kept on asking only for the note, and the request to communicate it by telephone shows that they had no notion of the length of the document. The fact that the Chief of the Chancellery, Wahnschaffe, was among those who called us up shows that the first officer of the empire, Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg, knew as little about the character and the contents of the fatal Berchtold concoction as we knew ourselves. It is obviously utterly impossible that any of these gentlemen deliberately set himself to play a part toward the editors of the Wolff Bureau.

The foregoing is translated from Vorwärts of Sept. 22, 1919, which added that Schiff communicated this information during the war, when he was a

\*Neue Freie Presse, Oct. 5, 1919.

\*The Foreign Office officials were in the right; the note was technically not an ultimatum; see No. 66 of the new Red Book.



soldier at the front, to the Internationale Korrespondenz, but, on application, both the Foreign Office and the Wolff Bureau informed that paper that, though the facts were true, it was highly inad-

visable to publish them. From these facts, at length made public, the reader may be left to make his own summing up of the degree of Germany's responsibility.

## The Canadian Farmer Enters Politics

By CHARLES W. STOKES

**T**HE rise of the Canadian farmer as a political force is one of the remarkable social phenomena of the last five years. The word "remarkable" is used for several reasons. First, a weak, defensive alliance for economic protection has become a strong and aggressive alliance for political assertion. Secondly, the movement in its progress from one to the other has financed itself by one of the most con-

spicuously successful co-operative ventures in the history of agriculture. Thirdly, the farmers' political party, after third parties innumerable have flickered a few brief nights and then disappeared, is the first serious challenge to the traditional system of two G. O. P.'s holding alternate political supremacy. And lastly, because of the peculiar combination of circumstances inevitable to rule by a none-too-powerful Coalition Government, the farmers of Canada practically hold the destinies of their country in the hollow of their hands.

At the present time eleven "United Farmer" members occupy the "cross benches"—that political No Man's Land from which sniping is carried on in both directions—in the new Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. They are not all farmer-members in the sense that they were definitely elected on the program of that party; indeed, several of them are old members who have merely moved over from other parties because they sensed the fact that such would be the desire of their constituencies. A proposal has been made by themselves, not yet with any popular acceptance, to run under the colors of the National Progressive Party.

Eleven does not seem a very powerful factor in 234, anyway; but Canada is governed by a Coalition party made up of 115 of whose loyalty it is sure and 38 who seceded during war-time on a very acute question of war policy from the party which was and is the hereditary enemy of the party to which the 115 belong. A rapid calculation shows that should this flying-wedge of dubious loyalty revert to its old party—as it very likely might on a



E. C. DRURY

*Premier of Ontario and leader of farmers' administration of that Province*

question of historic policy—it could convert the at present substantial coalition majority into a small deficit; while every seat lost to the new United Farmers' Party, or every version to them, hastens that evil day, for while it is uncertain how far the United Farmers will go with the "opposition" it is as broad as daylight that they will never go anywhere at all with the Coalition.

#### LAST YEAR'S LANDSLIDE

This is in the Dominion house. Canada, like the United States, has a Federal system, and each of its nine provinces has its own Legislature. On Oct. 20 last a general election took place in the most populous and probably the richest province, Ontario, to replace the Legislature that had just dissolved. Exactly similar to the United States, Canada has always had two G. O. P.s, Liberals and Conservatives, in both Federal and provincial politics. Of the two, it would be safe to say that minus its own candidate the agricultural vote would usually be Liberal. At the date of dissolution, the Ontario Legislature comprised 77 Conservatives, 30 Liberals, 2 Independents, and 2 "United Farmers of Ontario."

Ontario was a good old Conservative Province, as Conservative as the Southern States are Democratic; in fact, it was the boast of Conservatives to speak of "good old, hide-bound, rock-ribbed, Tory Ontario." Liberals were not ashamed to confess their own fears—and as for that fresh young outfit just rising above the horizon, the United Farmers of Ontario, it was to laugh. But something happened somewhere. This is who was elected in Ontario:

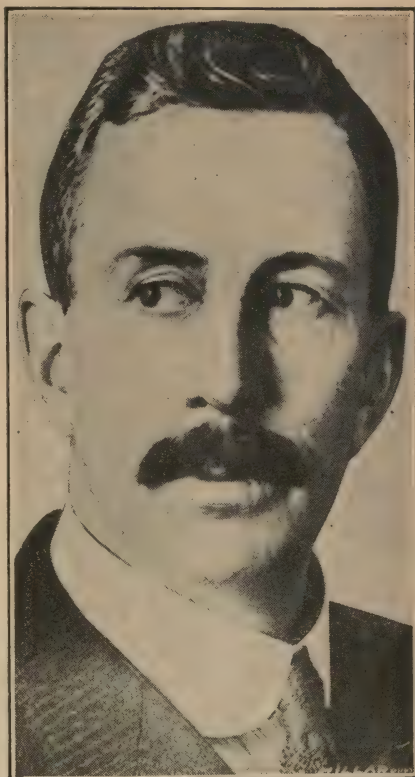
United Farmers .....	45
Liberals .....	28
Conservatives .....	25
Labor .....	11
Independent .....	2

On the ruins of this landslide, therefore, the United Farmers of Ontario, in coalition with Labor, have assumed the reins of power, with a working farmer, E. C. Drury, as Premier.

Seven days later a series of five "by-elections" (to fill vacancies created by death, &c.), in the Federal House took place. Farmer candidates were again of-

fered. Three of them were successful in such widely separated Provinces as New Brunswick, Ontario and Saskatchewan, defeating respectively a Conservative-Coalitionist, an Independent-Coalitionist, and a Liberal. Then, after another week, a candidate of the United Farmers of Alberta defeated a Liberal in a by-election for the Legislature of that Western Province.

The farmer was thus suddenly in the political ascendant. The case of the Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Federal by-election may not be typical, but it is interesting. It is a rural constituency. There being no Coalition or Conservative candidate, the fight resolved itself into one between a straight Liberal and a straight "farmer." The Liberal was the Hon. W. R. Motherwell, who is not only a farmer



THOMAS A. CERERAR

*Former Federal Minister of Agriculture*



himself and was for twelve years Minister of Agriculture in the Liberal Administration of the Province, but was the man in whose brain what has since become known as the "Grain Growers' Movement" took birth. Since that day, nineteen years ago, when he was the first President of the first Grain Growers' Association formed in Canada, down to the present, when the associations are extraordinarily powerful combinations, he has been intimately identified with them. Yet the new party, an offshoot of his own idea, turned him down so decisively—because its official politics had no place for a Liberal—that he forfeited his election deposit.

#### GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT

The Grain Growers' Movement began in a small town in Saskatchewan in the Winter of 1901. It was at first inspirational and educative—not along professional but rather on economic lines. It crystalized the farmers' economic grievances, and sought to obtain redress for them. Within seven years were formed the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association and the United Farmers of Alberta. They were something different from the Granges and Leagues of Equity that elsewhere had forerun them. They grew by rapid bounds, until they are now the voice of the western farmer. Their officials are consulted by the Federal Government on matters of agricultural interest before action dare be taken. Their annual conventions, with sometimes from 1,000 to 1,500 delegates, are far more the Parliaments of the West than the Legislatures.

As has been said, this, the idealistic side of the movement, has been financed by a remarkably successful business department. In 1906 the Grain Growers' Grain Company of Winnipeg was established as a co-operative line and terminal elevator company. It was followed in due course by the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company and the Alberta Farmers' Co-operative Elevator Company, of which the latter has since amalgamated with the Grain Growers' Grain Company as the United Grain Growers, Limited.

Almost unexampled in the history of co-operation—or, at least, of agricultural co-operation—has been the success of these commercial activities. From running that little elevator company they have expanded until now they not only act as selling agents for all that their members can produce, but also as purchasing agents for a considerable proportion of their staple needs, such as coal, lumber, flour, apples, fencing machinery, &c. The subscribed capital of these two companies now exceeds \$6,000,000, with a volume of business in 1918 of \$202,000,000 and a dividend to 61,000 farmer shareholders of 10 and 8 per cent., respectively. The two companies now own and operate altogether over 600 elevators.

#### EFFICIENT LEADERS

The farmers were very fortunate in that they attracted men as executives who were not only in fullest sympathy with their ideals, but were also extremely good business men. Among them, for instance, was Thomas A. Crerar, now President of the United Grain Growers, Ltd. Mr. Crerar piloted the old Grain Growers' Grain Company so successfully that when, in 1917, Sir Robert Borden, Conservative Premier of Canada, dissolved his Government and formed a Union Government of all parties for the more active prosecution of the war he appointed Mr. Crerar, who had hitherto never engaged in politics, to the post of Federal Minister of Agriculture—than which no appointment, at that acute moment in the production and consumption of food, could have been wiser. This post Mr. Crerar held until last Summer; he is now the leader of the eleven who sit on the cross-benches, defying Union Government.

In 1910 the Canadian Council of Agriculture was formed, a consolidation for purposes of more forcible expression of the various educative and co-operative organization. The council first stepped into the limelight when in the Spring of 1917 it refused, in the name of the western wheat growers, the offer of the first proposed fixed price for wheat, \$1.30. Up till 1914 the movement had been purely a western one, but in that

year it came down and contributed both men and money to the formation of the United Farmers of Ontario and the United Farmers' Co-operative Company of the same province. Premier Drury of Ontario was the first President of the former organization and is still a director of the latter. The total farmer membership of this one eastern and these various western organizations is now 150,000. There are others not yet affiliated, the United Farmers of New Brunswick and the United Farmers of British Columbia.

### FARMERS' POLITICAL ATTITUDE

This is the sub-structure upon which the farmers' political aspirations are based. After using the existing parties as far as possible, the farmers have apparently become dissatisfied, and have entered their own candidates, with the results indicated above. It would seem that they have committed themselves, tacitly at least, to insistence upon recognition as a class. President H. W. Wood of the United Farmers of Alberta, who is also President of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, said at the annual convention in January:

I believe in economic class group organization, but I do not believe in class legislation, and no one has ever heard me advocate either class legislation or class domination.

Premier Drury of Ontario said, shortly after being elected:

It is true in a sense that we represent the farming community, and in all truth that section of the people has been in great need for many years of a greater voice in the Legislature. But in a very real sense we represent not only the 40 per cent. of the people who are on the farm, but also the great bulk of the common people everywhere. We must stand for no class legislation of any kind.

Both gentlemen, it would seem, found it necessary to reassure the common people everywhere on that point.

As things stand, the majority of the different organizations are committed to political action upon the platforms they have laid down, their machinery being not the existing parties but their own party. Their platforms are quite lengthy, but in the main they follow the Liberal platform, except that they place

greater insistence upon the question of tariff reduction. They also seem anxious to extend the policy of nationalization much further than at present.

### HOSTILE TO THE TARIFF

I said at the beginning that the farmers of Canada are practically in control of the political future of their country. It is the question of the tariff that may



W. R. MOTHERWELL

*Until recently Provincial Minister of Agriculture in Saskatchewan*

cause the upheaval. Canada has always been a tariff country; even the Liberal Party, which has always advocated the reduction of the tariff, has never advocated its abolition—except once. That “once” was the ill-fated episode in 1911 of reciprocity with the United States, which virtually shipwrecked the triumphant career of its sponsor, the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

But the farmer who is in politics not only wants tariff reduction, he wants tariff abolition, especially with the United States and with Great Britain, and especially upon those articles which he uses in his business, and which he im-



ports from either of those countries. The protected interests in Canada are ready, I think, to fight him to a showdown; but the method by which the farmer proposes to get the tariff abolished is much easier and more direct.

It has been pointed out that the present Government is a Union one, composed of high-tariff Conservatives and low-tariff Liberals. The latter seceded from Laurier, not upon a question of the tariff, but upon whether conscription was or was not a good thing for Canada. They thought it was. But suppose some one were to introduce a measure calling for the downward revision of the tariff.

This is part of the Liberal's creed, whether he believes in conscription or not. It would not need all the Unionist-Liberals to revert back to wipe the Conservative-Unionists out; supposing, however, that some of them held back, there would still be the sturdy eleven farmer members on the cross benches. So the number of the latter will probably grow, for every one added to it weakens the Government without strengthening the official Opposition, and every vacancy that occurs is likely to be fought out by the farmer with the wild strength that has come from his successes of the last six months.

## Canadian Minister to the United States

It was officially announced on May 10, 1920, by the British Embassy at Washington that Canada would be represented in this country by a resident Minister, this being a further step in recognition of the complete independence of Canada. It was generally understood that the appointment would be made in the Fall. Sir Robert Borden, former Premier of Canada, was mentioned as likely to become the first Canadian Minister at Washington. The official announcement follows:

As a result of recent discussions an arrangement has been concluded between the British and Canadian Governments to provide more complete representation of Canadian interests at Washington than has hitherto existed. Accordingly, it has been agreed that his Majesty, on the advice of his Canadian Ministers, shall appoint a Minister Plenipotentiary, who will have charge of Canadian affairs and will at all times be the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government in matters of purely Canadian concern, acting upon instructions from and reporting direct to the Canadian Government. In the absence of the Ambassador the Canadian Minister will take

charge of the whole embassy and of the representation of imperial as well as Canadian interests. He will be accredited by his Majesty to the President, with the necessary powers for the purpose.

This new arrangement will not denote any departure either on the part of the British Governor or of the Canadian Government from the principle of the diplomatic unity of the British Empire.

The need for this important step has been fully realized by both Governments for some time. For a good many years there has been direct communication between Ottawa and Washington, but the constantly increasing importance of Canadian interests in the United States has made it apparent that in addition Canada should be represented there in some distinctive manner, for this would doubtless tend to expedite negotiations, and, naturally, first-hand acquaintance with Canadian conditions would promote good understanding.

In view of the peculiarly close relations that have always existed between the people of Canada and those of the United States, it is confidently expected as well that this new step will have the very desirable result of maintaining and strengthening the friendly relations and co-operation between the British Empire and the United States.

# The Yugoslav Minorities Treaty

## Text of the Pact That Assures Liberty to All Classes of Citizens in Greater Serbia

**W**HEN the principal allied and associated powers dictated peace terms to Germany and Austria-Hungary they also presented to the newly created States of Central Europe—and to those so greatly enlarged by the war as to be virtually new—a series of supplementary treaties in which each of these new States promised the Allies to give complete individual freedom, regardless of race, religion, or language, to every minority group in its population. Poland signed a minorities treaty of this kind without hesitation at the time that peace was signed with Germany. The text of that pact was published in *CURRENT HISTORY*, August, 1919. The delegates of both Rumania and Yugoslavia, however, when their turn came a few months later, declared that they could not sign such a document without consulting their Governments. Rumania withheld her consent for three months; finally, on Dec. 9, 1919, after receiving an ultimatum from the Supreme Council, her representative in Paris signed both the Austrian peace treaty and the minorities treaty. The text of the latter was published by *CURRENT HISTORY* in its issue of March, 1920.

The minorities treaty handed to Yugoslavia was signed by her delegates under protest on Sept. 10, 1919. The Yugoslavs, like the Rumanians, contended that the minority clauses amounted to an infringement of their sovereignty. On this ground the Davidovitch Government resigned two days after the treaty was signed, placing also on record its convinced opposition to the stipulations of the peace treaties with Austria and Bulgaria. These last were signed by Yugoslavia only on Dec. 5, 1919.

### TEXT OF THE TREATY

The full text of the Yugoslav treaty promising equal rights to all citizens, irrespective of race or religion, as trans-

lated by *The Contemporary Review*, is as follows:

*The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, the principal allied and associated powers, on the one hand, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State on the other hand:*

**Whereas**, Since the commencement of the year 1913 extensive territories have been added to the Kingdom of Serbia, and

**Whereas**, The Serb, Croat and Slovene peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy have of their own free will determined to unite with Serbia in a permanent union for the purpose of forming a single sovereign independent State under the title of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and

**Whereas**, The Prince Regent of Serbia and the Serbian Government have agreed to this union, and in consequence the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes has been constituted and has assumed sovereignty over the territories inhabited by these peoples, and

**Whereas**, It is necessary to regulate certain matters of international concern arising out of the said additions of territory and of this union, and

**Whereas**, It is desired to free Serbia from certain obligations which she undertook by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 to certain powers and to substitute for them obligations to the League of Nations, and

**Whereas**, The Serb-Croat-Slovene State of its own free will desires to give to the populations of all territories included within the State, of whatever race, language or religion they may be, full guarantees that they shall continue to be governed in accordance with the principles of liberty and justice;

For this purpose the high contracting parties have appointed as their plenipotentiaries: [Here follow the names of plenipotentiaries.]

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

The principal allied and associated powers, taking into consideration the obligations contracted under the present treaty by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, declare that the Serb-Croat-Slovene State is definitely discharged from the obligations undertaken in Article 35 of the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878.



## CHAPTER I.

**ARTICLE 1**—The Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

**ARTICLE 2**—The Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of the kingdom without distinction of birth, nationality, race or religion.

All inhabitants of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

**ARTICLE 3**—Subject to the special provisions of the treaties mentioned below the Serb-Croat-Slovene State admits and declares to be Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality Austrian, Hungarian or Bulgarian nationals habitually resident or possessing rights of citizenship (*pertinenza*, *heimatsrecht*) as the case may be at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State under the treaties with Austria, Hungary or Bulgaria respectively, or under any treaties which may be concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over 18 years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territory of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

**ARTICLE 4**—The Serb-Croat-Slovene State admits and declares to be Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality persons of Austrian, Hungarian or Bulgarian nationality who were born in the said territory of parents habitually resident or possessing rights of citizenship (*pertinenza*, *heimatsrecht*) as the case may be there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually resident or did not possess rights of citizenship there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Serb-Croat-Slovene authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

**ARTICLE 5**—The Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the treaties concluded or to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with Austria, Bulgaria or Hungary, to choose whether or not they will acquire Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality.

**ARTICLE 6**—All persons born in the territory of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals.

**ARTICLE 7**—All Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Difference of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Serb-Croat-Slovene national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Serb-Croat-Slovene national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals of other speech than that of the official language for the use of their own language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

**ARTICLE 8**—Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

**ARTICLE 9**—The Serb-Croat-Slovene Government will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals of other speech than that of the official language are resident adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals through the medium of their own

language. This provision shall not prevent the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government from making the teaching of the official language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

The provisions of the present article apply only to territory transferred to Serbia or to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes since Jan. 1, 1913.

**ARTICLE 10**—The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees to grant to the Mussulmans in the matter of family law and personal status provisions suitable for regulating these matters in accordance with Mussulman usage.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State shall take measures to assure the nomination of a Reiss-Ul-Ulema.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes to insure protection to the mosques, cemeteries and other Mussulman religious establishments. Full recognition and facilities shall be assured to Mussulman pious foundations (Wakfs) and religious and charitable establishments now existing, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government shall not refuse any of the necessary facilities for the creation of new religious and charitable establishments guaranteed to other private establishments of this nature.

**ARTICLE 11**—The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guaranteed to other private establishments shall not be modified without the consent of the council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the council of the League of Nations.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees that any member of the council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State further agrees that any difference of opinion as to the questions of law or fact arising out of these articles between the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and any one of the principal allied and associated powers or any other power a member of the council of the League of Na-

tions shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations. The Serb-Croat-Slovene State hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the permanent court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

## CHAPTER II.

**ARTICLE 12**—Pending the conclusion of new treaties or conventions, all treaties, conventions, agreements and obligations between Serbia on the one hand and any of the principal allied and associated powers on the other hand, which were in force on Aug. 1, 1914, or which have since been entered into, shall ipso facto be binding upon the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

**ARTICLE 13**—The Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes to make no treaty, convention or arrangement and to take no other action which will prevent her from joining in any general convention for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated powers any favors or privileges in customs matters which it may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which since August, 1914, the allied and associated powers have been at war, or to any State which in virtue of Article 222 of the treaty with Austria has special customs arrangements with such States.

**ARTICLE 14**—Pending the conclusion of the general convention referred to above, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels or vessels of the most-favored nation the vessels of all the allied and associated powers which accord similar treatment to Serb-Croat-Slovene vessels. As an exception from this provision, the right of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State or of any other allied or associated power to confine its maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved. The allied and associated powers further agree not to claim under this article the benefit of agreements which the States obtaining territory formerly belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy may conclude as regards coasting traffic between the ports of the Adriatic Sea.

**ARTICLE 15**—Pending the conclusion under the auspices of the League of Nations of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit the Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails in transit to or from any allied or associated State



over Serb-Croat-Slovene territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as Serb-Croat-Slovene persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails respectively or those of any more favored nationality, origin, importation or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions and all other matters.

All charges imposed in the territory of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties.

Tariffs for transit across the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and tariffs between the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and any allied or associated power involving through tickets or waybills shall be established at the request of the allied or associated power concerned.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic and telephone services.

Provided that no allied or associated power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded in respect of the same subject matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months' notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate the obligations of this article.

**ARTICLE 16**—All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the allied and associated powers shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, in French, in English and in Italian, of which in case of divergence the French text shall prevail, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the treaty of peace with Austria.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given; in that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

*In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.*

*Done at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the tenth day of September, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers.*

*[Here follow the signatures.]*

## Text of Bulgaria's Minority Guarantees

### Important Clauses of Peace Treaty

**T**HE treaty of peace between the allied and associated powers and Bulgaria, which was signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine, Nov. 27, 1919, contains special provisions for the protection of minorities. These clauses differ in some respects from those on the same subject in the treaties signed by Rumania and Jugoslavia.

The text of the section of the Bulgarian Treaty dealing with this question is as follows:

#### SECTION IV.—PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

**ARTICLE 49**—Bulgaria undertakes that the stipulations contained in this section shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations,

nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

**ARTICLE 50**—Bulgaria undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Bulgaria without distinction of birth, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Bulgaria shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

**ARTICLE 51**—Bulgaria admits and declares to be Bulgarian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality all persons who are habitually resident within Bulgarian territory at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty and who are not nationals of any other State.

**ARTICLE 52**—All persons born in Bulgarian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Bulgarian nationals.

**ARTICLE 53**—All Bulgarian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Difference of religion, creed or profession shall not prejudice any Bulgarian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Bulgarian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Bulgarian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Bulgarian nationals of non-Bulgarian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

**ARTICLE 54**—Bulgarian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Bulgarian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

**ARTICLE 55**—Bulgaria will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Bulgarian nationals of other than Bulgarian speech are resident adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Bulgarian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Bulgarian Government from making the teaching of the Bulgarian language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Bulgarian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

**ARTICLE 56**—Bulgaria undertakes to place no obstacles in the way of the exercise of the right which persons may have under the present treaty, or under the treaties concluded by the allied and associated powers with Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia or Turkey, or with any of the allied and associated powers themselves, to choose whether or not they will recover Bulgarian nationality.

Bulgaria undertakes to recognize such provisions as the principal allied and associated powers may consider opportune with respect to the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of persons belonging to racial minorities.

**ARTICLE 57**—Bulgaria agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles of this section, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the council of the League of Nations. The allied and associated powers represented on the council severally agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the council of the League of Nations.

Bulgaria agrees that any member of the council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Bulgaria further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these articles between the Bulgarian Government and any one of the principal allied and associated powers, or any other power, a member of the council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations. The Bulgarian Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the permanent court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

## General Provisions

Following this section are general provisions by which Bulgaria accepts the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk treaties and other pacts with the Bolshevik Government of Russia, and recognizes the frontiers, as they will finally be fixed, of Austria, Greece, Hungary, Rumania,

Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia; also the treaties concluded by the Allies with Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey, as well as the French protectorate over Morocco and the British protectorate over Egypt.

The main provisions of the treaty were



previously published in *CURRENT HISTORY* MAGAZINE, and a map of Bulgaria's new boundaries appeared in these pages last month. Among the most important of the general clauses are the following: Limiting the Bulgarian military forces to 20,000 and abolishing universal compulsory military service; limiting the Bulgarian Navy to four torpedo boats and six motor boats, all without torpedoes; forbidding the employment of any military or naval air forces or the keeping of any dirigibles. The reparation clauses compel Bulgaria to pay 2,250,000,000 francs gold (about \$450,000,000) in semi-annual installments over a period of thirty-seven years, beginning July 1, 1920, with interest at 5 per cent. per annum. In addition, it provides for the return to Greece, Rumania and Serbia of any objects or securities seized

during the invasion. It requires Bulgaria to deliver to Greece, Rumania and Serbia within six months after the treaty came into force the following live stock:

	Greece.	Rumania.	Serb-Croat-Slovene State.
Bulls (18 months to 3 years).....	15	60	50
Milch cows (2 to 6 years) .....	1,500	6,000	6,000
Horses and mares (3 to 7 years).....	2,250	5,250	5,000
Mules .....	450	1,050	1,000
Draught oxen.....	1,800	3,400	4,000
Sheep .....	6,000	15,000	12,000

It also provides that 50,000 tons of coal shall be delivered annually for five years to Yugoslavia. There is a provision requiring Bulgaria to pay the total cost of all armies of the allied and associated powers occupying Bulgarian territory from the signing of the armistice, Sept. 29, 1918, to the coming into force of the treaty.

## CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS

*CURRENT HISTORY* undertakes in this department to publish such open letters as it considers of general interest. No letter will be used without the name and address of the writer. On controversial questions it will be the aim to give all sides an equal chance at representation; *CURRENT HISTORY*, however, aiming to record events as nearly as possible without comment or bias, disclaims responsibility for opinions contained in these letters.

### FAIR PLAY FOR BULGARIA\*

To the Editor of *Current History*:

Occasionally I come across a number of your excellent magazine and have found your department, "Among the Nations," of great interest and usually well grounded. Of course, I am especially interested in what you publish on the Balkan question, and on Bulgaria in particular. Your information on this subject is not always correct, being often based on telegrams emanating from enemy sources. We Bulgarians are surrounded by enemies. To explain the how and wherefore of this condition of things would be to enter into the history of the Balkans for generations, even centuries, past. But I will take up your remarks, if you will allow me, on Bulgaria, in your February number. This will give me an opportunity to throw some light on a subject of great interest to all lovers of fair play, but on which many have little information.

You speak of an anti-dynastic revolt, and

of 100 killed in the streets of Sofia, and say that the revolt was organized by the friends of the proscribed enemies of the Government. The entire affair was limited to a general strike of the personnel of the communication services—posts, telegraphs and railways. Not a man was killed in Sofia. This strike was organized by the Socialists. The general discontent gave them the opportunity. The struggle between the Government and the strikers' organization was severe and determined. The traffic and general interests suffered, but in six weeks the strikers capitulated and signed a declaration renouncing for the future the right to join associations liable to lead to strikes. Several hundreds of the prominent strikers have been refused service, not a few are under criminal prosecution. There have been strikes in all the countries surrounding us, and in every case the Government made concessions to the strikers. In Bulgaria the Government broke the strike and dealt a crushing blow to the Socialists. In the recent elections for the Sobranie (House of Representatives), the Socialists, responsible for the strike, obtained seven seats against thirty-seven in the last House. The strike troubles were not followed, as you state, by the resignation of the Cabinet, or any change in it.

\*The writer of this letter, Mr. Mattheeff, is President of the English-Speaking League in Sofia, Bulgaria; was Bulgarian Commissioner to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and a guest of President Roosevelt at the White House in 1904; before that, Bulgarian Minister to Athens.

Your statement that the Mussulmans of Western Thrace, according to the Athens press, welcomed the Greek occupation of the country is not true. The version of the *Echo de Bulgarie* is correct. The Moslems of Eastern as well as those of Western Thrace are united and unanimous against Greek dominion. Your readers have meanwhile heard of troubles, of calling up the reserves in Adrianople; the whole movement is directed against the Greeks. There cannot be love between the Bulgarian and Turk, and I cannot hold a brief for him, but the hatred and contempt on the part of the Turk for the Greek is undoubted. The Greek has never scored a victory over the Turk, and the recent behavior of the Greeks in Smyrna has not improved the feeling between the two nations.

It is with diffidence that I have ventured to write on the subject of the relations between Bulgarians and Greeks for readers in America. My impressions are that Greek enterprise, activity and opportunity have completely biased American public opinion against the Bulgarian. The Greeks are masters of the American field, and the Bulgarian and his cause are condemned without a hearing. The Bulgarian has been reduced to the dog given a bad name. No Bulgarian is permitted to travel to America. The visé to his passport is refused him by the American Consul; this measure is strictly enforced. No visé to a Bulgarian passport is given without special permission from the State Department in Washington. No Bulgarian capable of making himself heard in the controversy—between Bulgarians on the one hand and the Greeks and Serbians on the other—can go to America to refute the calumnies launched every day against us. And Bulgaria has not been at war with America! There are Americans who know the truth, but they are few. Not long ago we heard of a deputation of Greeks from Thrace waiting upon President Wilson with a petition bearing the signatures of 300,000 Thracians, asking his support that Thrace be annexed to Greece. Why carry such proofs that Thrace is a Greek country as far as America, when the truth can be ascertained on the spot by two or three independent men, selected and duly appointed? If the Greek contention is secure, why not permit a fair consultation of the population concerned? Both Bulgarians and Turks of these countries are willing and ready to submit the question to just arbitration; not so the Greeks. The 300,000 signatures to the petition in question are of no more value than the Greek pretensions to Macedonia or to Smyrna.

Think of the position of the Greeks before the first Balkan war; it was hopeless; they were in a slough of despond. It was the victories of the Bulgarians over the Turks which enabled the Greeks to seize Macedonia behind their backs; and now, without

one single distinction, on the battlefield, into which they were driven at the point of the bayonet, they are soaring, in pretensions far beyond merit and reason. The French saying—"l'absent a toujours tort" ("the absent is always in the wrong")—is right in this case. The Greeks and Serbians have a free field in America, and have captured American public opinion; joined together they are heaping calumny upon the Bulgarians, while the Bulgarian is denied the right to say a word in self-defense. Surely there is a wrong somewhere! Is it fair for Americans, free and independent of the Old World's prejudices, to allow unchallenged such a condition of things, which involves the happiness or the misery of millions of human beings to hear accusations and deny self-defense, to blindly support tyranny and abet falsehood, when the whole truth may be so easily ascertained by application of the principles proclaimed by President Wilson and approved by the other allies?

Bulgaria did not join in this war out of sympathy or love for Germany, nor for conquest of foreign populations or territories. She had a national ideal to attain, to free her own race from a foreign yoke, the race and territory recognized as hers by the Sultan's firman, instituting the Bulgarian Church (1870), by the Constantinople International Conference (1876), by the San Stefano Treaty, by the Bulgaro-Serbian Convention (1912). The refusal of Serbia to give up to Bulgaria what she seized from her by the Treaty of Bucharest, where Bulgaria was forced to treat one against five, made it impossible for Bulgaria to go to the aid of Serbia, to fight on her side. Rumania made her bargain before she undertook to join the Entente; Serbia secured the territories she robbed Bulgaria of in Bucharest; Greece was forced into the war at the point of the bayonet; Bulgaria, on the other hand, was not permitted to demand anything, because Russia was against granting any compensation to Bulgaria, secure that Bulgaria would submit to her orders and was not in a position to fight.

Bulgaria is a small country, but her tragedy is great, and is intensified by the belief that the American public refuses to take notice of her suffering and persists in denying her fair play, or even a hearing.

P. M. MATTHEFF.

Sofia, Bulgaria, April 8, 1920.

## RUSSIA AND THE CAUCASUS

*To the Editor of Current History:*

I notice in the note on Page 493 of the March number of *CURRENT HISTORY* the statement that [at the time of the Brest-Litovsk treaty] the Bolsheviks ceded to Turkey two Georgian provinces, Batum and Ardagh. To this statement I might take exception on a ground, more or less technical, that the provinces were not ceded to Turkey, but to



the people thereof, who were to be assisted in setting up their Government by their neighbors, which, of course, meant primarily the Turks. The real significance of this cession is lost sight of unless it is noted:

1. That Kars was also ceded.

2. That the cession corresponds, chapter and verse, to the cession by Turkey to Russia according to the Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

3. Unless it is studied in connection with the Cyprus Convention of 1879.

May I presume to call your attention therefore to the note that I inserted in the last number of the American Journal of International Law, which calls attention to these points, and may I be pardoned for the suggestion that there is as much significance to be attached to the points I have stated above as to the note that I refer to in your magazine? . . . ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

Tufts College, Mass., March 12, 1920.

## THE DANGEROUS SITUATION IN ASIA MINOR

*To the Editor of Current History:*

The rumor is circulating in Smyrna today that Aidin is to be handed over to the care of the Italians. While to the very large majority of the people in the United States this rumor means nothing, yet to the people who are living in this part of Asia now under military occupation by the Greek Army it brings a varied feeling of hope and despair.

Aidin in itself is not of great moment, having been a town of some 40,000 inhabitants before its destruction last June, and at the present time not over 5,000, located about 100 kilometers as a crow flies from Smyrna. It is on the railroad which leads down toward Palestine, at a distance under normal conditions easily traversed in three hours, but at the present time requiring from ten to twelve hours; the traveler passes the station of Ephesus, a point of great interest to readers of the Bible.

Today the beautiful valley surrounding Aidin, with its groves of olive and fig trees, and with its fields the most fertile in Asia Minor, lies abandoned. Aidin was taken over from the Turks last June following the occupation of Smyrna by the Greek Army. In this same month of June there happened in Aidin that which, had it happened in America, would have filled every heart with horror; but such an event in Asia Minor hardly receives a passing notice—namely, the Greek Army, having retired from Aidin, some say because of lack of ammunition, the Turks occupied the city, and although they promised safety to the inhabitants, yet 3,000 people were massacred, many of them in the most horrible manner; a troop of boy scouts

were flayed, and more than half the town was burned.

For a time it was thought that England and France might occupy this little valley, and preparation was even started for England to take the mandate of the whole region, but by some turn of fate the Greek Army was allowed to re-enter Aidin. Naturally the Turks retired. Two or three hours' walk from Aidin brings one again to the trenches, and the crack of rifles, the rattle of machine guns, and the roar of cannon are still a familiar sound to those terrified inhabitants. When the train crosses those trenches a truce is declared, but ere the train passes out of hearing the sharpshooters are again at their work.

The Levantines, who form a very large percentage of the population of Smyrna and its environs, are discontented that this country should be taken away from the Turks, because under an agreement with "the powers" and the Turkish Government, people of foreign nationality had certain privileges and were not subject to Turkish courts, but to consular courts, and they were enabled to avoid paying duties, and through other privileges were enabled to make favorable gains and to avoid some taxation, privileges which will not be granted to them under the Greek Government. These Levantines, in order to get the above privileges, have taken out citizenship papers as English or French, so that, if the country cannot be governed by the Turk, they prefer English or French mandates and lend their influence toward propaganda against the occupation of the Greek Army, although a very large percentage of the inhabitants are Greek.

The Greek Army is mobilizing its forces to the limit in the Smyrna region in order to meet any emergency when the treaty is announced. \* \* \* One really does not need to be a prophet to read the signs of the times in the Near East. Italy's ambitions are great. She is clashing with the Greeks, not only here, but also in Northern Epirus. Eliminating the Turkish Government in Thrace, an elimination which seems absolutely essential, the logical solution is to give Thrace in its entirety to Greece; yet this will only increase the probability of a renewed struggle between Greece and Bulgaria, should Bulgaria find a sufficiently powerful ally. This alliance is already evident and may be threefold. There remains to Greece as a natural ally in the Balkans one country recently greatly enlarged, which is a natural enemy to the other above-named countries, so that we are still confronted with the Balkan problem, and still we ask, "What is the answer?"

H. A. HENDERSON.

American Y. M. C. A. with the Greek Army,  
March 15, 1920. Address: 74 Rue Metro-  
politan, Athens, Greece.

# CURRENT HISTORY

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION . . . . .	551
Text of the Republican Platform . . . . .	555
PROHIBITION UPHELD BY THE SUPREME COURT . . . . .	563
AMERICAN DEVELOPMENTS . . . . .	564
WHAT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HAS DONE . . . . .	568
POLAND—THE GREAT PROBLEM (Map)	
By Major A. B. Richeson	573
THRACE AND GREECE . . . . .	By N. J. Cassavetes 578
ALBANIA AND ITALY AT LOGGERHEADS (Map)	
By Constantine A. Chekrezi	581
AMONG THE NATIONS: A WORLDWIDE SURVEY:	
Republies of Latin America . . . . .	585
The British Empire and Its Problems . . . . .	595
The Latin Nations of Europe . . . . .	603
Strained Relations of the Low Countries . . . . .	608
Progress in Scandinavian Countries . . . . .	610
Germany's First Republican Reichstag . . . . .	612
Hungary and Neighboring States . . . . .	615
States of the Balkan Peninsula . . . . .	620
Turkey and Her Former Dominions . . . . .	625
Complex Situation in the Caucasus . . . . .	631
Poland's War on Moscow . . . . .	632
Soviet Russia's Trade Relations . . . . .	635
Japan and the Chinese Consortium . . . . .	638

*Contents Continued on Next Page*

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## Table of Contents—Continued

### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NATIONS TREATED:

	PAGE		PAGE
ALBANIA	622	JAPAN	638
ARGENTINA	592	JUGOSLAVIA	624
ARMENIA	631	MEXICO	585
AUSTRALIA	600	MESOPOTAMIA	453
AUSTRIA	618	NEW ZEALAND	600
AZERBAIJAN	632	NICARAGUA	592
BELGIUM	608	NORWAY	611
BOLIVIA	593	PALESTINE	629
BRITISH EAST AFRICA	602	PARAGUAY	594
BULGARIA	623	PERSIA	630
CANADA	599	PERU	593
CHILE	593	POLAND	632
CHINA	639	PORTUGAL	607
COLOMBIA	593	RUMANIA	624
CONGO	603	RUSSIA	635
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	619	SALVADOR	592
DENMARK	610	SENEGAL	603
EGYPT	601	SOUTH AFRICA	602
ENGLAND	595	SMYRNA	630
FRANCE	603	SPAIN	607
GEORGIA	631	SWITZERLAND	608
GERMANY	612	SYRIA	630
GREECE	620	TURKEY	625
GUATEMALA	592	UGANDA	602
HOLLAND	609	UNITED STATES	564
HUNGARY	615	URUGUAY	594
INDIA	600	VENEZUELA	594
IRELAND	597	THE VATICAN	606
ITALY	604	WEST INDIES	594

SECRETARY POLK SUCCEEDED BY NORMAN H. DAVIS . . . 640

#### THE MARCH OF SCIENCE:

Long-Distance Oratory by Wireless	641
Hearing the Printed Page	641
Flightless Hydroplanes	643
A Stride in Wireless Control	644
A Portable Radiophone Receiving Set	645

STRANGE CAREER OF EX-EMPRESS EUGENIE . . . 645

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF . . . 647

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS (38 Cartoons) 647

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS . . . 674

VENICE DURING AND AFTER THE WAR . . . 677

PANAMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN CHIRIQUI

By Elbridge Colby 682

FORCED LABOR IN RUSSIA . . . 686

BRITISH MEMORIALS TO THE FALLEN . . . 693

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL . . . 694

DEALING WITH RED AGITATORS . . . 698

THE NEW TIDE OF IMMIGRATION . . . 704

VETO OF THE KNOX PEACE RESOLUTION . . . 707

NO AMERICAN MANDATE FOR ARMENIA . . . 710

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST ARMENIA . . . 713

AN AMERICAN WOMAN WINS HIGH OFFICE . . . 715

THE TURKISH PEACE TREATY (Map) . . . 716

THE CONSTITUTION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . 727

THE NEW RULERS OF THE SARRE BASIN . . . 736

# THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

## Sketch of Historic Gathering That Nominated Harding and Coolidge—Text of the Platform

THE Republican National Convention assembled at Chicago June 8, 1920. It was called to order by Chairman Will H. Hays of the National Committee. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, who had been chosen as the Temporary Chairman, presided over the opening session and delivered the opening address. He defended the Senate's opposition to the Peace Treaty as a high and patriotic duty, and accepted the President's challenge by asserting: "We make the issue; we ask approbation for what we have done. The people will now tell us what they think of Mr. Wilson's League and the sacrifice of America."

Mr. Lodge favored a firm policy toward Mexico under the Monroe Doctrine, defended the record of Congress, and in the course of his speech said: "Many vital economic measures and especially tariff legislation to guard our industries are impossible with a Democratic free trader of socialistic proclivities in the White House." He reviewed the action of the Senate with relation to the Peace Treaty in detail, maintained that the action of the Senate in resisting Mr. Wilson's demand for ratification of the treaty enabled the people at large to understand what it meant and what it threatened. Referring to the result of the treaty debate on the American people, he said:

They saw it was an alliance and not a league for peace. They saw that it did not mention The Hague conventions which we all desired to have restored as foundations for further extensions, did nothing for the development of international law, nothing for a world court and judicial decisions, and nothing looking toward an agreement as to dealing with non-justiciable questions. These real advances toward promoting peace, these constructive measures were all disregarded, and the only court mentioned was pushed into an obscure corner.

The people began to perceive with an

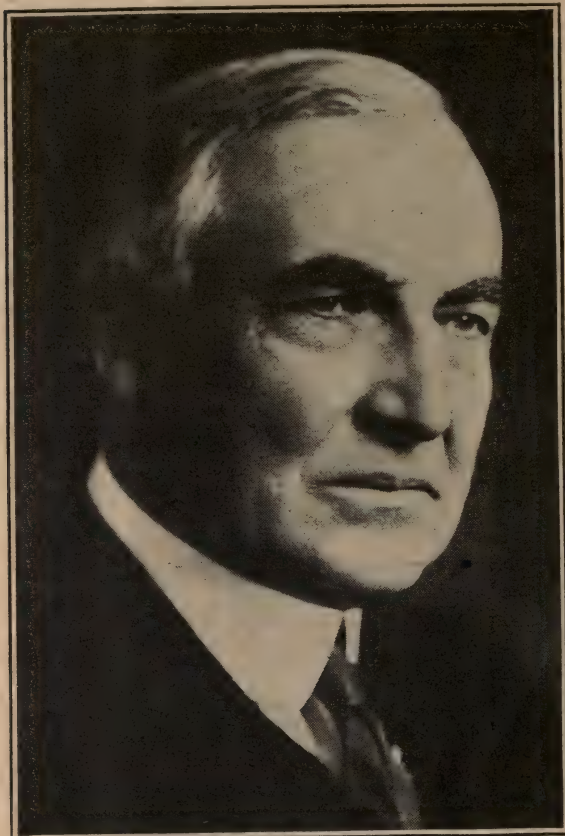
intense clearness that this alliance, silent as to real peace agreements, contained clauses which threatened the very existence of the United States as an independent power—threatened its sovereignty, threatened its peace, threatened its life. The masses of the people became articulate. Public opinion steadily changed, and today the number of Americans who would be willing to accept the covenant of the League of Nations just as the President brought it back from Europe is negligible.

The American people will never accept that alliance with foreign nations proposed by the President. The President meantime has remained inflexible. He is determined to have that treaty as he brought it back or nothing, and to that imperious demand the people will reply in tones which cannot be misunderstood. No man who thinks of America first need fear the answer.

Mr. Lodge strongly attacked Article X. of the treaty, and maintained that the more it had been studied the more convinced the majority of the Senate had become that "it dragged us not only into every dispute and into every war in Europe and in the rest of the world, but that our soldiers and sailors might be forced to give their lives for quarrels not their own, at the bidding of foreign Governments." He defended the reservations that were adopted by the Senate, also the Knox peace resolution criticising the President for having vetoed it. He censured the Mexican policy of the Administration as well as the request of the President for a mandate in Armenia. He asserted that the American people had a deep sympathy for Armenia, having given over \$40,000,000 for her relief, adding, "but a mandate to protect and govern that country would involve our sending our sons and brothers to serve and sacrifice their lives in Armenia for an indefinite time."

The second session of the convention met on the 9th; Senator Lodge was retained as Permanent Chairman. Senator Watson of Indiana was elected





## WARREN G. HARDING

*Republican nominee for  
President*

Warren G. Harding, the Republican nominee for President, was born in Corsica, Morrow County, Ohio, on Nov. 2, 1865. He was educated at the Ohio Central College and started his career in Marion, Ohio, as the publisher and editor of a small newspaper, which eventually became the most influential daily in that part of the State. He was elected to the Ohio Senate in 1900 and became Lieutenant Governor of Ohio in 1904, occupying that post until 1906. As Republican nominee for Governor in 1910 he was defeated. He was elected to the United States Senate from Ohio in 1915. Though having some reputation in Congress for his oratory and dignity of presence, Senator Harding was practically unknown to the country in 1916, when he was put forward as a possible "dark horse" candidate for the Presidency. His nomination by the Republican Convention on June 12, 1920, came in the nature of a surprise.

(© Moffett, Chicago)

Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

The chief interest in the convention centred in the report of this committee. It was in continuous session for nearly forty-eight hours; at times it seemed as if it would be unable to agree, and a party split was predicted. A group headed by Senators Johnson, Borah, McCormick and other Senators who were opposed to a League of Nations in any form, threatened openly to bolt the convention if the platform contained indorsement of the League.

When the convention assembled on the morning of June 10 the air was full of rumors and an impression prevailed in many circles that an agreement was impossible and a bolt unavoidable. Shortly after the opening, however, the Resolutions Committee reported, to the delight

of the convention, that the members had finally agreed and the platform would be presented in a unanimous report as soon as the drafting of the document could be concluded. The convention took a recess amid intense enthusiasm and reassembled at 4 P. M., when the Committee on Resolutions reported. The report was unanimously accepted.

The nominations for President were made at the session of Friday, June 11. General Leonard Wood was nominated by Governor Allen of Kansas, Governor Frank O. Lowden by Congressman William A. Rodenberg of Illinois, Senator Hiram Johnson by Charles S. Wheeler of California, Nicholas Murray Butler by Senator Ogden Mills of New York, Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio by former Governor Frank B. Wills of Ohio, Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachu-

# CALVIN COOLIDGE

*Republican nominee for Vice President*

Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, the Republican nominee for Vice President, was born on Independence Day, 1872, at Plymouth, Vt., of a distinguished Massachusetts family. He was graduated from Amherst College in 1895. He studied law in the offices of Hammond & Field, in Northampton, Mass., and was admitted to the bar within two years. In 1899 he was elected a member of the Northampton City Council. In 1900 and 1901 he was City Solicitor. In 1907-08 he served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives and was elected Mayor of Northampton in 1910. For four years he served in the State Senate. From 1916-18 he occupied the post of Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts and in the Fall of 1918 he was elected Governor. He won nation-wide fame for his firm attitude in repressing the police strike in Boston.

(© Central News)



sets by Congressman Frederick H. Gillett, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Governor William C. Sproul of Pennsylvania by Mayor J. Hampton Moore of Philadelphia, Herbert Hoover of New York by Judge Nathan L. Miller of New York, Senator Howard Sutherland of West Virginia by Joseph M. Sanders of that State.

The first four ballots were as follows:

Candidate.	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.
Wood .....	287½	289½	303	314½
Lowden .....	211½	259½	282½	289
Johnson .....	133½	146	148	140½
Harding .....	65½	59	58½	61½
Butler .....	69	41	25	20
Sproul .....	83½	78½	79½	79½
Coolidge .....	34	32	27	25
La Follette...	24	24	24	22
Pritchard ...	21	10	..	..
Sutherland ...	17	15	9	3
Poindexter ...	20	15	15	15

Candidate.	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.
Hoover .....	5½	5½	5½	5
Du Pont.....	7	7	2	2
Borah .....	2	1	1	1
Knox .....	..	1	2	2
Watson .....	..	..	2	4
Warren .....	1	..	..	..
Not voting ...	1	..	..	..
Number of delegates.....				984
Necessary to a choice.....				493

After the fourth ballot the convention adjourned to the following day, with no choice in sight.

The convention differed from previous National Conventions in that there seemed to be no group in control. On reassembling Saturday, June 12, it was any one's race, though there were rumors that a combination had been formed to prevent the nomination of both Lowden and Wood. This was not indicated, how-



ever, by the ballots which followed. There were wild rumors of a break for Sproul of Pennsylvania and considerable talk of Senator Knox. It seemed clear that Senator Johnson was out of the contest, also that the disclosures of the large sums expended in the primary campaigns by supporters of Wood and Lowden had prevented their nomination. After the seventh ballot it was noticed that Senator Harding of Ohio began to gain, and the report became current that an agreement for his nomination had been reached.

After the eighth ballot, when Senator Harding's vote jumped to  $113\frac{1}{2}$ , a recess was forced in order to enable the friends of Lowden and Wood to ascertain whether either could command sufficient support to head off the Harding movement. On reassembling, when the ninth ballot was taken, Harding led with 374 votes, Wood dropped from 299 on the eighth to 249 on the ninth, and Lowden from 307 to  $121\frac{1}{2}$ . Johnson had dropped to 82.

It was now clear that Harding would be the nominee. On the tenth ballot he received 692 1-5 votes, 200 more than a majority. On the motion to make the nomination unanimous the delegates from Wisconsin, who had been consistently voting for La Follette, voted no, but did not leave the hall.

The nomination for Vice President followed quickly. Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts, Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin and Governor Allen of Kansas were the chief nominees. On the first ballot Governor Coolidge received  $674\frac{1}{2}$  votes. The nomination was made unanimous amid great enthusiasm. The convention adjourned at 7:30 P. M. June 12.

The first reaction was disappointment over the Presidential nominee. Among the group of Republicans affiliated previously with the progressive wing of the party it was charged that the convention had been finally controlled by "standpatters" and "the Old Guard Senators." There was also visible disappointment among the active supporters

of the other candidates. However, three or four days later, it was evident that the Republicans as a whole were thoroughly united for the first time in twelve years and that the nominee would receive strong support from all wings of the party. The selection of Governor Coolidge for Vice President was enthusiastically received throughout the country, and his choice was regarded as a distinct help to the ticket.

Warren G. Harding started life as a printer's devil in Marion, Ohio, and worked there as printer, reporter, circulation manager, business manager, editor and publisher before he entered politics. He was born in Corsica, Ohio, in 1865; was elected a State Senator in 1889 and Lieutenant Governor in 1904, was defeated for Governor of Ohio in 1910, and in 1914 was elected to the United States Senate. He placed President Taft in nomination for President before the Republican National Convention in 1912 and was Chairman of the Republican Convention, making the keynote speech, in 1916. He supported the Lodge reservations to the Peace Treaty in the Senate.

Governor Coolidge was born in Plymouth, Vt., July 4, 1872; graduated from Amherst College in 1895, studied law at Northampton, Mass., and opened a law office there. In 1899 he was elected member of the Northampton City Council, in 1900 became City Solicitor, was a member of the Legislature in 1907-08, Mayor of Northampton in 1910-11, served four years in the State Senate, during two of which he was its President. He was elected Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts in 1916, serving till 1918, and in the Fall of 1918 became the Governor of the State. He leaped into national fame in the Winter of 1919-20 when he defied the Boston police strikers and by his firmness in installing a volunteer police force saved the city from riots and lawlessness, becoming the chief factor, by his example, in ending the strike tendency of municipal functionaries, such as police and firemen.

# Text of the Republican Platform

**T**HE full text of the platform adopted by the Republican National Convention at Chicago June 10, 1920, is as follows:

The Republican Party, assembled in representative national convention, reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution of the United States and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained. It will resist all attempts to overthrow the foundations of the Government or weaken the force of its controlling principles and ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of international policy or of domestic agitation.

For seven years the National Government has been controlled by the Democratic Party. During that period a war of unparalleled magnitude has shaken the foundations of civilization, decimated the population of Europe, and left in its train economic misery and suffering second only to war itself.

The outstanding features of the Democratic Administration have been complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace.

## UNPREPAREDNESS FOR WAR

Inexcusable failure to make timely preparation is the chief indictment against the Democratic Administration in the conduct of the war. Had not our associates protected us, both on land and sea, during the first twelve months of our participation and furnished us to the very day of the armistice with munitions, planes and artillery, this failure would have been punished with disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself and in an enormous waste of public funds literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. Today it is reflected in our huge tax burden and in the high cost of living.

## UNPREPAREDNESS FOR PEACE

Peace found the Administration as unprepared for peace as war found it unprepared for war. The vital needs of the country demanded the early and systematic return to a peace-time basis. This called for vision, leadership and intelligent planning. All three have been lacking. While the country has been left to shift for itself, the Government has continued on a wartime basis. The Administration has not demobilized the army of place holders. It continued a method of financing which was indefensible during the period of reconstruction. It has used legislation passed to meet the emergency of war to continue its arbitrary and inquisitorial control over the life of the people in time of peace, and to carry confusion into indus-

trial life. Under the despot's plea of necessity or superior wisdom, executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions still undermines our institutions.

Eighteen months after the armistice, with its wartime powers unabridged, its wartime departments undischarged, its wartime army of place holders still mobilized, the Administration continues to flounder helplessly.

The demonstrated incapacity of the Democratic Party has destroyed public confidence, weakened the authority of Government and produced a feeling of distrust and hesitation so universal as to increase enormously the difficulties of readjustment and to delay the return to normal conditions.

Never has our nation been confronted with graver problems. The people are entitled to know in definite terms how the parties purpose solving these problems. To that end, the Republican Party declares its policies and program to be as follows:

## COSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

We undertake to end executive autocracy and to restore to the people their constitutional Government.

The policies herein declared will be carried out by the Federal and State Governments, each acting within its constitutional powers.

## CONGRESS AND RECONSTRUCTION

Despite the unconstitutional and dictatorial course of the President and the partisan obstruction of the Democratic Congressional minority, the Republican majority has enacted a program of constructive legislation which in great part, however, has been nullified by the vindictive vetoes of the President.

The Republican Congress has met the problems presented by the Administration's unpreparedness for peace. It has repealed the greater part of the vexatious war legislation. It has enacted a transportation act making possible the rehabilitation of the railroad systems of the country, the operation of which under the present Democratic Administration has been wasteful, extravagant and inefficient in the highest degree. The Transportation act made provision for the peaceful settlement of wage disputes, partially nullified, however, by the President's delay in appointing the Wage Board created by the act. This delay precipitated the outlaw railroad strike.

We stopped the flood of public treasure, recklessly poured into the lap of an inept Shipping Board, and laid the foundations for the creation of a great merchant marine. We took from the incompetent Democratic Administration the administration of the telegraph and telephone lines of the country and returned them to private ownership. We reduced the cost of postage and increased



the pay of the postal employees—the poorest paid of all public servants. We provided pensions for superannuated and retired civil servants and for an increase in pay of soldiers and sailors. We reorganized the army on a peace footing and provided for the maintenance of a powerful and efficient navy.

The Republican Congress established by law a permanent women's bureau in the Department of Labor; we submitted to the country the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage and furnished twenty-nine of the thirty-five Legislatures which have ratified it to date.

Legislation for the relief of the consumers of print paper; for the extension of the powers of the Government under the Food Control act; for broadening the scope of the War Risk Insurance act; better provision for the dwindling number of aged veterans of the civil war and for the better support of the maimed and injured of the great war, and for making practical the Vocational Rehabilitation act has been enacted by the Republican Congress.

We passed an oil leasing and water power bill to unlock for the public good the great pent-up resources of the country. We have sought to check the profligacy of the Administration, to realize upon the assets of the Government, and to husband the revenues derived from taxation. The Republicans in Congress have been responsible for cuts in the estimates for Government expenditure of nearly \$3,000,000,000 since the signing of the armistice.

We enacted a national executive budget law; we strengthened the Federal Reserve act to permit banks to lend needed assistance to farmers. We authorized financial incorporations to develop export trade, and finally amended the rules of the Senate and House, which will reform evils in procedure and guarantee more efficient and responsible Government.

## AGRICULTURE

The farmer is the backbone of the nation. National greatness and economic independence demand a population distributed between industry and the farm and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which is wholly dependent on the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster.

The crux of the present agricultural condition lies in prices, labor and credit.

The Republican Party believes that this condition can be improved by practical and adequate farm representation in the appointment of Governmental officials and commissions; the right to form co-operative associations for marketing their products and protection against discrimination; the scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs at home and abroad, with a view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuations; the uncensored publica-

tion of such reports; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the co-ordination of rail, water and motor transportation, with adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade; an end to unnecessary price fixing and ill-considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce prices of farm products, which invariably result to the disadvantage both of producer and consumer, and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

The Federal Farm Loan act should be so administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm land by those desiring to become owners and proprietors and thus minimize the evils of farm tenantry and to furnish such long-time credits as farmers may need to finance adequately their larger and long-time production operations.

## INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and labor. The one is contractual, and emphasizes the diversity of interests of employer and employe. The other is that of co-partnership in a common task.

We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good-will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employer and employes and realizing the true end of industrial justice.

The strike or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify Government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences.

We deny the right to strike against the Government; but the rights and interests of all Government employes must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals.

In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render a decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service to the lives and health and welfare of the people, the decisions of the tribunal to be morally, but not legally, binding, and an informed public sentiment to be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunal, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the Transportation act of 1920.

In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration supplemented by that full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The Government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commis-

sions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and investigation of this issue.

We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

### NATIONAL ECONOMY

A Republican Congress reduced the estimates submitted by the Administration for the fiscal year 1920 almost \$3,000,000,000 and for the fiscal year 1921 over \$1,250,000,000. Greater economies could have been effected had it not been for the stubborn refusal of the Administration to co-operate with Congress in an economy program. The universal demand for an executive budget is a recognition of the incontrovertible fact that leadership and sincere assistance on the part of the executive departments are essential to effective economy and constructive rearmament.

The Overman act invested the President of the United States with all the authority and power necessary to restore the Federal Government to a normal peace basis and to reorganize, retrench and demobilize. The dominant fact is that eighteen months after the armistice the United States Government is still on a wartime basis and the expenditure program of the Executive reflects wartime extravagance rather than rigid peacetime economy.

As an example of the failure to retrench which has characterized the post-war policy of the Administration we cite the fact that, not including the War and Navy Departments, the executive departments and other establishments at Washington actually record an increase subsequent to the armistice of 2,184 employees. The net decrease in payroll costs contained in the 1921 demands submitted by the Administration is only 1 per cent. under that of 1920. The annual expenses of Federal operation can be reduced hundreds of millions of dollars without impairing the efficiency of the public service.

We pledge ourselves to a carefully planned readjustment to a peacetime basis and to a policy of rigid economy, to the better coordination of departmental activities, to the elimination of unnecessary officials and employees and to the raising of the standard of individual efficiency.

### THE EXECUTIVE BUDGET

We congratulate the Republican Congress on the enactment of a law providing for the establishment of an executive budget as a necessary instrument for a sound and businesslike administration of the national finances, and we condemn the veto of the President which defeated this great financial reform.

### REORGANIZATION OF DEPARTMENTS

We advocate a thorough investigation of the present organization of the Federal departments and bureaus, with a view to secur-

ing consolidation, a more businesslike distribution of functions, the elimination of duplication, delays and overlapping of work and the establishment of an up-to-date and efficient administrative organization.

### WAR POWERS OF PRESIDENT

The President clings tenaciously to his autocratic wartime powers.

His veto of the resolution declaring peace and his refusal to sign the bill repealing wartime legislation, no longer necessary, evidence his determination not to restore to the nation and to the States the form of government provided for by the Constitution. This usurpation is intolerable and deserves the severest condemnation.

### TAXATION

The burden of taxation imposed upon the American people is staggering, but in presenting a true statement of the situation we must face the fact that, while the character of the taxes can and should be changed, an early reduction of the amount of revenue to be raised is not to be expected.

The next Republican Administration will inherit from its Democratic predecessor a floating indebtedness of over \$3,000,000,000, the prompt liquidation of which is demanded by sound financial considerations. Moreover, the whole fiscal policy of the Government must be deeply influenced by the necessity of meeting obligations in excess of \$5,000,000,000 which mature in 1923. But sound policy equally demands the early accomplishment of that real reduction of the tax burden which may be achieved by substituting simple for complex tax laws and procedure, prompt and certain determination of the tax liability for delay and uncertainty, tax laws which do not for tax laws which do excessively mulct the consumer or needlessly repress enterprise and thrift.

We advocate the issuance of a simplified form of income return, authorizing the Treasury Department to make changes in regulations effective only from the date of their approval, empowering the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the consent of the taxpayer, to make final and conclusive settlements of tax claims and assessments, barring fraud, and the creation of a Tax Board consisting of at least three representatives of the tax-paying public and the heads of the principal divisions of the Bureau of Internal Revenue to act as a standing committee on the simplification of forms, procedure and law, and to make recommendations to the Congress.

### BANKING AND CURRENCY

The fact is that the war, to a great extent, was financed by a policy of inflation through certificate borrowing from the banks and bonds issued at artificial rates sustained by the low discount rates established by the



Federal Reserve Board. The continuance of this policy since the armistice lays the Administration open to severe criticism. Almost up to the present time the practices of the Federal Reserve Board as to credit control have been frankly dominated by the convenience of the Treasury.

The results have been a greatly increased war cost, a serious loss to the millions of people who in good faith bought Liberty bonds and Victory notes at par, and extensive post-war speculation, followed today by a restricted credit for legitimate industrial expansion. As a matter of public policy, we urge all banks to give credit preference to essential industries.

The Federal Reserve system should be free from political influence, which is quite as important as its independence of domination by financial combinations.

### THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

The prime cause of the "high cost of living" has been, first and foremost, a 50 per cent. depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar, due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit. Reduced production, burdensome taxation, swollen profits and the increased demand for goods arising from a fictitious but enlarged buying power have been contributing causes in a greater or less degree.

We condemn the unsound policies of the Democratic Administration which have brought these things to pass and their attempts to impute the consequences to minor and secondary causes. Much of the injury wrought is irreparable. There is no short way out and we decline to deceive the people with vain promises or quack remedies. But as the political party that throughout its history has stood for honest money and sound finance, we pledge ourselves to earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living by rigorous avoidance of further inflation in our Government borrowing, by courageous and intelligent deflation of over-expanded credit and currency, by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift and by revision of war-imposed taxes unsuited to peacetime economy.

### PROFITEERING

We condemn the Democratic Administration for failure impartially to enforce the anti-profiteering laws enacted by the Republican Congress.

### RAILROADS

We are opposed to Government ownership and operation or employe operation of the railroads. In the view of the condition prevailing in the country, the expenditures of the last two years and the conclusions which may be fairly drawn from an ob-

servation of the transportation systems of other countries, it is clear that adequate transportation service, both for the present and the future, can be furnished more certainly, economically and efficiently through private ownership and operation under proper regulation and control.

There should be no speculative profit in rendering the service of transportation; but in order to do justice to the capital already invested in railway enterprises; to restore railway credit, to induce future investments at a reasonable rate and to furnish enlarged facilities to meet the requirements of the constantly increasing development and distribution, a fair return upon the actual value of the railway property used in transportation should be made reasonably sure, and at the same time, to provide constant employment to those engaged in transportation service with fair hours and favorable working conditions at wages or compensation at least equal to those prevailing in similar lines of industry.

We indorse the Transportation act of 1920 enacted by the Republican Congress as a most conservative legislative achievement.

### WATERWAYS

We declare it to be our policy to encourage and develop water transportation service and facilities in connection with the commerce of the United States.

### REGULATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

We approve in general the existing Federal legislation against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade, but, since the known certainty of a law is the safest of all, we advocate such amendment as will provide American business men with better means of determining in advance whether a proposed combination is or is not unlawful. The Federal Trade Commission, under a Democratic Administration, has not accomplished the purpose for which it was created. This commission, properly organized and its duties efficiently administered, should afford protection to the public and legitimate business. In this there should be no persecution of honest business, but to the extent that circumstances warrant we pledge ourselves to strengthen the law against unfair practices.

We pledge the party to an immediate resumption of trade relations with every nation with which we are at peace.

### INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND TARIFF

The uncertain and unsettled conditions of international balances, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future preclude the formulation of a definite program to meet condi-

tions a year hence. But the Republican Party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture and industry.

### MERCHANT MARINE

The national defense and our foreign commerce require a merchant marine of the best type of modern ship, flying the American flag, manned by American seamen, owned by private capital and operated by private energy.

### LAW AND ORDER

The equality of all citizens under the law has always been a policy of the Republican Party.

Without obedience to law and maintenance of order, our American institutions must perish. Our laws must be impartially enforced and speedy justice should be secured.

### PUBLIC ROADS AND HIGHWAYS

We favor liberal appropriations in co-operation with the States for the construction of highways, which will bring about a reduction in transportation costs, better marketing of farm products and improvement in rural postal delivery, as well as meet the needs of military defense.

In determining the proportion of Federal aid for road construction among the States, the sums lost in taxation to the respective States by the setting apart of large portions of their area as forest reservations should be considered as a controlling factor.

Conservation is a Republican policy. It began with the passage of the Reclamation act, signed by President Roosevelt. The recent passage of the Coal, Oil and Phosphate Leasing bill by a Republican Congress and the enactment of the Water Power bill, fashioned in accordance with the same principle, are consistent and landmarks in the development of the conservation of our national resources. We denounce the refusal of the President to sign the Water Power bill, passed after ten years of controversy. The Republican Party has taken an especially honorable part in saving our national forests and in the effort to establish a national forest policy. Our most pressing conservation question relates to our forests. We are using our forest resources faster than they are being renewed. The result is to raise unduly the cost of forest products to consumers, and especially farmers, who use more than half the lumber produced in America, and in the end to create a timber famine. The Federal Government, the States and private interests must unite in devising means to meet the menace.

We indorse the sound legislation recently enacted by the Republican Congress that

will insure the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine.

We favor the application of the Workmen's Compensation acts to the merchant marine.

We recommend that all ships engaged in coastwise trade and all vessels of the American merchant marine shall pass through the Panama Canal without premium of tolls.

### IMMIGRATION

The standard of living and the standard of citizenship are its most precious possessions, and the preservation and elevation of those standards is the first duty of our Government.

The immigration policy of the United States should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any one time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity, and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.

The selective tests that are at present applied could be improved by requiring a higher physical standard, a more complete exclusion of mental defectives and of criminals and a more effective inspection, applied as near the source of immigration as possible, as well as at the port of entry. Justice to the foreigner and to ourselves demands provision for the guidance, protection and better economic distribution of our alien population. To facilitate Government supervision all aliens should be required to register annually until they become naturalized.

The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of Asiatic immigrants is sound and should be maintained.

### NATURALIZATION

There is urgent need of improvement in our naturalization law. No alien should become a citizen until he has become genuinely American, and tests for determining the alien's fitness for American citizenship should be provided for by law.

We advocate in addition the independent naturalization of married women. An American woman should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien resident in the United States.

### FREE SPEECH AND ALIEN AGITATION

We demand that every American citizen shall enjoy the ancient and constitutional right of free speech, free press and free assembly and the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by his duly chosen representatives, but no man may advocate resistance to the law, and no man may advocate violent overthrow of the Government.

Aliens within the jurisdiction of the United States are not entitled of right to liberty of agitation directed against the Government or American institutions.

Every Government has the power to ex-



clude and deport those aliens who constitute a real menace to its peaceful existence. But in view of the large numbers of people affected by the Immigration acts and in view of the vigorous malpractice of the Departments of Justice and Labor, an adequate public hearing before a competent administrative tribunal should be assured to all.

### LYNCHING

We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country, which continues to be a terrible blot on our American citizenship.

### RECLAMATION

We favor a fixed and comprehensive policy of reclamation to increase national wealth and production.

We recognize in the development of reclamation through Federal action with its increase of production and taxable wealth a safeguard for the nation. We commend to Congress a policy to reclaim lands and the establishment of a fixed national policy of development of natural resources in relation to reclamation through the now designated Government agencies.

### THE SERVICE MEN

We hold in imperishable remembrance the valor and the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of America who fought in the great war for human liberty, and we pledge ourselves to discharge to the fullest the obligations which a grateful nation justly should fulfill in appreciation of the services rendered by its defenders on sea and on land.

Republicans are not ungrateful. Throughout their history they have shown their gratitude toward the nation's defenders. Liberal legislation for the care of the disabled and infirm and their dependents has ever marked Republican policy toward the soldier and sailor of all the wars in which our country has participated. The present Congress has appropriated generously for the disabled of the World War. The amounts already applied and authorized for the fiscal years 1920-21 for this purpose reached the stupendous sum of \$1,180,571,893. This legislation is significant of the party's purpose in generously caring for the maimed and disabled men of the recent war.

### CIVIL SERVICE

We renew our repeated declaration that the civil service law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The recent action of Congress in enacting a comprehensive civil service retirement law and in working out a comprehensive employment and wage policy that will guarantee equal and just treatment to the army of Government workers, and in centralizing the administration of the new and progressive employment policy in the

hands of the Civil Service Commission is worthy of all praise.

### POSTAL SERVICE

We condemn the present Administration for its destruction of the efficiency of the postal service and of the telegraph and telephone service when controlled by the Government, and for its failure properly to compensate employes whose expert knowledge is essential to the proper conduct of the affairs of the postal system. We commend the Republican Congress for the enactment of legislation increasing the pay of postal employes, who up to that time were the poorest paid in the Government service.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of Government and the activities of the Republican Party. We earnestly hope that Republican Legislatures in States which have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment will ratify the amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920, which is so important to the welfare of our country.

### SOCIAL PROGRESS

The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. Although the Federal jurisdiction over social problems is limited, they affect the welfare and interests of the nation as a whole. We pledge the Republican Party to the solution of these problems through national and State legislation in accordance with the best progressive thought of the country.

### EDUCATION AND HEALTH

We indorse the principle of Federal aid to the States for the purposes of vocational and agricultural training.

Where Federal money is devoted to education, such education must be so directed as to awaken in the youth the spirit of America and a sense of patriotic duty to the United States.

A thorough system of physical education for all children up to the age of 19, including adequate health supervision and instruction, would remedy conditions revealed by the draft and would add to the economic and industrial strength of the nation. National leadership and stimulation will be necessary to induce the States to adopt a wise system of physical training.

The public health activities of the Federal Government are scattered through numerous departments and bureaus, resulting in inefficiency, duplication and extravagance. We advocate a greater centralization of the Federal functions, and in addition urge the

better co-ordination of the work of the Federal, State and local health agencies.

### CHILD LABOR

The Republican Party stands for a Federal child labor law and for its rigid enforcement. If the present law be found unconstitutional or ineffective we shall seek other means to enable Congress to prevent the evils of child labor.

### WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Women have special problems of employment which make necessary special study. We commend Congress for the permanent establishment of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor to serve as a source of information to the States and to Congress.

The principle of equal pay for equal service should be applied throughout all branches of the Federal Government in which women are employed.

Federal aid for vocational training should take into consideration the special aptitudes and needs of women workers.

We demand Federal legislation to limit the hours of employment of women engaged in intensive industry, the product of which enters into interstate commerce.

### HOUSING

The housing shortage has not only compelled careful study of ways of stimulating building, but it has brought into relief the unsatisfactory character of the housing accommodations of large numbers of the inhabitants of our cities. A nation of homeowners is the best guarantee of the maintenance of those principles of liberty and law and order upon which our Government is founded. Both national and State Governments should encourage in all proper ways the acquiring of homes by our citizens. The United States Government should make available the valuable information on housing and town-planning collected during the war. This information should be kept up to date and made currently available.

### HAWAII

For Hawaii we recommend: Federal assistance in Americanizing and educating their greatly disproportionate foreign population; home rule and the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian race.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS

The foreign policy of the Administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice, our motives are suspected, our moral influence is impaired and our Government stands discredited

and friendless among the nations of the world.

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy, founded upon definite moral and political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and firm adherence to our own rights, and unflinching respect for the rights of others. We should afford full and adequate protection to the life, liberty and property and all international rights of every American citizen, and should require a proper respect for the American flag; but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our own honor and self-respect and the respect of other nations. Subject to a due regard for our international obligations, we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along the line most conducive to the happiness and welfare of the people, and to cast its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

### MEXICO

The ineffective policy of the present Administration in Mexican matters has been largely responsible for the continued loss of American lives in that country and upon our border; for the enormous loss of American and foreign property; for the lowering of American standards of morality and social relations with Mexicans, and for the bringing of American ideals of justice and national honor and political integrity into contempt and ridicule in Mexico and throughout the world.

The policy of wordy, futile, written protests against the acts of Mexican officials, explained the following day by the President himself as being "meaningless and not intended to be considered seriously or enforced," has but added in degree to that contempt, and has earned for us the sneers and jeers of Mexican bandits, and added insult upon insult against our national honor and dignity.

We should not recognize any Mexican Government unless it be a responsible Government, willing and able to give sufficient guarantees that the lives and property of American citizens are respected and protected, that wrongs will be promptly corrected and just compensation will be made for injury sustained. The Republican Party pledges itself to a consistent, firm and effective policy toward Mexico that shall enforce respect for the American flag and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of property, in connection with an established international law and our treaty rights.

The Republican Party is a sincere friend of the Mexican people. In its insistence upon the maintenance of order for the protection



of American citizens within its borders a great service will be rendered the Mexican people themselves, for a continuation of present conditions means disaster to their interest and patriotic aspirations.

### MANDATE FOR ARMENIA

We condemn President Wilson for asking Congress to empower him to accept a mandate for Armenia. The acceptance of such a mandate would throw the United States into the very maelstrom of European quarrels. According to the estimate of the Harbord Commission, organized by authority of President Wilson, we would be called upon to send 59,000 American boys to police Armenia and to expend \$276,000,000 in the first year and \$756,000,000 in five years. This estimate is made upon the basis that we would have only roving bands to fight, but in case of serious trouble with the Turks or with Russia, a force exceeding 200,000 would be necessary.

No more striking illustration can be found of President Wilson's disregard of the lives of American boys or American interests.

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican Party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Republican Party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice, and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war. We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair, when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peacemakers in a multitude of quarrels, the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this purpose and contained stipulations not only intolerable for an independent people but certain to produce the injustice, hostility and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated, to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, the time-honored policy in favor of peace declared by Washington and Jefferson and Monroe and pursued by all American administrators for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiments of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation.

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way, without any change and without any regard to the opinion of the majority of the Senate, which shares with him in the treaty-making power, and the President's demand that the treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths, according to their judgment, upon the treaty as it was presented or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority, under the Constitution, was theirs, and not his.

The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity, and we pledge the coming Republican Administration to such agreement with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

Pointing to its history and relying upon its fundamental principles, we declare that the Republican Party has the generous courage and constructive ability to end executive usurpation and restore constitutional Government; to fulfill our world obligations without sacrificing our national independence; to raise the national standard of education, health and general welfare; to reestablish a peacetime administration and to substitute economy and efficiency for extravagance and chaos; to restore and maintain the national credit; to reform unequal and burdensome taxes; to free business from arbitrary and unnecessary official control; to suppress disloyalty without denial of justice; to repeal the arrogant challenge of any class; to maintain a Government of all the people as contrasted with a Government for some of the people, and, finally, to allay unrest, suspicion and strife and to secure the co-operation and unity of all citizens in the solution of the complex problems of the day, to the end that our country, happy and prosperous, proud of its past, sure of itself and its institutions, may look forward with confidence to the future.

# Prohibition Upheld by Supreme Court

Eighteenth Amendment and Volstead Law Declared Valid by the Nation's Highest Tribunal

THE final decision of the United States Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead law was handed down and published on June 7, 1920. The constitutionality of both amendment and law was confirmed. The decision amounted to a decree of nationwide "bone-dry" prohibition, at least until Congress should decide to enact a less stringent enforcement law. The ability of any State to override the Federal Government and to maintain any degree of "wetness" beyond that fixed by Congress was denied. The petitions of Rhode Island and New Jersey, as well as other State appeals from Massachusetts, Kentucky, Wisconsin and Missouri to prohibit enforcement; the action brought by Christian Feigenspan of Newark, and all pending injunctions, were dismissed. Petitions for a rehearing were immediately filed by three of the principal opponents. The decision of the Supreme Court was unanimous; four of the Judges, though sustaining the Volstead act, disagreed regarding some of its interpretations.

By this sweeping dismissal of all attacks upon the constitutionality of the prohibition laws, the long battle between the "drys" and the "wets" reached its culmination and resulted in a triumph for the prohibitionists. Two attempts, made on Feb. 25 and March 4, to have Congress repeal the Volstead law had failed of success. Four States lost suits to have the Eighteenth Amendment declared unconstitutional on the ground of infringement of State rights. The first of these actions was brought by Rhode Island on Jan. 25, and immediately gave rise to a countersuit brought on March 1 by twenty-one States leagued together, to ask the Supreme Court to dismiss Rhode Island's suit. Having heard arguments in the Rhode Island, Kentucky and Massachusetts cases on March 8, the Supreme Court on March 15

granted New Jersey permission to bring original proceedings against the amendment. Previous to this decision (on March 2) Governor Edwards of New Jersey signed a bill permitting the manufacture and sale of beer containing 3.50 per cent. alcohol. Governor Edwards assailed the Anti-Saloon League and the Prohibition activities of W. J. Bryan and declared that there could be "no greater work of God than the defense of ancient American liberty."

Besides the presentation of the State cases, an attack upon the constitutionality of the amendment and law was made in briefs filed in the Supreme Court on March 27 and argued by Elihu Root and William G. Guthrie on behalf of Christian Feigenspan, a brewer of Newark, N. J. The first hearing occurred on March 29. By the final decision of the Supreme Court this test case, as well as all State appeals and test injunctions, was dismissed.

Pending the decision of the Supreme Court, other States besides New Jersey passed bills providing for the State sale of 2.75 per cent. beer. Massachusetts had declared for such a bill by legislative action, but Governor Coolidge vetoed the bill passed on the ground that it would be hypocrisy, since it could bring the people no beer, and to act under it would be an infraction of national law. New York State, however, on May 24, followed the example of New Jersey by passing, with Governor Smith's approval, the Walker bill for 2.75 per cent. beer. In approving this bill, the New York Governor said that it represented the majority sentiment of New York and of its Legislature. In signing the measure he stated that he accepted the Legislature's decision that 2.75 per cent. beer was non-intoxicating. The New York law, like the rest of its kind, became void after the Supreme Court's decision.

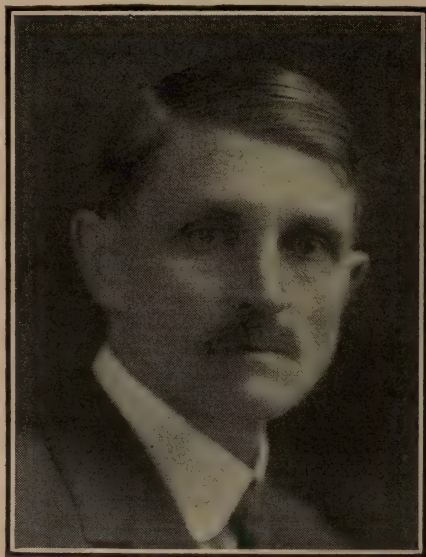
Despite frequent and vigorous warnings emanating from the new Federal



Prohibition Commissioner, John F. Kramer, and his agents it was an open secret that liquor was being freely sold in New York City over the bar and otherwise. The flagrant violation of the Volstead law was revealed in May by a well-known clergyman, whose revelations, based on personal investigation, led to a Grand Jury investigation and to raids on the restaurants and other places which he named. Commissioner of Public Welfare Coler, on May 9, declared the prohibition law so poorly enforced that the hospitals were again filling with alcoholic patients. He threatened a thorough investigation if a better observance of the law were not enforced within a month. Supervisor James S. Shevlin, in charge of prohibition enforcement in New York, blamed the police for failure to co-operate with Federal officials. Various Judges commented on the large number of cases of drunkenness that came up before them. Dr. Menaz S. Gregory, Director of Bellevue Hospital, said on May 9 that the number of alcoholic patients received in the ten days prior to that date was ten times that of a month earlier.

A marked decrease in the illicit sale of liquor in New York City followed the Supreme Court decision upholding all prohibition legislation, and was indicated by reports of the Federal Enforcement

Agents on June 9. Prohibition officials in Brooklyn, Long Island and New Jersey reported that many saloon-



JOHN F. KRAMER  
*Federal Prohibition Commissioner*

keepers were retiring from business. Those remaining in business were very cautious in selling drinks. A number of arrests for illegal sale of liquor were made during the first half of June.

## American Developments

### Peace-Time Army Fixed at 297,000 Officers and Men— Attempts to Curb Profiteering

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 15, 1920]

THE Army Reorganization bill, as agreed upon by the House and Senate on May 27, and as enacted into law, is substantially different from the one proposed originally by the Senate. It provides for a peace-time regular army of 297,000 officers and men, including the Philippine Scouts; for continuation of the National Guard substantially on the present basis, and for

the organization of an enlisted reserve corps liable for fifteen days of training duty a year, except in case of war emergency.

The Senate proposal to create the post of Under Secretary of War to have charge of procurement of war supplies was accepted in substance by placing this duty on the Assistant Secretary at an increased salary of \$10,000 a year.

The Assistant Secretary will function as a business manager. The law also creates within the department a permanent War Council composed of the Secretary, Assistant Secretary, the General of the Army and the Chief of Staff, which will determine military and munition problems.

Senate provisions reconstructing the General Staff on French Army lines and making separate branches of the Air Service, Signal Corps and Chemical Warfare sections were retained, the Air Force to include 1,514 officers and 16,000 men commanded by a Major General. For the line of the army 21 Major Generals, 46 Brigadiers, 525 Colonels, 674 Lieutenant Colonels, 2,245 Majors and 4,490 Captains are provided, chiefs of infantry, cavalry and field artillery to be Major Generals, and the Porto Rican Infantry to be incorporated into the regular army. Promotions will be from a single list under yearly classification with provision for discharge of unfit officers, and the Summer training camp system is perpetuated to aid in developing reserve officers.

General John J. Pershing on June 7 asked Secretary of War Baker to put him on the inactive list.

This does not mean that General Pershing has resigned; he has only asked to be retired from active duty, subject to call to military duty in the case of an emergency or otherwise.

#### SOLDIERS' BONUS

By a vote of 289 to 92 the House on May 29 passed the bill to provide bonuses for ex-service men, and in doing so broke legislative precedents by suspending the rules and passing, after forty minutes' debate, a measure which called for an expenditure of more than \$1,600,000,000. Under the gag rule plan devised to compel voting directly upon the bill it was necessary to obtain a two-thirds vote instead of a majority. This was accomplished, with 35 more than required.

Forty Republicans, including Representatives Mann, ex-Speaker Cannon, S. D. Fess, Chairman of the Congressional Campaign Committee, and Representative Kahn, Chairman of the Military

Affairs Committee, deserted their colleagues, while 112 Democrats joined the majority and supported the measure after Representative Rainey of Illinois had urged them to do so.

The bill was sent to the Senate, but no action was taken on it by that body. The adjournment of Congress therefore left the bonus project at least temporarily sidetracked.

#### WAR SUPPLIES SOLD

The report submitted by the United States Liquidation Commission of the War Department, June 6, showed tremendous transactions carried out quickly and successfully. The war stocks had been located chiefly in France; some were in Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Italy. Supplies and equipment worth \$672,000,000 were returned to this country, the balance was sold in Europe for \$822,923,225. Said the report:

Sales of approximately \$108,700,000 were made for cash on delivery, sales of approximately \$532,500,000 were made to the French Government, sales amounting to about \$29,000,000 were made to Belgium and sales aggregating \$140,100,000 were made to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Rumania and other so-called liberated nations of Central Europe and the Near East. Those made to the nations mentioned are evidenced by their 5 per cent. interest-bearing bonds, maturing from two to ten years after date. Other sales were made on short-term credits, which have been or are being collected by the appropriate army services.

#### TO ACCOMPANY WAR DEAD

Secretary Baker announced on June 8 that transportation from Hoboken to their homes would be furnished by the War Department to relatives of soldiers who died abroad and whose bodies are being returned to this country for interment. One relative or friend will be allowed to accompany each body from the ship to the home town at the Government's expense.

Under ordinary circumstances [Secretary Baker explained] the bodies of soldiers who have died in the service are accompanied from the place of death or port of arrival in this country to the home of the deceased by an official conveyer, but under army regulations the War Department is allowed to substitute for this



official convoyer a relative or friend of the deceased. The War Department is not able to furnish transportation to Hoboken, nor is it in a position to pay any expenses incurred during the time consumed in awaiting shipment of the body.

This arrangement is made in order that relatives who wish to do so may secure early control of the bodies of their loved ones and bestow upon them that sympathetic care which they so naturally desire to give.

The new American dreadnought Tennessee, one of the greatest battleships afloat, constructed at a cost of \$20,000,000, was put into commission at the Brooklyn Navy Yard on June 3. The new vessel is expected to start on or about Aug. 1 on her way to join the Pacific Fleet.

### POSTAL PAY INCREASES

On June 3 a measure was passed by both Senate and House to increase the pay of postal employes. It passed the House by unanimous vote of the 343 members present. Amendments adopted by the Senate changed the measure but little and prompt agreement in conference was reached.

The act affects approximately 300,000 postal employes in the United States, Porto Rico, Hawaii and Alaska. It becomes effective on July 1, and will increase the postal payroll the first year \$34,375,000. Additional increases for the succeeding three years will average approximately \$3,700,000 annually.

The measure carries out recommendations recently made by the Joint Congressional Commission, following an investigation covering more than a year into the salaries received by Post Office employes.

### HELP FOR RAILROADS

Important steps were taken on May 21 in the effort to free the railway lines from the freight congestion that had checked industry and contributed to the cost of living. The Interstate Commerce Commission announced that it would recommend allowing the railroads \$125,000,000 out of the \$300,000,000 revolving fund so that necessary equipment may be purchased, and proposed the organization of an equipment corporation with a capital of \$500,000,000.

The American Railway Association also sent out telegraphic instructions to railway officials which will result in the formation of local committees in thirty large cities to supervise and expedite the task of clearing the rails.

The railways are in sore need of equipment, the present emergency being largely due to an actual shortage of cars and locomotives. The local committees will be able to handle their own particular problems much more rapidly and advantageously than a central body acting in Washington. It is stated that the railroads will need as a minimum 2,000 locomotives and 100,000 freight cars, including 20,000 refrigerator cars.

### RAILROAD VALUATION

Figures presented to the Interstate Commerce Commission on May 27 put the value of the railroads far above their capital. The statement was presented to the commission by Thomas W. Hulme of Philadelphia, Vice Chairman of the Valuation Committee for the carriers, and was that the Government engineering reports for fifty railroad systems, with a mileage of 51,853, will show that the cost of reproduction at 1914 prices, including the value of land, would be \$3,203,782,543, as compared with a property investment account of only \$3,158,275,156 carried in the books of the companies. Railroad executives attending the hearings maintain that the data presented conclusively answered all the "watered stock" charges of recent years, including the Plumb Plan allegations.

Mr. Hulme stated that costs now were more than 100 per cent. higher than those prevailing in 1914. Railroad valuation experts believe the aggregate worth of all the roads will prove more than \$2,000,000,000 in excess of their capitalization and more than \$6,000,000,000 in excess of the present aggregate market value of their stocks and bonds.

It was announced on May 19 that President Wilson had appointed John Barton Payne, Secretary of the Interior, to be Director General of Railroads, succeeding Walker D. Hines, whose resignation was accepted, effective May 15.

## RESERVE BOARD REPORTS

Little actual relief from high prices was seen in the analysis of May business presented by the Federal Reserve Board on May 30. The board expressed the belief that there was a drift toward a "far-reaching alteration of the essential price structure," but added:

The continuance of labor difficulties and unrest, particularly in connection with the railroads, when added to the difficult situation produced by car shortage and lack of equipment, has caused considerable interruption to business operations, and the whole outlook has been such as to bring about a severe curtailment in the volume of stock and securities transactions and to compel very material lessening in the market value of Liberty bonds and of other securities of the first grade.

In addition to intense shortage of labor on farms and at other points of primary production, sporadic strikes in many lines of manufacturing, notably textiles, have continued to indicate unrest. Wages have apparently fallen behind the advance in prices and cost of living. The movement of labor from the farms to the cities is continuing.

Various demands for higher wages have been taken under advisement for the purpose of bringing about compromise adjustments between employers and employees. General complaint of low efficiency or small output per unit of labor continues to be prevalent. The difficulty of getting skilled labor in some of the more highly developed lines of manufacture is very considerable.

## WOOLEN COMPANIES INDICTED

The American Woolen Company of Massachusetts, the American Woolen Company of New York and William M. Wood, President of both companies, were indicted under the Lever act on a charge of profiteering by a Federal Grand Jury in New York on May 26. The indictment contained fourteen counts, each dealing with the sale of woolen cloth at a price alleged to be exorbitant. The cost and sale prices quoted showed transactions that netted the woolen companies 100 per cent. profit.

Herbert C. Smyth, special assistant United States Attorney General in charge of the prosecution, said the Government's investigation had revealed that besides "enormous" salaries from both companies, Mr. Wood in 1919 received

\$515,482.86 in commissions. This was charged as a part of the manufacturing and selling expense.

On June 11 the indictments were quashed by Federal Judge Mack. The order for dismissal was based on an amendment to the Lever act which included "wearing apparel" among the things which came under the ban against profiteering. The Judge held that by specifically naming wearing apparel the amendment limited profiteering to clothes and excluded cloth.

A fine of \$55,000 was imposed, June 2, on the John A. Roberts Company of Utica, N. Y., dealers in wearing apparel, convicted of profiteering.

## HOOVER ON COST OF LIVING

Herbert C. Hoover, testifying in New York before the Lusk Joint Investigating Committee on May 24, blamed the President, Attorney General Palmer and others of the Cabinet for failure to accept the Sugar Equalization Board's recommendation that the Cuban 1920 crop be bought up. Had this been done, he said, when the crop was offered at 6½ cents a pound, sugar today would cost not more than 12 cents, instead of more than 100 per cent. in excess of that figure. Mr. Hoover read a prepared statement, in which he said:

I would list the predominating causes of the high cost of living as:

1. Shortage in commodities due to the underproduction of Europe and to our participation there through the drain upon us by exports.

2. Inflation, more especially in its expansion of credit facilities for the purpose of speculation and nonessential industry. Perhaps that would be more correctly stated not for the purpose but for the use.

3. Profiteering and speculation arising from the combined opportunity in the two previous items.

4. Matter of adjustment of taxation, particularly the excess profits tax.

5. Decrease in our own productivity due to relaxation of effort since the war, to strikes and other causes.

6. Increase in our own consumption, the waste of commodities and increase in extravagance.

7. Deterioration of our transport system during the war.

8. Expensive and wasteful distribution system and other less important causes.



# What the League of Nations Has Done

## Summary of Its Definite Achievements in the First Five Months of Its Existence

**T**HE League of Nations had been in existence exactly five months on June 16, 1920. What has it accomplished in the way of positive results? Has it been languishing like a sickly child, nerveless, doomed to an early death, as some of its detractors charge, or has it fundamental strength which time itself is developing? The only criterion is the record of its achievement. These are the facts:

A small body of nine men representing five great and four small powers, gathered in a conference of the nations, has held five important meetings. At each of these meetings the unanimity necessary before recommendations can be made to the powers was attained. These meetings were held as follows:

*Jan. 16, Paris*—Council organized and Sarre Basin Frontier Commission appointed.

*Feb. 11, London*—Switzerland's provisional accession accepted. Rules of council procedure adopted. Sarre Basin Governing Commission and High Commissioner for Danzig (Sir Reginald Tower) appointed. Obligation of Polish Minority Treaty to see that racial minorities in Poland are protected, accepted. Plans for organization of permanent Court of International Justice, for freedom of communication and transit, and for the International Health Office, approved. International Finance Conference summoned.

*March 13, Paris*—Plans for sending a League Commission of Inquiry into Russia approved. Measures for the prevention of typhus in Poland decided on.

*April 9, Paris*—Request of Supreme Council that the League take a mandate for Armenia answered. The League stated that it would exercise a general supervision, but that it did not possess the necessary military and financial equipment to administer this territory directly.

*May 12, Rome*—At this fifth meeting of the council the following subjects were discussed: Drafting of plans for accession of new States, convening of League

Assembly, the permanent Secretariat, the League budget and its apportionment among the member nations, the constitution of the permanent Armaments Commission, the appointment of an International Statistics Commission, action on report regarding communications and transit, the repatriation of ex-enemy prisoners in Siberia, action on reports of Central European relief and typhus in Poland, discussion of report on Washington Labor Conference, the registration and publication of all new treaties between League members.

*June 14, London*—This meeting was a special one, called for the purpose of considering Persia's appeal for aid against Bolshevik aggression. Discussion of this appeal was just beginning when this issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press.

### SUMMARY OF PROGRESS

The present status of accomplishment regarding these and other subjects may be summarized briefly as follows:

**Assembly**—A meeting of three representatives of all members of the League, competent to discuss any matter affecting world peace and to be the final repository of moral authority in international relations, is to be first summoned by President Wilson and to be held some time in 1920. The agenda for this first meeting is being prepared.

**Secretariat**—A permanent, trained international staff, chosen for special knowledge rather than for nationality, and intrusted with gathering information, preparing plans and carrying out recommendations, has been organized and now has a staff of 100 men. It is located temporarily in London, and divided into sections corresponding to its work, viz., Legal, Mandates, International Health, Transit, International Bureaus, Political Administrative Commission, Economic, Public Information and Financial.

**Court of International Justice**—At the

council meeting of Feb. 11 an organizing committee of this court was appointed. It consisted of the following eminent international jurists:

United States, Elihu Root.  
 Japan, Mr. Akidzuki.  
 Spain, Señor Altamira.  
 Brazil, Senhor Devilaqua.  
 Belgium, M. Descamps.  
 Argentina, M. Drago.  
 Italy, Signor Fadda.  
 France, M. Fromageot.  
 Norway, Mr. Fram.  
 Holland, Mr. Loder.  
 Great Britain, Mr. Phillimore.  
 Jugoslavia, M. Vesnitch.

Pending the convening of this organizing committee, a special committee of experts has been engaged in bringing together all the pertinent data and preparing a general scheme for the final plans to be submitted later to the assembly.

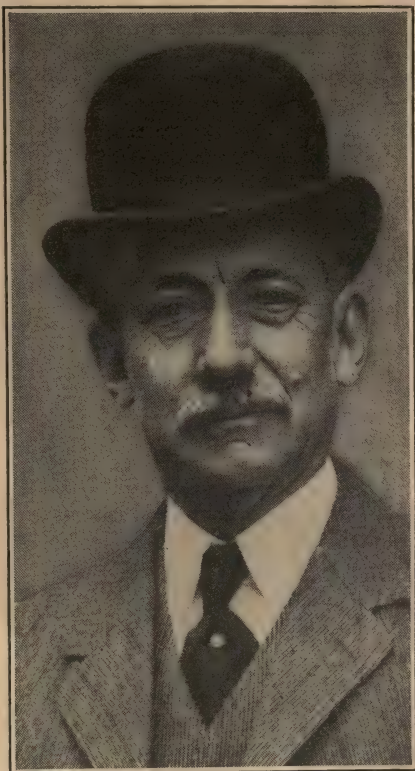
The formal opening of this commission was scheduled for June 16 at the Peace Palace of The Hague. Great Britain, France, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, Holland, Spain and Jugoslavia were to be officially represented. Two speeches were to be made at the opening session, one by Signor Anzilotti, Under Secretary General of the League, and the other by the Dutch Foreign Minister. The Hague diplomatic corps and many officials had been invited. Elihu Root arrived at The Hague on June 12.

#### ORGANIZATION OF DEPARTMENTS

**International Labor Conference**—The first session of this new body was held in Washington in October, 1919. Six draft conventions were approved for the eight-hour day and the forty-eight-hour week, the protection of mothers and children, and the establishment of unemployment offices and insurance. Various other recommendations were made tending to make unemployment less dangerous and employment less precarious. The execution of these recommendations was left to each League member to write voluntarily into its national law.

**International Labor Office**—The International Labor Office is now quite fully organized, with Albert Thomas of France as Director General and a governing body of twenty-four representa-

tives of Government, labor and capital in the most important and industrial States. It has held several meetings, begun the assembling and publication of labor data covering the world and called another international conference to meet in Genoa in June on the subject of seamen's labor.



ELIHU ROOT

*American representative in the creation of a  
 League of Nations High Court  
 (© Underwood & Underwood)*

**International Health Office**—Its function is to bring together in common association the various national and semi-official agencies seeking to improve the health, prevent disease and mitigate suffering throughout the world. It is being organized now in London.

**Disarmament**—The permanent commission called for in the covenant to draw up recommendations for the reduc-



tion of armaments, for the interchange of information on armaments and for the removal of private profit in armament manufacture was constituted at the council meeting at Rome.

**Freedom of Communications and Transit**—A permanent commission has been set up to carry out the special duties prescribed in the peace treaties to assure freedom of transit, especially for the new States, on certain most vital rivers which have been internationalized, namely, the Rhine, Danube, Elbe, Niemen and Oder, and on certain railroads connecting different States. It was decided at the council meeting held in Rome to call a world conference before the end of the year to work out plans for the greatest possible sharing in the great highways of nature and for the prevention of embittering discriminations between States.

**The Minorities**—The League has definitely accepted the responsibility offered it in the special treaty with Poland to assure protection to racial, religious and linguistic minorities in that country and will shortly accept similar responsibilities in treaties with Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia. Already certain infractions of these treaties are being threatened, with the result that data are being collected in case action is needed.

**Mandates**—With 13,000,000 natives of the former German colonies and possibly large blocks of the former Turkish Empire placed under the guarantee of the League, the special treaties defining the terms under which these territories are to be administered by more advanced nations have been drawn up and are ready for approval. Also the Permanent Mandate Commission, which is to receive the annual reports of States accepting mandates and see to it that the terms are carried out, is outlined ready for appointment.

#### WORK OF COMMISSIONS

**The Sarre Valley**—The vitally important coal district with 650,000 people is now being administered directly by a governing commission appointed by the League. This commission was appointed

by the council Feb. 13, consisting of Rault of France, Alfred von Boch of Sarrelouis, Major Lambert of Belgium, Count de Moltke Hvitfeldt of Denmark and Waugh of Canada. It assumed its duties Feb. 26 with a proclamation to the people notifying them of their administration by the League and will continue in office until the plebiscite fifteen years hence decides the permanent fate of the district.

**Danzig**—A vitally important seaport, German in character, but essential to Poland as an outlet to the sea, has been created by the Treaty of Versailles as a free city under the protection of the League. It is being administered by Sir Reginald Tower as High Commissioner on behalf of the League. He has drawn up plans for a Constituent Assembly, called an election for this month, and laid plans for a permanent Constitution.

**International Financial Conference**—An international financial conference to discuss the abnormal economic and financial conditions created in Europe by the war, and to find a remedy for them, has been called by the council meeting of Feb. 11 and will be held in Brussels in July. The invitations, together with a detailed questionnaire as to taxes, budgets, debts, export figures and the like, went out some time ago to all Governments, including the United States, and it is expected that information and recommendations of the most important character will result.

#### PROBLEMS IN RUSSIA

**Commission of Inquiry on Russia**—This commission was authorized at the council meeting held on Feb. 1. The personnel was appointed, despite the uncertainty as to how the proposal to send such a mission to Moscow would be received by the Soviet authorities. A statement was issued from the League headquarters on May 5 to the effect that the Soviet Government had made no reply to two radio notes sent by Sir Eric Drummond asking its approval of the project. The first of these notes had been sent on March 17; the second, sent on May 1, had urged a reply in time for

action to be taken at the Rome conference.

The Soviet reply was received while this conference was in session. In substance it accepted the League commission, but declined to receive as delegates the representatives of any nation or nations aiding or encouraging the Poles and Ukrainians in their joint campaign against Soviet Russia; France was unmistakably aimed at in this exclusion. The council drafted tentatively a reply implying that it construed the imposition of this condition as tantamount to a refusal. It urged the Soviet Government to reconsider its decision, and threw on it, in the event of refusal, the sole responsibility for rejecting an offer inspired only by a desire to improve the economic condition of the world.

The Official Journal—This organ, devised to do away with secret diplomacy in every form, began publication in February with an issue containing the covenant, the minutes of the first court meeting, the documents of accession of five neutrals, and a report on the international labor conference. A special edition is being arranged for treaty publication.

Budget of the League—A budget has been drawn up providing \$600,000 for the organization period through March 30, 1920, and about \$2,500,000 for the first fiscal year, a negligible sum when divided among the nations of the world. Already over half the money called for has been paid in, so that the League has an excess of funds. Canada, for instance, has contributed \$64,000 as her share.

### THE CONFERENCE AT ROME

The fifth session of the Council of the League met at the Ministry of the Colonies in Rome in the afternoon of May 14. On a motion by Léon Bourgeois of France, Signor Tittoni, President of the Italian Senate, was elected President of the League and delivered the inaugural speech. Thirty-six nations were represented. Regret for the absence of a delegate from the United States was formally expressed. King Victor Emmanuel received the delegates officially

at the first public sitting on May 19 and gave a dinner in their honor.

The main subject under discussion was the question of the reduction of armaments. "It is in this connection," said M. Bourgeois, "that the eyes of the whole world are eagerly and anxiously watching our proceedings. If we fail in our performance of this essential duty, our decisions on other issues will be lacking in any effective sanction." A board of naval, military and aerial experts for consultative and executive purposes was appointed. The League instructed this board not only to elaborate the naval, military and aerial standards to which a number of States seeking admission to the League would be expected to conform, but also the standards to which all the members, big and little, must ultimately subscribe. Esthonia, for instance, would have its armament fixed relatively to that of the surrounding border States, while Luxembourg's defenses would condition those of other small States in similarly exposed situations and surrounded by larger powers.

An interesting development was the indorsement by the League Council of M. Bourgeois's contention that the League should make itself responsible for the fulfillment by Germany of Article 213 of the Treaty, whereby Germany pledged herself to submit to any investigation of her military conditions ordered by the League Council or a majority of its members. The council also decided to request the signatories to the Arms Traffic Convention of Sept. 10, 1919, and all the other members of the League, to set up a central office to prevent unlawful or undesirable traffic in arms and munitions tending to stimulate or protract small wars.

Other subjects discussed by the council are enumerated in the summary given of the Rome session, on Page 568. Among other decisions was that to call a world conference on transportation questions before the end of the year. The first plenary assembly of the League, called by President Wilson, was scheduled to meet in Geneva at some date in the early Autumn.



## THE SESSION IN LONDON

The Council of the League held its sixth session in the picture gallery of St. James's Palace, in London, on June 14. The meeting was a special one, called to discuss the appeal to the League by Persia to aid her to keep Bolshevik forces away from the Persian borders. This appeal was considered by many to be the first big test case" which the League had been called to decide upon. Toward the end of May the Persian Foreign Minister had forwarded to the League, of which Persia was an original member, a strong protest against the Bolshevik bombardment and occupation of Enzeli on the south coast of the Caspian Sea, which it characterized as a gross breach of international law. A peculiar situation arose from this appeal in consequence of the relation which Great Britain held to Persia. The French press expressed the sentiment that inasmuch as England had established a virtual protectorate over Persia, it would fall to her, and not to the League, to respond to this appeal. Charges were made that Lloyd George was trying to get the League to recognize the Anglo-Persian Treaty or the Soviet Government, or both. The semi-official Temps was especially hostile to the League's entering upon such an undertaking as the Persian appeal envisaged and saw in it only the advancement of British schemes. Discussion of the appeal was just beginning when this issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press.

## NEW MEMBERS OF LEAGUE

The definite decision by Switzerland that she would enter the League of Nations was confirmed by the plebiscite held in that country from May 15 to 16. The vote cast in favor was as 4 to 3, Zurich holding the balance of power in the referendum, with all the French cantons for and the German cantons against entrance. Some 700,000 votes were cast in all.

Premier Millerand on June 5 sent the Swiss Government a note assuring it that the question of changing the seat of the League of Nations from Geneva had not been raised. It had been announced

from Berne on May 28 that Switzerland, before the result of the plebiscite was known, had addressed a note to all the members of the League favoring the retention of Geneva as the seat of the League. Geneva was making all preparations to receive the assembly of the League in the Fall.

Applications for membership to the League were filed by Iceland toward the end of April. Three other States had filed applications, viz., the new republic of Georgia, San Marino and Luxemburg. All four applications were considered at the Rome session. Esthonia, Ukrainia and Finland expressed their consent to enter toward the end of May. The adherence of Haiti on June 2 left only Honduras, Costa Rica, China and the United States of all the nations eligible for admission out of the League. The question of the admission of Germany, Austria and Bulgaria remained in abeyance, though it was stated that Germany would be allowed representation at the International Financial Conference to be held in July at Brussels. A German League of Nations Union, which agitates for the inclusion of Germany in the League and for a revision of the Peace Treaty under its auspices, was stated by Dr. Jach, its President, on May 8, to number more than 9,000,000 members, including the most important members of all parties, except the German National Party and the German Volks Party.

## MR. BALFOUR ON LEAGUE

A. J. Balfour, Lord President of the council, outlined before the House of Commons on June 17 the progress accomplished in organizing the League of Nations and expounded its prospects. The League, he said, had already rendered considerable service to the comity of nations. The Secretariat was now adequate to execute the immediate duties of the council and an office had been established for the registration of treaties.

Mr. Balfour declared that the League's most valuable service, in his opinion, was that it would do away with all secret diplomacy. With regard to international finances, the whole question of expendi-

tures among the nation members of the League would be frankly and openly discussed when the International Finance Commission met at Brussels. The fundamental task, said Mr. Balfour, was to induce the nations to disarm in so far as possible; this object must be attained or the tragedy of the world would begin anew.

The League in its present stage, Mr. Balfour said, must not be overloaded with responsibilities. It could not take the place of the Supreme Council in rescuing the world from chaos. Armenia, he admitted, was a tragic problem, as neither Great Britain nor the League

had the troops or financial resources necessary for intervention. In other directions, however, the machinery of the League could be used to build up a body of public opinion which would prevent disasters such as the world was now suffering under.

In conclusion Mr. Balfour said that if the League was to be a success it must comprise all the nations of the world. This was an obvious reference both to Germany and to Russia. Even now, he said, the League was crippled because it had so far been unable to induce the United States to become a member.

## Poland—The Great Problem

By MAJOR A. B. RICHESON

ANY discussion on this side of the Atlantic about Poland, and the carrying of the war against the Bolsheviks into territory still recognized as belonging to Russia, may well begin with a brief reminder of America's interest in Poland.

President Wilson, in his message to Congress on May 26 vetoing the proposed peace by resolution, stated among other reasons that this measure said "nothing about the re-establishment of an independent Polish State." The President thus reiterated his championship of Poland, which began long before he proclaimed his famous Fourteen Points as a basis for ending the great war. So much for the moral guardianship of America over Poland. As for America's more tangible interests in Poland, Hugh Gibson of Belgium Embassy fame, and America's first Minister to Poland, in a speech at Pittsburgh on June 7 uttered these words:

No matter how much we want to stay at home and mind our own business, it can't be done according to old conceptions. The success or failure of Poland or Czechoslovakia is more fraught with consequences to us now than the success or failure of the Government of Mexico would have been before the war. The whole structure of world finance and

business is so interlocked that we have no choice as to participation or non-participation.

In another recent speech, made in New York City, Mr. Gibson rather extolled the manner in which Poland had, in the past year, ended the various wars she found on her hands at the moment of her rebirth, leaving her now with but one enemy where there had been five, and one of them now an active ally. He said, in this speech:

Poland has practically no settled frontiers. That is not a matter that lies in her hands. She is waiting for plebiscites; she is waiting for a new Russia to emerge from chaos with whom she can conclude agreements as to her eastern frontiers; she is doing every blessed thing she can in maintaining orderly government within the limits held by the Polish armies.

### POLAND NOT IMPERIALISTIC

Mr. Gibson took up the charge that Poland is pursuing an imperialistic career, and disposed of it. He said:

The Poles are misunderstood to a certain extent abroad. They are supposed to be very aggressive and to be chiefly concerned with picking quarrels with their neighbors. When I went to Poland there was not a mile of frontier that was not held by some active enemy. General Pilsudski and Mr. Paderewski set to work with great energy on that question. To-



day there is no fighting on the German frontier. They have reached an armistice with the Lithuanians. They have submitted their troubles with the Czechs first to arbitration, then to plebiscite. The Ukrainians, who were active enemies a little while ago, have been turned into active friends, fighting side by side with the Poles. Except on the Bolshevik front there is practically not a Polish soldier on any frontier of Poland—the frontiers are held by customs guards.

From the Polish point of view Mr. Gibson's statements leave little to be desired. His vindication of Poland on the imperialism charge would seem to be an expression of the opinion of the Washington Government. No objection has been interposed to the Polish Government loan now being floated in this country, and the United States has supplied Poland with food and given credits on clothing, surplus war supplies, rolling stock, and has provided medical supplies and relief.

### THE MILITARY SITUATION

The Washington Government has given out that the military situation is not dangerous for Poland. Despite the supreme effort of the Bolsheviks, Kiev is held securely by the Ukrainians and Poles [this situation changed later], and in the north, although the battleline has fluctuated, the Poles have kept the enemy from all of his objectives. Minsk and Vilna remain in Polish hands.

Official Warsaw advices of June 1 reported the recapture of the Beresina River line near Borisov, a scene of heaviest fighting, with the defeat of three Red divisions and the capture from them of 2,000 prisoners and 400 horses, one having been a cavalry division. Another official dispatch on June 3 from Warsaw stated that "the military situation inspires great confidence. With our help organization of the Ukraine is soundly developing. The crops inspire great hope and will ameliorate the food situation."

The reaction in the north, where the Reds drove in the Polish lines somewhat, showed that the Bolsheviks still had fighting ability. Also it showed correct perception of the military advantage to be gained by a drive on Vilna in an effort to separate the Poles and the

Letts, which would enable direct negotiations with the Lithuanians; the latter, situated between the Poles and the Letts, had rejected previous Bolshevik overtures. The plan failed, however, and the general situation remained unchanged.

This means that Poland, with her new ally, the Ukraine, apparently is secure in occupation of about three-fourths of the territories of the ancient Kingdom of Poland. About half this territory is outside the provisional eastern boundary fixed for Poland by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference at Versailles. The Polish operations in this territory have been called a war of conquest, and on this the charge of imperialism has often been made, and as often denied.

### POLAND'S JUSTIFICATION

In order fully to understand Poland's justification for thus occupying so much of her former territory in White Ruthenia, or so-called White Russia, it is necessary to go back to November, 1918, when the nation regained her freedom. The Bolsheviks were almost at the gates of Warsaw, fighting, killing, looting. The Poles hastily gathered an army and set to work. When the Peace Treaty was signed in June, 1919, the Reds had been driven a few hundred kilometers to the east.

It was six months after that, in December, 1919, that Poland's eastern boundary was fixed—provisionally. In the meantime, the Poles, organizing as they went, had continued to drive back the Reds, and then maintained a strong strategic line just east of Minsk, 250 kilometers east of Brest-Litovsk, where the new boundary lay, but still well within their ancient boundaries.

All this the Poles had done for themselves, from a beginning so dismal that America and England had withdrawn from the field in Northern Russia, leaving Russia to work out her own salvation, and Poland to survive if she could.

The Poles were invited by the Supreme Council to fall back. Naturally they declined, as no provision whatever was made to prevent the enemy from following up such a move and turning it into a Polish débâcle. This left the Poles in



THE BROKEN LINE THROUGH THE MIDDLE OF THE MAP SHOWS THE TENTATIVE EASTERN BOUNDARY OF POLAND FIXED BY THE ALLIES LAST DECEMBER. THE DOTTED LINE IN RUSSIAN TERRITORY SHOWS THE POLISH BATTLEFRONT IN JUNE. THE BOUNDARIES BETWEEN POLAND AND GERMANY ARE NO LONGER IN DISPUTE, EXCEPT IN THE SHADED PLEBISCITE AREAS

the technical position of invaders in territory they had delivered from the Bolsheviks, where they were feeding and protecting the inhabitants, and doing what they could to put it in a productive state, as they were doing at home. They point out they had neither warred on her nor conquered the inhabitants, who were their former nationals, and did not lay claim to this territory by virtue of occupation and former affiliation. All Poland clamored for the right of self-determination for these inhabitants of White Ruthenia. General Pilsudski, in his capacity as Chief of State, and the Diet as well, proclaimed to the world their disavowal of any forcible annexation program.

#### POLAND'S RIGHTS IN UKRAINE

It is perhaps not generally known in this country that the instrument which fixed Poland's eastern provisory boundary practically left the nation a free hand to establish itself as much farther east as it might be able. In the Treaty of Versailles Poland was reminded that it was to the victory of the allied arms over Germany that she owed her regained independence. Recognizing this, Poland signed the treaty, which left her eastern boundary "subsequently to be determined by the principal allied and associated powers." After several months' wrestling with the question, while the Poles fought back Bolshevism, the Supreme Council brought forth this



proclamation to solve the problem of reconstituting Poland without taking anything from Russia:

The principal allied and associated powers recognize that it is important as soon as possible to put a stop to the existing conditions of political uncertainty in which the Polish Nation is placed, without prejudicing the provisions which must in future define the eastern frontiers of Poland.

This declaration, after fixing the boundary, concluded by stating:

The rights that Poland may be able to establish over the territory situated to the east of said line are expressly reserved.

### WHAT POLAND DEMANDS

When Poland, during the war thrust upon her by Soviet Russia, seeks to establish her rights in the Russian border State, the Bolsheviks cry "imperialism" and prolong the war. Thus Poland runs foul of the commercial susceptibilities of her creators and sponsors, especially England, which is so anxious to trade with Russia.

Poland demands that the Reds retire beyond her 1772 boundaries, that is, beyond the Poland of before-the-first-partition, as a peace condition. The Reds counter with a proposal to recognize the Polish military line as it stood before the drive into the Ukraine, as a basis of negotiations for Poland's future eastern boundary.

Poland abandoned claim to some of her former territory when she cleared the Ukraine of the Reds, delivered Kiev, and recognized Ukrainian independence. Thus Poland gained an active ally, as well as protecting the great Polish minority by the concession of a Polish Ministerial post in the Ukrainian Government.

The Peace Treaty and the subsequent boundary proclamation excluded some 8,000,000 Poles from Poland, and left that country an area little more than one-third that of the kingdom in 1772, smaller even than Poland was at the time of the third and final partition. Grateful though they were for all that had been done for them, the Poles could not reconcile themselves to their new condition. If Poland was reconstituted to repair the historic crime of the parti-

tions, said the Poles, why was the nation not reconstituted in all her former territories? But, as any such arrangement could only be at the expense of Russia, the Peace Conference would not further dismember prostrate Russia, the former ally who had sacrificed her all.

### PROVISIONAL BOUNDARY

If Poland was reconstituted to establish a strong independent State as a check in the east, in case Germany's military ambition should revive, the Poles believe that the effort failed of its purpose. The provisional boundary not only excluded the 8,000,000 Poles referred to, but it was a line not naturally adapted to military defense, and was open at both ends, north and south, to the influx of Bolshevism, which the Poles were fighting in the field.

Thus, the Poles, a most intensely nationalistic group of the great Slav race, left in this untenable position, and with only the nebulous support of the League of Nations, upon which Poland's delimitation was based, began to have visions of again being squeezed out between Germany and Russia. Having the living memories of their former experiences, they determined at all costs to prevent this by stopping the Red wave from Russia, and by strengthening Poland in every way.

While Poland knows and has proclaimed the necessity for living in peace and amity with Russia, her future greatest trade market, Poland had no reason to refrain in friendship from trying to re-establish herself at Russia's expense; especially as the Poles were only trying to get back territory that had been theirs for centuries until seized by Russia 150 years ago—territory where several million Poles reside.

The task of strong re-establishment was begun by uniting with Latvia in hostilities against the German Baltic troops in the Riga operations, and the subsequent joining up of the Polish and Lettish military fronts against the Bolsheviks. Pursuing this task, Poland's mission is to free from Russia the former Polish territory, or where parts of this territory, such as the Ukraine, set up

independent States, to form alliances with them.

### GERMAN PROPAGANDA

Whenever the Poles have a military success, as in the recent operation driving the Reds from the Ukraine, the cry of imperialism is reflected in various quarters in Europe, and the sedulous propagandist sees that it is well heralded in America. While England would have the Bolsheviks placated for her own trade purposes, nothing is so dismaying to Germany as the sight of Poland re-establishing herself by the force of her own arms and at the expense of Russia, whither Germany looks for economic and consequently political rehabilitation.

The provisional eastern boundary of Poland has been likened to a bulwark for the Bolsheviks (while the Poles fight them back) and a suspension bridge for Germany to go about the "peaceful penetration" and exploitation of Russia so soon as trade can be resumed. Much German documentary evidence indicates that this was carefully prepared for while the great war was going on.

During the unsuccessful Bolshevik offensive in March the Warsaw Government notified its diplomatic representatives here that there was a flood of hostile propaganda in Central Europe. Berlin press agencies were especially active in predicting disaster to the Poles and continue to send out such reports every time heavy fighting occurs.

Von Haimhausen, German Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in a recent interview naïvely expressed fears that the Poles might be overwhelmed by the Reds. The Poles would be defeated in the Ukraine, and the Reds would drive on Vilna and Warsaw, he said, citing a German army officer as his informant. But Von Haimhausen finished with a disingenuous plea that Germany ought to be allowed to retain armed forces to meet such a contingency as a Bolshevik advance to the German frontier. This is the keynote of all present German utterances.

The success of Poland's operation in the Ukraine seems to be bringing to a head the long dallying and indecision of the principal powers, dating from the

Peace Conference. The League of Nations gave Poland no aid during the long, dark days, but now the subject of Poland as a world problem is scheduled to come up before a meeting of the council.

Should the Ukraine situation endure, Poland, unaided, will have established herself over a geographically defensible area, gained the alliance of most of her nationals not allotted to her, and possibly secured a Black Sea outlet at Odessa.

### FREE CITY OF DANZIG

The Poland reconstituted by the Supreme Council emerged from the Peace Conference in leading strings held by the great western powers, as a writer who was at the conference aptly put it. Such a Poland included the bulk of the purely Polish population, and contained within itself practically all necessities for economic existence.

To provide a Baltic outlet a corridor was cut through German territory from Poland to the port of Danzig, or Gdansk, which is the revived Polish name. But the powers could not quite bring themselves to give Poland the city, so they made it a free city, which includes the corridor strip. As practically all business was in German hands, Poland, in trying to make full use of the port, finds on every hand the difficulties that had been anticipated. Hope still lives, that eventually the city will become Polish in name and fact. One seaport all its own: Surely that does not seem too much for a nation to ask.

At the time of the Peace Conference, Poland's hopes lay in the Fourteen Points of President Wilson, with special reference to the self-determination of peoples. Poland longed to see the several million Poles living in White Ruthenia, the Russian border State, again brought under the white eagle. But the Supreme Council would not order such a plebiscite. As a Polish writer said, not without bitterness: "The right of self-determination cannot be applied to peoples which are, or pretend to be, a distinct nation, when they have the bad luck to occupy territory, 'indubitably Russian.'"

Regarding White Russia, the Poles say the name is simply an Anglicized Russian word for White Ruthenia, inhabited



by a Slav race distinct from the Muscovites as are the Poles. It is a matter of history that White Ruthenia federated with Lithuania and became part of Poland by the union of Greater Lithuania and Poland in 1386, and so continued on down to the partitions. This area, the Poles say, is far more Polish than Russian, due to centuries of political affiliation, greater similarity of language, religious affiliation in the Roman Catholic Church, and to the fact that millions of Poles and comparatively few Russians live there.

The economic development of the country depends entirely on Poland because of its geographical situation, and was systematically retarded under Russian domination, the Poles say, citing statistics of its former productivity. The

country is rather sparsely settled, without any great industrial or immensely wealthy agricultural sections, and the Poles contend that it would not constitute any great loss to Russia.

The most authentic figures obtainable show that Poland will have a population of 27,500,000, in a total area of 291,000 square kilometers, if the results of the German and Czechoslovakian plebiscites are favorable, as seems likely. Before the partitions Poland included 753,000 square kilometers, where about 52,000,000 people now live. Should Poland succeed in winning the eastern border State, the total population of Poland would be about 35,000,000. This is the most the Poles profess to have any hopes for, and still would leave the nation far short of its former greatness.

## Thrace and Greece

By N. J. CASSAVETES

[DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL PAN-EPIROTIK UNION IN AMERICA]

[For map of Greece see Page 621]

THE Bulgarian Treaty signed at Neuilly provided that Bulgaria should evacuate Western Thrace, given to her by the Treaty of Bucharest of 1913. Furthermore, Bulgaria was to hold definitely certain northern districts of Western Thrace, such as Moustapha Pasha, Achi-Tselibi, Egri-Dere, Dari-Dere, and a part of the district of Ortakioi, and was to accept the decision of the allied and associated powers as to the future disposition of the remaining districts of Western Thrace.

Allied troops, under the command of General Franchet d'Esperey, occupied both Western and Eastern Thrace. At London, thanks to England's support, Greece was awarded that portion of Western Thrace which was occupied by allied forces, as well as all Turkish or Eastern Thrace, up to the line of the Tchataldja Hills. At San Remo the Allies put the final touches to the Turkish Treaty, and Mr. Venizelos returned to Greece with the permission of the council to occupy Western Thrace immediately.

It is true the Bulgarians at Sofia organized mass meetings to protest against the award of Western Thrace to Greece. But the protests were mere formalities. Bulgaria, in her Treaty of Neuilly, had agreed to accept unconditionally the disposition of Western Thrace by the Allies.

The Greek Army completed the occupation of Western Thrace on May 10. Turkish and Bulgarian reports have confused the facts in connection with this occupation with a view to misrepresenting the Greek occupation as unwelcomed by the inhabitants, and in the hope of preventing the advance of the Greek troops into Eastern Thrace.

### OCCUPATION OF WESTERN THRACE

The facts in connection with the Greek occupation of Western Thrace were cabled from Xanthi, Western Thrace, to the League of Friends of Greece and the Pan-Epirotic Union in America by W. A. Lloyd, the Constantinople correspondent of The Liverpool Courier, former Australian war correspondent with the

armies of General Allenby. The cable reads:

Xanthi, Thrace, Sunday, May 30.—Greek occupation of Thrace. The whole of what was formerly Bulgarian Thrace has now been occupied by the Greek forces. The Greek Army was received with popular rejoicing at Kouleli, Bourgaz, Demotica, Soufli, Dedeağatch and Gumuldjina. At Soufli floral triumphal arches were erected by the residents and a troop of local Greek boy scouts took an active part in the proceedings. At Gumuldjina, a few Bulgarians, about two miles from the town, fired on the Greek soldiers. They were soon captured and disarmed. A curious feature of the affair was the discovery that the Bulgarians were armed with new Russian rifles.

The conduct of the Greek army of occupation has been exemplary throughout, and in many cases even prominent Turks have publicly praised the manner in which the occupation has been carried out. Today, Sunday, the Greek flag was publicly hoisted in Xanthi. Speeches were made by prominent residents and by W. A. Lloyd, Constantinople representative of The Liverpool Courier. All the speakers received great ovations. A notable feature of the proceedings was the large number of Turks present. The demonstration was not made to order by the military authorities, who very wisely left the conduct of affairs in the hands of civilians.

Although there has been an exodus of Bulgarians in certain districts, the Turks have shown no disposition to leave their homes or cease their ordinary occupations. The Turk everywhere openly expresses a preference for Greek rule over Bulgarian, mainly because the Greek authorities have scrupulously avoided saying or doing anything to offend the religious susceptibilities of their Moslem fellow-citizens. The Turk accepts the situation philosophically and there is not the slightest ill-feeling between Turks and Greeks so far as this part of Thrace is concerned.

### THE TURKS QUIESCENT

Since May 30 we have the following additional information: that Bulgarian irregulars have attempted to cross the frontiers from Bulgaria, but were repulsed with heavy casualties; that the Turks are elated over the new Greek administration; that Turkish communities from Eastern Thrace are sending delegations to ask the Greek troops to advance and occupy their districts, and that the Greek General Staff has established its headquarters at Dedeağatch, awaiting the signature of the Turkish Treaty to

order the Greek forces to occupy Eastern Thrace.

Turkey was expected to sign the treaty on June 11. To gain time, in the hope of creating complications and thus obtaining a revision of the treaty, the Turks asked the Allies for one month's additional grace. The Allies granted them two weeks. Thus, the Turkish Treaty is to be signed on June 25.

Much confusion has been created in the minds of the American public by the continuous reports sent from Constantinople by the correspondent of The Associated Press. These reports speak of the exasperation of the Turks, of the determination of the Nationalists to fight the Greeks in Thrace and at Smyrna, and of Bulgarian co-operation with the Turks against Greece. Are all these disturbing messages substantiated by facts?

We remember the reports which were issued from Sofia previous to the occupation of Western Thrace by Greece. The Associated Press correspondent at Sofia cabled daily the news of general and ominous unrest in Bulgaria, of thousands of Bulgarian irregulars and Turks ready to oppose the advance of the Greeks. And when the Greek troops advanced the Bulgarians merely fled, while the Turks accepted the situation stoically and in many instances with rejoicing.

The rumors about Turkish resistance and Bulgarian opposition in Eastern Thrace should not be taken seriously. The Turks are in no condition to meet the Greeks. The Bulgarian irregulars had a better opportunity of resisting the Greeks in Western Thrace, but they merely ran away.

### WET BLANKET FOR A FIREBRAND

Much is being written about General Tjafer Tayar Pasha and his determination to resist the Greeks at Adrianople. We have recent information that Tjafer Tayar Pasha goes from city to city inviting the Turkish populations to resist the Greeks. Our correspondent informs us that

only a few hundreds of young warm-blooded Turks respond to his appeals and enlist as irregulars, but the bulk of the Turkish population is apathetic. It is sick of war, and feels that no resistance



could stop the advance of the Greeks. The irregular forces of Tayar Pasha have neither machine guns nor guns, nor even sufficient ammunition. Even if the Bulgarians keep their promise and send 12,000 irregulars to assist him, Tayar Pasha could not hold longer than two weeks against the well-organized and fully equipped three Greek divisions that are ready to advance on Adrianople from the west and south.

The Turkish press urges the Turks of Thrace to resist the Greeks, and assures them that France and Italy will insist upon a revision of the Turkish Treaty in such a way as to remove the boundaries from the Tchataldja line to the Raedestos-Midia line.

Recently a letter of Weil, former director of the Turkish Tobacco Regie at Constantinople, was made public. Weil urges his friend Beha Bey, a Turkish lawyer, to prevail over the Turks not to lose courage, because a group of French-Jewish capitalists is exerting all its influence to defeat the terms of the present Turkish Treaty, which have been imposed by England.

### FAITH IN VENIZELOS

Ex-King Constantine and his supporters are carrying on a vigorous propaganda to misrepresent the internal situation in Greece as very critical and unfavorable to Mr. Venizelos. Our information about actual conditions is as follows:

There are in Greece today two classes representing a very small part of the total Greek population which are carrying on a vociferous press war. One class consists of the Government officials of the Venizelist party; the other of the Government officials of the opposition party. The foreigners misunderstand readily the clamors of these interested classes as the genuine voice of the Greek people. The great mass of the Greek people, however, feels that Venizelos is the great statesman of Greece. But the memories of the glorious years of 1912-13 keep Constantine alive in their hearts.

The Greek people entertain even now the hope that a compromise might be effected between the greatest Greek diplomat and the greatest Greek General. Should events prove, however, that this cannot take place, the people say:

If Venizelos brings to us Thrace, Smyrna, the Islands and Epirus we are for

Venizelos. If he fails in that, then he has been fooled by the Allies, and we shall be convinced that Constantine's policy of neutrality was the wisest policy, and shall vote against Venizelos.

Fortunately, in spite of many vacillations, the Allies have decided to keep their promises to Venizelos, and the great bulk of the Greek people will bring him triumphantly into power at the next election. Mr. Venizelos is running no risk of losing at the polls. The new acquisitions, Thrace, Epirus and the Islands, are all solidly for him. But his confidence in the support of the Greek people is so great that he twice announced in the Parliament that if in the next elections he is not returned into power by a majority of the electors of the Old Kingdom, he will abstain from politics.

Even in the event of the defeat of the Venizelist party there is no reason to fear that Greece would lack able and conscientious leadership. The fear that Constantine may return is unfounded. Constantine has resigned. In order to come back to the Greek throne there must be a Constitutional Assembly to decide upon the question. At this Assembly all the new territories will be represented, and in that case the Constantinists will be greatly outnumbered by the anti-Constantinists. Thus we may consider as a foregone conclusion that Constantine can never come back to Greece.

### FOR A GREEK REPUBLIC

King Alexander may return from Paris, or he may prefer to adhere to Miss Manou and to enjoy his automobiles rather than to be a dummy King at Athens. In that case the Constitutional Assembly may decide to give Greece a republican form of government, or to import a new dynasty, this time from England. There is one thing that needs emphasis, namely, that Constantine will never return to Greece, and that the foreign policy of Greece, whether the Venizelists hold the reins or the anti-Venizelists, is going to be the same—that is, pro-ally. Mr. Venizelos himself said to the American correspondents at San Remo:

The opposition party hates me personally. It does not differ with me in my foreign policy. That is a matter upon which all Greek statesmen are agreed. Our foreign policy is and will be one of friendship toward the Allies.

As soon as the Turkish Treaty is signed the Greeks will occupy Eastern Thrace. The threats of the Turks are mere "bluff"; but in case of resistance the Greeks will overmaster them easily. In Asia Minor Mustapha Kemal is bluff-

ing just as Tayar Pasha is bluffing in Thrace.

While the treaty remains unsigned the Turks hope to intimidate England and force her to revise it. But as soon as the treaty is signed and the Greek divisions advance we shall hear of as much Turkish opposition in Eastern Thrace and in Asia Minor as of Bulgarian resistance in Western Thrace. The Turks, like the Bulgarians, will accept the inevitable.

## Albania and Italy at Loggerheads

By CONSTANTINE A. CHEKREZI

[ALBANIAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES]

LIKE thunder from an almost clear sky came the news that Albanian insurgents had started, on June 6, a widespread revolutionary movement against the Italians, the object of which was to drive the Italian troops out of Albania. Hitherto the world had been under the impression that the Albanian people were only too glad to attach themselves to the chariot of Italy under the form of either the old-fashioned protectorate or the now stylish mandate. The main purpose of my appointment as Commissioner of Albania to the United States has been no other than to emphasize the determination of the Albanian people not to accept any foreign protectorate or mandate in any form.

Ever since the occupation of Albania, or the major part thereof, by the Italian troops during the war, Italy has carried on in all lands, and especially in the United States, a powerful propaganda with the object of persuading the public that the Albanian people were too well satisfied under Italian occupation to give even a passing thought to the desire for national independence. This propaganda made use, first, of the gratitude felt by the Albanians toward Italy because she freed from the Greeks a part of Southern Albania, the province of Arghyrocastro; such gratitude was deliberately

misinterpreted as a willingness on the part of the Albanians to attach themselves to the wheel of Italy. In the second place, the Italian propaganda made it a duty to advertise broadcast the weak position of Albania, adding: "Albania needs a protecting friend."

The "protecting friend" propaganda did not fail to appeal even to the Albanians themselves, who had not forgotten that Serbia and Bulgaria had as their protecting friend the powerful Russia of the Czars; and that Greece has had, and still has, the benevolent counsel of Great Britain and France, who went so far as to dethrone King Constantine when it seemed that he was leading his country to ruin. Unfortunately, however, the Italians overreached themselves in their zeal to get the sanction of the world for their designs on Albania. Reports were circulated that the Albanians are utterly incapable of governing their country and that Italy should have at least a controlling power there, either in the form of a protectorate or in the form of a stringent mandate.

The next step was to explain to the world that Italy should have Valona, the chief seaport of Albania, in order to be in a better position to enforce the protectorate or the mandate. The "protecting friend" proposition was soon discarded and forgotten in favor of a



more direct interference in the affairs of Albania, external and internal.

### ITALY'S PROMISES

On June 3, 1917, the commander of the Italian expeditionary forces in Albania, General Giacinto Ferrero, issued at Arghyrocastro an official proclamation in the name of the King of Italy, by virtue of which the Albanian people were promised that they would have a Government of their own "under the protection and shield of the Crown of Italy." This solemn proclamation of the Italian protectorate caused dismay, not only among the Albanians, but also among the European powers.

Even so, the Albanian people were not able to have a Government of their own, on account of Italian opposition, until the visit to Rome of President Wilson, in December, 1918, when he uttered the ringing words, as President of the United States, that the Balkan States should henceforward be left free and unhampered by foreign interference. The utterances of the Chief Executive of America emboldened the Albanian people to the point of forcing the issue. So three weeks later, i. e., on Dec. 25, 1918, the National Albanian Assembly convened at Durazzo and elected the first Government of the re-established Albania, even in the face of the opposition of the Italian military authorities.

The Italian Government did, nevertheless, interfere again in two ways. Through the control of the cables, telegraphs and mails it kept from the world the news of the formation of the Albanian Government. Secondly, by refusing to issue passports to the Albanian delegates to the Peace Conference, Italy brought pressure to bear in the selection of the members of both the Government and the delegation. Furthermore, during the whole period of the deliberations of the Peace Conference the Albanian delegation was admitted before the conferees only on two occasions, both of them formal ones. Had Italy played fair with Albania, there is no doubt that the Albanian delegation would have had a better reception by the Peace Conference than it had.

But Italy was distrustful lest the Albanian delegation might spill the beans, as the saying goes, by destroying the already created impression that Albania was nothing but a cog in the political wheel of Italy. As a matter of fact, the Italian Government went even further than that, for the Foreign Minister of Italy at that time, Baron Sidney Sonnino, who was a member of the Italian delegation, stated that it was not necessary to have a separate Albanian delegation to the Peace Conference, inasmuch as the Italian delegation would assume the defense of the Albanian rights before that body. The Albanian delegation called on him then and there to ask the Italian Minister to define, at least, the attitude of Italy toward Albania, but Signor Sonnino evaded the issue altogether by merely stating that Italy would do her best in that direction.

### SECRET TREATY OF LONDON

Pretty soon, however, there came for discussion the famous, or rather infamous, secret Treaty of London, April, 1915, whereby Albania is entirely partitioned in favor of Italy, Greece and Serbia; and this had been concluded by Signor Sonnino himself. He was asked again as to whether that treaty would be put into effect and thus bring about the dismemberment of Albania; but Baron Sonnino replied in the same evasive way by saying that Italy would see to it that the rights of Albania be safeguarded.

Such was the apocryphal policy of Baron Sonnino toward Albania. Consequently the Albanian delegation lost faith entirely in the attitude of Italy. So, on April 14, 1919, it broke off relations with Italy by adopting an independent policy and by sending to the Peace Conference a ringing protest. The gist of this was that Italy had nothing in view but to subjugate Albania altogether or dismember her completely through the carrying out of the secret Treaty of London.

After Baron Sonnino fell and was succeeded in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Count Tittoni, under the Presidency of Signor Nitti, things were going still worse. One day last September the



MAP OF ALBANIA AS IT WAS BEFORE THE WAR. THE BOUNDARIES AND SOVEREIGNTY OF ALBANIA ARE STILL IN DISPUTE. ITALY DESIRES TO HOLD THE COUNTRY AS A PROTECTORATE

Albanian Government and delegation were astounded to learn that Italy had concluded a separate agreement with Greece for the construction of a railway line through Southern Albania without consulting at all either the Albanian Government or the population concerned. It is obvious that the Italian Government was acting as though Albania were already an Italian province.

Once more, and for the last time, the Albanian delegation called last January on Signor Nitti while he was in Rome in order to make a last bid for the support of Italy; inasmuch as it was now being freely and publicly talked that after the departure of Mr. Frank L. Polk as representative of the United States in the Supreme Council Italy was earnestly demanding the execution of the secret Treaty of London. The Albanian delegation made every possible offer to safeguard the interests of Italy and her supremacy in the Adriatic as a consideration for the recognition on the part of

Italy of the independence and territorial integrity of Albania.

#### ATTEMPT AT PARTITION

The concessions offered were more than fair and honorable, especially so far as Italy was concerned. Nitti promised the Albanian delegation that he would give a reply on his imminent return to Paris. No reply ever came. Instead of that the Italian Government readily indorsed the monstrous agreement of Jan. 20 whereby Albania was to be dismembered among Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia. Happily for Albania the Yugoslav Government rejected the agreement and stood openly for the independence and territorial integrity of Albania. After that refusal there came the exchange of the famous Adriatic notes in which President Wilson branded as criminal the partition of Albania. It was thus that Albania was saved, and by a very narrow margin.

Meanwhile, the report that Italy had



already agreed to the partition of Albania spread among the Albanian people, whose indignation was unbounded. After several clashes with Italian troops that tried to prevent its convocation a new National Assembly was convened at Lushnja on Jan. 28, 1920. Durazzo had been barred to it by the Italians. The Italian commander made a last attempt to dissolve the Assembly and bring about at the same time a civil war in the country by ordering an Albanian detachment commanded by Italian officers to disperse the assembled delegates, but the detachment applaudingly joined the Assembly.

The result of the deliberations of the National Assembly was the overthrow of the former Government, which was replaced by a new one whose members pledged themselves to oppose by all means any form of foreign interference, Italian or other. The Assembly addressed also several messages to the Italian Government and Parliament, in which it stated that "the Albanian people have enough blood in their veins not to accept the humiliation of seeing their country in the rank of an Italian colony." It also sent several appeals to the allied powers and the United States, emphasizing the determination of the Albanian people to defend their independence and territorial integrity with the last drop of their blood.

#### ATTACKS ON ITALIAN TROOPS

The new Government took up its seat at Tirana, an inland city, instead of the maritime Durazzo, in order to be far away from the threatening muzzles of the guns of the Italian Navy, Italy not having been able to reconcile herself to the new situation.

At the beginning of June, however, the Nitti Government decided to with-

draw the Italian troops from Albania, not so much because of the daily clashes with the native population as because of the expense their maintenance entailed. It was at this point that the Italian Government committed a fatal mistake. Instead of withdrawing its troops altogether, the Nitti Government ordered them to concentrate at the various Albanian ports, so as to keep the Albanian people bottled up and cut off from all communication with the outside world.

This measure brought about the opening of hostilities between the native maritime population and the Italian troops that were being concentrated in the seaports. The cup of exasperation was filled to overflowing. So on June 6 the populations of the seaboard provinces not under the jurisdiction of the Albanian Government began a general attack on the Italian troops. Up to the moment of this writing, the insurgents have driven the Italians from Alessio, Durazzo, Santi Quarandra and Chimarra. But their gallant and heroic efforts to storm Valona, the Gibraltar of the Adriatic, have proved futile, because the Italian army encamped therein has the support of the warships.

It is needless to say that the Albanian Government has nothing to do with the insurrectionary movement which broke out in the territories that are not under its jurisdiction, just as it is needless to deny the false reports circulated by the Italians that the insurgents were joined by "American-equipped Serbian officers wearing American uniforms." It may, however, be necessary to make an emphatic denial that the recently assassinated Essad Pasha had anything to do with the insurrection, which was entirely spontaneous. Essad could have no such influence in Albania.





THE LATE PRESIDENT CARRANZA ATTENDING HIS LAST PUBLIC FUNCTION, ON MAY 5, WHEN HE PLACED FLOWERS ON THE GRAVES OF MEXICAN HEROES OF 1862 IN SAN FERNANDO CEMETERY. HE WAS ASSASSINATED ON MAY 21.

## AMONG THE NATIONS

### Survey of Important Events and Developments in Half a Hundred Countries of Both Hemispheres

*[For Alphabetical Index of Countries see Table of Contents]*

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 15, 1920]

## Republics of Latin America

### MEXICO

**U**NDER dripping skies, in a plain wooden box, which was covered by a raincoat, the body of President Carranza was borne into Necaxa, in the northern part of the State of Puebla, on Sunday, May 23. It had been brought from Tlaxcalantongo, where he was the victim of a most brutal and cowardly assassination on the morning of May 21. After escaping on May 14 through the cordon of revolutionary troops which almost surrounded him in the battle of Rinconda, as related in **CURRENT HISTORY** for June, Carranza with about 150 soldiers had turned north toward the Zacapoaxtia Mountains.

These mountains form the watershed between the Pacific and Atlantic, and it

was evidently Carranza's intention to make his way through this wilderness region to the coast between Vera Cruz and Tampico. He was reported on May 18 at Cuantempano. There he called a conference to decide on the route to be taken. General Murguia, who commanded the Carranza forces, General Francisco Mariel, Ygnacio Bonillas and others took part. They were advised by people living in the mountains that it was dangerous to continue, as Colonel Lindoro Hernandez and General Rodolfo Herrera, whose soldiers were known to be in the vicinity, had joined the revolution. Nevertheless General Mariel insisted that they proceed.

Soon afterward General Herrera, with a small body of troops at Patla, met the



Carranza party, who then numbered about eighty men. No distrust was felt, as Herrera had surrendered to Carranza last March and had been assigned to the forces of General Mariel. Carranza was glad to obtain the services of men who knew the country thoroughly, and General Mariel left, intending to join the column with more troops a few miles further on. Under Herrera's guidance Carranza and his escort continued north, arriving on May 20 at Tlaxcalantongo, an oval-shaped village on the steep slope of a mountain, the main street forming the only entrance and exit.

Here Herrera assured Carranza he was absolutely safe from attack and personally escorted him to a hut, arranging a bed for him in one corner. Two civilians and two staff officers of Carranza's party were to sleep in the one-room hut with the President. Herrera then left, saying he would visit the outposts, after placing a guard of soldiers around the house. The other officers and principal men of Carranza's escort were quartered in other huts in the village, which has a population of about 500.

Just before 4 o'clock the next morning all were awakened by the sound of brisk firing. Herrera's men were attacking the hut where Carranza was sleeping and also the houses occupied by the more prominent members of his party. The firing at Carranza's quarters was directed toward the corner of the room where his bed had been placed. It was still dark, and heavy mountain clouds were hanging low, so that it was impossible to see clearly. General Murguia, who was quartered with his staff in a house about 400 yards away from that of Carranza, summoned a few followers and tried to occupy the tower of the church. Failing to reach that, he attempted to form a skirmish line in the street, but four of his men were killed and he took to the hills, awaiting daylight.

The firing was soon over and Carranza was dead. His hip bone had been broken by the first volley and Herrera's men, entering the hut, fired five shots into his body. Then they stole his shoes and money, turning his pockets inside out. The four men who had been sleep-

ing in the same room were made prisoners, as were about sixty others of the Carranza party. These were hastily driven on north by the forces of Herrera, who feared the return of General Mariel. They were freed later, Herrera forcing the leaders to sign papers saying that Carranza had committed suicide.

At the same time he stated that he was acting under orders from General Peleaz to kill Carranza without fail. Peleaz has been the chief authority in the Tampico oil region for more than two years, defying the Government at Mexico City and collecting taxes for himself and his followers. During the fight at Tlaxcalantongo, all witnesses state, Herrera's forces were constantly shouting "Viva Peleaz!"

Details of the tragedy were telegraphed from Necaxa the same evening in a dispatch signed by Ygnacio Bonillas, Carranza's candidate for the Presidency, and former Mexican Ambassador at Washington; also by Generals Barragan, Mariel, Montes, Marco Gonzalez and others, who asked General Obregon to be allowed to accompany Carranza's body to the capital. This brought out a sharp reply from General Obregon, who blamed them for having permitted Carranza to be assassinated instead of protecting him, and told them they should have shared his fate.

To this General Juan Barragan, Carranza's Chief of Staff, replied that his followers did their utmost, fighting valiantly as long as they could, but Herrera's men were well prepared for their acts of treachery. General Obregon thereupon ordered the arrest of Herrera and his forces, commanding that they be brought to Mexico City for trial by court-martial. A commission of four members, named by Obregon and Gonzalez to inquire into the murder, reported the facts as given above; but, to satisfy the press, General Obregon invited the four leading newspapers of Mexico City to appoint one reporter from each to make a fuller inquiry.

The newspaper men found that the Indian residents of Tlaxcalantongo scouted the idea that Carranza committed suicide. General Herrera, who voluntarily



PRESIDENT CARRANZA'S BODY, COVERED WITH THE MEXICAN FLAG, LYING IN STATE AT VILLA JUAREZ, PUEBLA. AMONG THOSE GROUPED IN THE BACKGROUND ARE (1) GENERAL MARIEL, (2) GENERAL JUAN BARRAGAN, (3) GENERAL FEDERICO MONTES.

(© Underwood & Underwood)

went to Mexico City, repeated the suicide story before the military court which was conducting an official inquiry. He was confronted with companions of the dead President on June 10 and wavered in his statements. He had been interviewed by General Obregon, and his declarations

were turned over to the War Department for use in connection with the investigation. During the session, which lasted ten hours, so many contradictions in his testimony were revealed that the Judge ordered his immediate arrest. Generals Murguia, Urquiza, Montes and Barragan



were also detained and indicted for not having defended Carranza.

The body of President Carranza arrived at Mexico City early on May 24 and was buried on the afternoon of the same day in Dolores Cemetery in the section reserved for pauper burials; this was done according to express directions given to his daughters before starting on his last journey, when the aged chief had stated that he would return a victor or dead, and that if he died they should bury him among the graves of the poor, where his only friends were.

Not in years had Mexico City seen such crowds as those which choked the streets during Carranza's funeral. People of all classes blocked the Paseo de la Reforma as the procession passed, and at the cemetery the crowds pushed up to the very edge of the grave, causing some delay in lowering the coffin.

That same evening an extra session of the Mexican Congress met in the National Palace and elected Adolfo de la Huerta Provisional President. He was Governor of Sonora and had begun the revolution which overthrew Carranza, being acknowledged as "Supreme Chief of the Liberal Constitutionalist Army." In the balloting he received 224 votes against 28 for General Pablo Gonzalez and 1 each for Antonio Villareal and Fernando Iglesias Calderon. In a decree issued on May 22 at Hermosillo Huerta had postponed the Presidential elections from July 4 to Sept. 5, arranging for the inauguration to take place on Dec. 1.

President de la Huerta left his capital in Sonora on May 24 for Mexico City via Mazatlan and by steamer to Manzanillo. He arrived at the Federal capital on May 30 and immediately took to his bed, suffering from a mild form of appendicitis. On his way from Hermosillo he received the adherence of 500 Yaqui Indians, last of the bands which have harassed the Mexican Government for more than ten years. He also appointed by telegraph General P. Elias Calles as Minister of War and Marine. It was General Calles who commanded the Sonora army in its march southward against the Carranza forces in Sinaloa. He has a force of 4,000 men with him in Mexico City.

Although he is Provisional President, Huerta's power rests on the support of General Obregon, who is looked upon as the real head of affairs and the coming man in Mexico. The most remarkable feature of the revolution was the concurrence of all the revolutionary parties in recognizing Obregon as their leader. His chief rival, General Pablo Gonzalez, has surrendered publicly his authority and announces his retirement to private life. General Felix Diaz, a nephew of the former President, has requested permission to leave Mexico, having been abandoned by his troops.

General Eugenio Lopez of Tamaulipas and General Gabriel Barrios of Puebla gave their adherence to the plan of Agua Prieta. General Manuel Pelaez, in control of the oil field district around Tampico, says he is united with the movement represented by Gonzalez and Obregon. Ygnacio Bonillas, President de la Huerta announced, would be set free, but if shown to be a foreigner would be expelled from the country. This refers to the report that Bonillas had been naturalized as a citizen of the United States.

In an outline of his proposed policy President de la Huerta announced his intention to give every facility to foreign capital, to interpret liberally the laws regarding the development of petroleum, to prohibit alcoholism and gambling, and to decentralize the Government, giving larger powers to Congress and decreasing those of the Executive.

General Obregon at the same time in a published interview announced that the new Government means peace and the end of banditry in Mexico. All investments would get the protection of the Government, and no obstacles would be put in the way of the employment of foreign capital in Mexico. While believing in regulation of the drink evil, he did not believe in total prohibition for any people. He hoped to see the day when the northern border would be as peaceful and unguarded as the Canada line, and soldiers could be withdrawn from all frontiers. He sent to Washington Luis M. Morones, Secretary of the Mexican Labor Party, to assure Presi-



GENERAL OBREGON'S FORCES ENTERING THE MAIN PLAZA OF THE CITY OF MEXICO, MARKING THE CULMINATION OF THE REVOLUTION THAT OVERTHREW CARRANZA'S GOVERNMENT. THE CITY WAS TAKEN WITHOUT BLOODSHED

(© Underwood & Underwood)

dent Wilson that the revolutionists desired the most harmonious relations with the United States.

As an earnest of their intentions, one of the first acts was to send an ultimatum to Francisco Villa to decide whether he was to be at peace or war with the new Government, and giving him until May 25 to answer. General Calles, who sent the ultimatum, proposed that Villa promise to retire to private life permanently after the elections, meanwhile going to Sonora with a small escort, there quietly to await the result. In reply Villa announced his opposition to the new Government.

The State of Chihuahua set a price of \$50,000 on his head, and General Ignacio Enriquez was sent with a strong column of troops into Southern Chihuahua to capture the bandit or put an end to his activities. Villa had forced the closing of the American Mining and Smelting

Company, the Boquillas Power Company and the Alvarado Mining and Milling Company, all in the Parral section, demanding about \$500,000 ransom in the aggregate. George Miller, Superintendent of the latter company, was held and a payment of \$50,000 demanded, but he was released later.

Two other detachments were immediately sent out after Villa, that of Marcelo Caraveo and J. Gonzalez Escobar, who had been appointed military commander of the State of Chihuahua by President de la Huerta. Escobar, who is a bitter personal enemy of Villa, started with 1,000 men on May 26 from Jimenez for El Valle, where Villa was reported to be. A clash between the bandit's outposts and Escobar's troops at Valle de Allende was reported on May 28, Villa escaping into the hills. He made an unsuccessful attack on Parral on June 1.



Adolfo de la Huerta was inaugurated President in the Chamber of Deputies on the afternoon of June 1, taking the oath, which he read himself with his right hand raised. He delivered no inaugural address, but departed for his future official residence, the National

General Candido Aguilar, Carranza's son-in-law and recently Governor of Vera Cruz, surrendered to the new Government and was permitted to go to Vera Cruz to sail abroad, and his family arrived there on June 1, intending to leave by the first available steamer. The



GENERAL OBREGON, WITH AN INCIPIENT BEARD, AS HE APPEARED ON MAY 9, THE DAY HE ENTERED MEXICO CITY. WITH HIM STANDS GENERAL GONZALEZ. THE OTHER DOMINATING FIGURE IN THE NEW MEXICAN REGIME

Palace, as unostentatiously as he had come. He was pale and evidently far from well. During the gathering in the Chamber Generals Obregon and Gonzalez sat side by side in the gallery chatting in a friendly manner, a sign according to many Mexicans that the new Government will be a stable one, backed by the strongest forces in the nation.

The great demonstration occurred in the morning, when 30,000 Mexican troops from all parts of the republic and in all kinds of picturesque uniforms paraded through the streets. General Obregon rode at the head of the column and was acclaimed with enthusiasm along the entire route. It was his last appearance as a military commander, for he has resigned from the army to enter the campaign as a civilian for the Presidency. He has let it be known that if elected he will modernize the army—a much-needed reform. No one doubts that he will be chosen, probably unopposed.

Chinese Republic was the first to recognize the new Government on June 1.

The report of Senator Fall, Chairman of the United States Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs, recommends that Mexico be forced to alter her Constitution—the one adopted in 1917, made part of the plan of Agua Prieta, on which the successful revolution was based, and adhered to by the present Government. The report wants Americans excepted from the law forbidding foreigners to own Mexican lands or subsoil products, to act as teachers, missionaries or preachers, to establish schools, and to do many things which it would be advantageous pecuniarily and otherwise for Americans to do.

Senator Fall suggests that if Mexico fails to alter her Constitution in accordance with his views the United States invade the country and “maintain open every line of communication between the City of Mexico and every seaport and every border port of Mexico.”

An outbreak of bubonic plague at Vera Cruz was reported on May 15, and the nature of the disease was definitely established on May 27. The city was

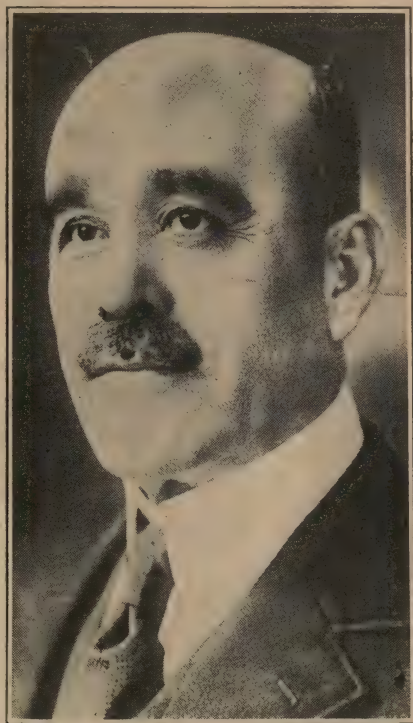


ADOLFO DE LA HUERTA  
*Provisional President of Mexico*  
(© Keystone View Co.)

quarantined on May 30, and a relief train with sanitary agents and supplies was sent from Mexico City. At the same time President Wilson sent hospital ships, nurses, doctors and supplies from the United States. Vessels entering American ports from Vera Cruz were ordered fumigated. Our Consul at Vera Cruz reported on June 14 that out of twenty-four cases twenty-three had proved fatal. The Federal authorities had destroyed all railroad tracks for five miles inland to stop the spread of the plague. The Sanitary Commission at Tampico on June 14 reported the first

case of the dread disease at that port. It had proved fatal.

The Mexican Government will tolerate no communistic agitation. Five Bolsheviks were arrested in the first week of June and expelled from the country, embarking at Tampico for Havana. Three Russians, who fled from New York during the war to escape military service, also were arrested. One, named Stoch, was identified as being concerned in a strike in Tampico last November. The new Government is determined not to



YGNACIO BONILLAS  
*Former Mexican Ambassador to the United States, temporarily imprisoned by the revolutionary Government*  
(© Clarendon)

permit Mexico to become a centre of propaganda.

While the Presidential election takes place on Sept. 5, that for Senators and Deputies will be held on Aug. 1.



## CENTRAL AMERICA

Increasing interest is being shown in Central America in unexpected quarters. Prince William of Sweden, second son of King Gustave, passed through New York recently after some months' exploration in Honduras, Salvador and Guatemala for the purpose of conducting archaeological and ethnological researches. American archaeologists also recently met in Philadelphia and organized the Maya Society for the study of the Indian races of Central America and Mexico. William Gates of Point Loma, Cal., a Trustee of the San Diego Museum, was elected President. France is sending to Central America an official mission, headed by Georges Desbons, a prominent lawyer and economist, to promote closer relations.

**GUATEMALA**—Estrada Cabrera, the deposed President of Guatemala, is in prison awaiting trial and his friends in the United States say he is being systematically starved, or an attempt is being made to kill him by slow poisoning. Seven prominent participants in the bombardment of the capital in the April revolution were tried by court-martial and sentenced to death, this being the first time in twenty-two years, or since Cabrera became President, that persons charged with a high crime have had a legal trial. The hearing was public and the condemned persons will have a chance to appeal their case.

Dr. Carlos Herrera, the Provisional President, has expelled from Guatemala the Italian agitator, Onofre Auele, as an undesirable foreigner. A well-known Peruvian poet, José Santos Chocano, who went to Guatemala to write poems on Latin America and became an energetic defender of Cabrera, was imprisoned by the revolutionists when the dictator's Government was overthrown. An effort to obtain his release has been started by the *Paris Figaro*.

**NICARAGUA**—J. Andres Urtecho, a prominent engineer, has been nominated for President of Nicaragua in opposition to the candidate of the Liberal Party. A delegation of Liberals was sent to Washington to confer as to a candidate; if

they failed to receive encouragement, it was announced on June 4, they would vote for the re-election of General Emiliano Chamorro, whose term expires on Dec. 31.

Arrangements have been made with a Barcelona firm for the cultivation of cotton in Nicaragua and the introduction of Spanish colonists to develop the northern departments of Matagalpa and Jinotega.

**SALVADOR**—Exceptionally large crops this year have brought to Salvador the greatest prosperity in her history. The coffee harvest is estimated at 100,000,000 pounds, an increase of 25 per cent. above the average.

## SOUTH AMERICA

**ARGENTINA**—The rapid depletion of Argentina's stock of wheat owing to European demands caused President Irigoyen in his message to Congress on June 2 to urge an additional export duty. The Chamber of Deputies immediately passed a bill to that effect and sent it to the Senate. The British, French and Italian Ministers at once protested because the bill would apply to wheat already contracted for and awaiting embarkation. It also provided, in addition to the duty of 4 pesos per hundred kilos (about 90 cents a bushel in gold), that the exporters on the completion of the harvest in the northern hemisphere should resell to the Argentine Government an amount of wheat equal to the total they export at a price 10 pesos less than that prevailing when the export was made. The result in Argentina was an immediate stoppage of shipments, a fall of about 25 per cent. in the price of wheat in less than two weeks, and cheaper bread. There was question of retaliation in Great Britain by withholding coal exports to Argentina, but the Board of Trade decided against it.

Three Russian Bolsheviki arrived at Buenos Aires on June 3 with material for propaganda, but were not allowed to land. They had previously attempted to disembark at Rio Janeiro, but had been refused admittance. This is a result of the recent police convention adopted by

several South American States for the purpose of keeping out undesirables.

Dr. Alfredo Palacios, a prominent Argentine Socialist, has declined to accept the decoration of the Legion of Honor, which was offered him by the French Government on account of his action during the war in favor of the allied cause. He admitted his love for France as "the depository of active idealism," but said he was unable to accept the honor because of the French Government's attitude toward labor.

Germany, the Argentine Foreign Office announced on June 5, had paid an indemnity of \$62,000 to the owners of the Argentine sailing vessel Monte Protegido, which was sunk, but not "spurred," by a German submarine.

**BOLIVIA**—According to a dispatch from La Paz on May 21, Bolivia will propose to Chile that she give to Bolivia the desired outlet to the sea at a point anywhere within the former Bolivian littoral, Bolivia engaging to construct the necessary port works. This means the abandonment of the long-standing demand of Bolivia for the port of Arica in the territory formerly belonging to Peru for so many years in dispute with Chile.

**CHILE**—President San Fuentes, in opening Parliament on June 2, declared that the only exception to the cordial international relations of Chile was the dispute with Peru. He added that in adhering to the League of Nations Chile had made the express reservation that the treaty of Ancon, on which the Tacna and Arica dispute hinges, would not be submitted to the League. The Chilean Minister to Bolivia declared that the solution would take the form either of making Arica a free port or of ceding to Bolivia a strip of territory with internationalizing of the railroad. Chile, he said, would not oppose a plebiscite in the provinces of Tacna and Arica. Thus the long-standing dispute apparently will be settled without hostilities.

Very important railway projects are being considered by Chile, including unification of the Chilean and Argentine sections of the Trans-Andean Railway. Snow defenses are to be con-

structed, which, on the Chilean side of the divide, will be most useful, as that is the more exposed to great snowfalls, particularly during July and August. A railway is in contemplation from Iquique to Pintado, another from Los Angeles to Santa Barbara, and a third from Loncoche to Villarica.

**COLOMBIA**—The sub-committee of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 3 recommended the ratification of the treaty of 1914 for the settlement of differences with Colombia arising out of the partitioning of Panama in November, 1903, and the full committee approved the report. It provides for the payment of \$25,000,000 to Colombia for America's interests in Panama, including Colombia's former sovereignty over the canal wrested from her by the partition. The treaty was near ratification a year ago, but was withdrawn by the committee because President Suarez of Colombia had issued a decree which practically nationalized the oil properties of that country. The Supreme Court of Colombia declared the decree unconstitutional, and the Colombian Congress adopted petroleum legislation amply safeguarding the interests of owners of private property and liberal in its terms, inviting American and other capital to develop the petroleum industry upon the national lands of Colombia. The treaty, therefore, goes back to the Senate and action upon it probably will be taken at the next session, which begins in December.

**PERU**—Federico A. Pezet, Peruvian Ambassador at Washington, early in June requested the United States to detail one or more American naval officers as advisers to the Peruvian Navy, and Secretary Daniels announced that a selection of the officers would be made soon. Peru is thus the first country to seek the aid of American naval experts following the enactment of legislation authorizing the Navy Department to detail officers to accept such service with compensation under any South American Government.

Tezanos Pinto, Peruvian Minister to Ecuador, in presenting his credentials, said he had been instructed to try to



obtain a settlement of the boundary question between the two countries. This is the first time Peru has offered to treat with Ecuador directly, heretofore always insisting on arbitration.

**PARAGUAY**—Dr. Manuel Gondra, Paraguayan Minister to the United States, will succeed José Montero as President of Paraguay as a result of the recent elections, in which the radical party obtained a majority in the electoral college.

**URUGUAY**—A congress of architects from all South American countries as well as the United States concluded its sessions in Montevideo on May 31 after urging worldwide legislation to stop the "hideous deformity" of streets, parks, gardens and plazas, and to beautify cities. Classes in universities and special schools of architecture were also proposed, and emphasis was laid on the need of construction with Government aid of cheap and hygienic homes for laborers in industrial sections.

**VENEZUELA**—There is a move on foot in Venezuela to curb the domination of the oil fields by the allied British and Royal Dutch interests, whose concessions the Government is moving to have cancelled. The Royal Dutch interests through the Colon Development Company, Limited, holds a fifty-year concession on the entire Colon district of the State of Zulua, embracing some 5,000,000 acres. During the thirteen years it has been in force, the Government asserts, only 2,000 acres have been occupied, while the company has not complied with its contract to pay the Government 16 cents an acre annually on its concession. Other British companies holding concessions on nearly ten million acres may also be obliged to forfeit them if the action against the Royal Dutch goes through. Caracas meanwhile is full of agents of oil monopolies of North and South America, including Venezuela herself and Trinidad, hoping to fall heir to some of the concessions if the Government wins.

## WEST INDIES

Representatives of the British West Indies and the Dominion of Canada met in conference in Ottawa on May 31. The sessions were opened by the Duke of Devonshire, the Governor General, who praised the co-operative spirit of the various parts of the British Empire and said that the paramount issue was to make its future secure. One of the prime necessities to this end was to make the empire self-supporting. The Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Demerara, Granada, Jamaica and the Leeward Islands were represented, besides the Canadian officials and Captain E. J. Edwards, Trade Commissioner for Great Britain.

In contrast with the harmony displayed at Ottawa were the charges against the American Military Administration in Haiti and against the policy of the United States in other Latin-American republics, made in addresses at the Clark University Conference on the Caribbean. Jacinto Lopez, a Venezuelan editor, said the President of the United States exercised a virtual dictatorship over the Caribbean. In the Cuban elections of 1916, he declared, President Menocal was overwhelmingly defeated, and owing to the attempt to override the results a revolt occurred which the American Government aided in suppressing. The present Government of Nicaragua, he said, would be overthrown by the people were it not protected by the United States. Otto Schoenrich of New York, once an official of the Dominican Republic, denounced the dealings of the United States in Santo Domingo and said the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands were complaining that they had less freedom under the United States than they had had under Danish rule. This possibly refers to the extension of prohibition to those islands, a matter which has become a live political issue also in British Jamaica, where a campaign against alcoholic drinks has been started by the Rev. E. H. Curtis of Columbus, Ohio.

As to Haiti, defenders of American occupation say accusations of inefficiency and indifference are gross misrepresentations. Good macadam roads

are being built throughout the republic, and Port-au-Prince has been changed in five years from a condition of filth and disease to one of public cleanliness.

In Cuba, in opposition to the candidacy of Senator Maza y Artola, nominated by the Republican Party to succeed Presi-

dent Menocal, the Conservatives in national convention unanimously nominated General Rafael Montalvo on May 23. General Montalvo was Secretary of Gobernacion during the administration of President Palma and is a wealthy sugar planter.

## The British Empire and Its Problems

### Irish Situation Becomes Acute

#### ENGLAND

IN England the most noteworthy political event was the arrival in London of the Russian Bolshevik Mission, headed by Gregory Krassin, Soviet Minister of Trade and Commerce, and in the industrial world the granting of a substantial increase of wages to the railway men.

In the House of Commons Sir R. Horne, President of the Board of Trade, announced increases in the price of coal to take effect almost immediately. He said that the Government had come to the conclusion that household coal should no longer be sold for less than coal for industry, and that both should be sold at a price sufficient to meet the cost of production and the standard profits allowed by the Coal Emergency act. To effect this result it was necessary to increase the price of industrial coal by 4s. 2d. per ton and the price of household coal by 14s. and 2d. per ton. The new price would be the maximum, not a fixed price.

After two years given the Ministry of Transport to formulate a permanent railroad policy for the country, an outline of its plans, mainly approved by the Government, was made public. While nationalization, in the ordinary meaning of the term, was ruled out, the Ministry held that the true function of the Government in this sphere was to assist the big railway companies to attain a higher standard of efficient and economical working rather than to attempt any direct management of the vast machinery of internal transport. The general principle aimed at, therefore, was to

maintain the management and control of the great railroad companies intact, with the Ministry of Transport supervising the trade requirements of the country, assisting the boards of the companies to remove the hindrances of past legislation, and promoting co-ordination of working for the elimination of expensive and unnecessary competition.

On June 4 the National Wages Board, which had been considering the claims of railway men for an all-round increase of £1 per week, issued a report recommending increases from 2s. to 7s. 6d. The cost of conceding the men's demands in full would have been about \$175,000,000 (normal exchange), and the recommendations made were estimated to cost about \$50,000,000. As a result of this decision, the public was faced with the prospect of double railway fares and rates, and agricultural laborers, gas workers and other dissatisfied trades were provided with an immediate stimulant to demand relatively higher wages.

A deputation of blind men who called upon the Prime Minister received a sympathetic welcome, but went away without a promise from Lloyd George that the Government would accept Ben Tillett's bill containing a provision of \$10,000,000 (normal exchange) for their benefit. Ben Purse, who presented the case for the blind, informed the Prime Minister that of nearly 35,000 blind people in the British Isles not more than 2,000 were employed in special institutions existing for that purpose, while 10,000 were dependent on poor law agencies, and not more than 5,000 were engaged in casual occupations. He added that 12,000 sight-



less people were totally incapacitated. A possibly significant incident of the times was the reappearance on the London streets of "growlers" (four-wheel cabs) and hansoms after a long "lie up." Several of these vehicles were obviously the worse for age and wear. Their return to a somewhat vagrant usefulness was due to the high price of gasoline and consequent increase in taxicab fare, and was taken as a sign that the horse-drawn conveyance might yet regain some of its lost prestige.

Bonar Law, who took the place of the Prime Minister at a send-off to the Local Housing Bonds campaign at the Guildhall, said the object for which they were meant demanded an effort by the nation almost as great as was demanded during the war. If they did not make every effort in their power to improve the conditions of the people, they should have to face a discontented, sullen, and perhaps angry nation, and that would be fatal in the last degree to British trade, industry and credit. Bad as were the housing conditions before the war, these had been added to during the past five years. Arrears had to be made up, and it was hopeless to do this by ordinary efforts. They were committed to this scheme, and had reason to be thankful that a start had been made. \* \* \* The State had not only agreed to pay a large part of the exceptional cost of building houses, but would help in every way within its power to stimulate the localities into raising the money.

Following the example of large American stores in voluntarily reducing prices, a leading firm initiated the movement in London on May 31. In this connection it was remarked that the reckless buying of the last four years had practically ceased. The tendency to throw money away heedlessly had practically disappeared. Owing to the same tendency to economize, it was also observed that there was a marked decline in railroad traveling during holidays owing to the high fares.

On June 8 King George visited Millbank Hospital and decorated Major Gen. Gorgas of the American Medical Service

with the Order of St. Michael and St. George in recognition of his services to the British Empire and the rest of the world. It was announced on the 9th that Viscount Rothermere, former Secretary of State for Air Forces, had endowed a professorship of United States History at Oxford University with £20,000 in memory of his son killed in the war. A return to the normal State social functions was marked on June 10, when the King and Queen held a brilliant court at Buckingham Palace, which was attended by the American Ambassador and the staff of the American diplomatic body.

The unostentatious arrival in London of Gregory Krassin, the Russian Bolshevik Minister of Trade and Commerce, was announced on May 27. M. Krassin was accompanied by M. Klisko and a staff of secretaries. The mission took up its residence in a quiet hotel frequented chiefly by business men from the provinces. Vigorous opposition to the presence and presumed objects of the mission was promptly forthcoming from a section of the press and in the House of Commons. On May 31 a preliminary meeting took place between members of the British Cabinet and MM. Krassin and Klisko in Downing Street. A period of exchanges of views between the Russian Mission and the British Government ensued. Mr. Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons on June 3, in response to a flood of questions, that it was irrelevant to contend against trading with a misgoverned country such as Russia, since there was the absolute need of Russia in the world's reconstruction; but this did not imply consenting to recognition or to diplomatic relations, unless the Soviet Government adopted civilized methods. He appealed to the House not to seek quarrels in a world full of explosive matter, and provoked hearty laughter when he said: "This country has opened up most of the cannibal trade of the world. It is a new doctrine that you must approve the habits and customs of any Government before trading." On June 15 the negotiations were still in progress without having reached any definite decision.

## TWO FUNERALS: A TRAGIC CONTRAST



ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY FOLLOWING THE BODY OF THEIR COMRADE, SERGEANT BRADY, WHO DIED OF WOUNDS RECEIVED WHEN A DUBLIN COUNTY BARRACK WAS ATTACKED. THE STREET IS EMPTY OF INHABITANTS



FUNERAL OF FRANCIS GLEESON, A YOUNG SINN FEINER WHO DIED AFTER A HUNGER STRIKE IN A DUBLIN PRISON. THE STREET IS THROGGED WITH SPECTATORS

(Photos Underwood & Underwood)

## IRELAND

It was conceded on all sides that the crisis in Ireland continued to grow more intense from week to week, and that over a considerable area of the country a condition of anarchy was rapidly approaching. The whole machinery of British law was openly set at defiance by the Sinn Fein organization, and few were able to resist an influence which visited severe retribution upon those who refused to obey its decrees.

The popular strength of the organization was manifested in the regular functioning of its land courts, conducted in a dignified, business-like manner, and the willingness of the people to abide by such decisions. For the punishment of convicted offenders the Sinn Feiners even appropriated a small, uninhabited

island three miles off the Galway coast, which was turned into a sort of penal settlement. Culprits were simply marooned there with enough food to keep them alive until the boat returned to take them away. The defect of the place as a penitentiary, however, seemed to be that only prisoners who could not swim to the mainland were compelled to wait for their release.

On the other hand Sinn Fein warfare against British rule attained such proportions in attacks upon the police and authorities, that, following the murder of Resident Magistrate Beil in Dublin, a number of high Irish officials abandoned their homes and, for safety, took up their residence in Dublin Castle. There not a single officer of the Irish Government dared show his face outside the walls day or night without an armed es-



cort. The situation was described as "without parallel in the world, and certainly not equaled in Europe."

At this pass the British Government decided to send an army of occupation into Ireland, estimated to exceed 80,000 of all arms. These troops were poured into the country from May 15 onward. While a special camp was established to receive them at the Curragh, cavalry regiments were rushed to take up strategic positions in the South and West. At the same time hundreds of discharged English and Scottish soldiers were recruited to strengthen the ranks of the Royal Irish Constabulary, a force daily becoming more frankly military in character.

Coincident with this move, a new force of disorder came to the front in the activity of the extreme radical and Bolshevik elements of Irish labor. Thus a labor decree against the export of Irish foodstuffs, until prices were reduced and ample supplies for home consumption thereby secured, was crowned with almost immediate success by the capitulation of the pig and bacon trade. This action was followed on May 20 by a refusal to unload munition supplies arriving in Dublin for the British Army, and, on May 24, by the threat of a general strike among the railwaymen if compelled to transport military stores. The next day members of the National Union of Railwaymen put the threat into effect by paralyzing traffic at the North Wall Station. Simultaneously workers in the power stations which supplied electric current to the giant cranes on the wharves followed suit, and the discharge of munitions from vessels was brought to a standstill. This resulted in the holding up of several steamers in Dublin Bay, and in compelling others to return to English ports with cargoes partly unloaded.

On May 28 the House Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington, by a vote of 11 to 7, reported favorably a resolution of sympathy with the Irish people and expressed the hope that they would obtain the Government of their choice. The resolution read:

*Whereas, The people of Ireland have*

*always sympathized with the aspirations of every people seeking political freedom; and*

*Whereas, The people of Ireland have shown unmistakably their desire to govern themselves; and*

*Whereas, The conditions in Ireland today consequent upon the denial of that right endanger world peace; and*

*Whereas, In particular the unrest caused by these conditions is inevitably reflected in these United States of America, tending to weaken the bonds of unity and the ancient ties of kinship which bind so many of our people to the people of Great Britain and Ireland: Therefore, in the interest of world peace and of international good-will, be it*

*Resolved, by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That the House of Representatives views with concern and solicitude these conditions and expresses its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a Government of their own choice.*

Irish election returns of June 4 stated that the Sinn Feiners had swept the board in the County Councils of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught and had captured two Carsonite strongholds in the Ulster Counties of Fermanagh and Tyrone. These latter, however, would have normally stood for home rule but for the system of voting which gave them to the Orange Party.

Meanwhile armed assaults and burning of police barracks, raiding of country estates and attacks upon the military increased in number and daring practically throughout the country. While these breaches of the law were too numerous to give in detail, two instances of well-executed attack at least display the helplessness of the authorities in the face of a widespread revolt.

Early in the morning of June 4 a party of sixty armed and undisguised Sinn Feiners surprised a military detachment at the King's Inn in Henrietta Street, Dublin. After relieving the sentry of his rifle, the raiders rushed within and herded the guard, who were off duty and amusing themselves, into a corner at the points of revolvers. The raiders then carried off thirty rifles and several thousand rounds of ammunition in waiting automobiles. Again, on June 6, a military and police patrol of twelve fully armed men was trapped and disarmed by a company of Sinn Feiners,

who had pretended to be playing bowls by the roadside. Of mansions destroyed, Oak Grove House in mid-Cork, Glengahiry Lodge in County Waterford, and the magnificent residence of Captain Smith at Churchtown, County Meath, were specially mentioned as containing objects of value.

Following a resolution of the British Miners' Federation in opposition to Government policies in Ireland on June 10, a manifesto was issued by the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress pledging support for the Dublin railway men and dockers in their refusal to handle munitions for the British army of occupation. In part the manifesto read:

Not all the armies in the empire will compel us to become traitors to our own nation. We will not shrink from the consequences of that view, although the whole question of the Commonwealth be convulsed.

A general boycott against the Irish constabulary was proclaimed throughout County Leitrim on June 13 by the "Irish Republican Army," situated in Northern Roscommon. Enforcement of the order stopped supplies of food, milk and other necessities to the police and their wives and children.

The British Government gave warning in the House of Commons on June 15 that it had every intention of trying to pass the Home Rule bill at an early date, and, in case it became a law, to set up the Ulster Parliament forthwith. If the south of Ireland refused to organize its Parliament, the powers of that body would be taken over by the Lord Lieutenant and a committee of privy counselors.

## CANADA

In his first budget since his appointment as Minister of Finance Sir Henry Drayton announced a number of special taxes as a result of which it was expected that at least \$70,000,000 would be added to the revenues, though some Government members are hopeful that the amount will reach \$100,000,000. Renunciation of national borrowing and a determination that Canada should pay its way were the chief reasons advanced

for the new taxes. The removal of the 7½ per cent. extra war customs duty on a number of specified articles, an increase in the exemptions of 7 to 10 per cent. under the business profits tax, and the repeal of the duty on moving-picture films were all far more than offset by the new imposts. The tax that has since come to be popularly known as the "luxury tax" is the one felt by the vast majority of the people, and the popular clamor against it since it went into effect on May 19 resulted in the Minister of Finance announcing on June 8 that sweeping modifications would be made. At this writing these have not become effective and taxes are being imposed and collected on the May budget basis.

As originally introduced the luxury tax ranges from 10 to 50 per cent. of the selling prices of goods, whether imported or manufactured in Canada, where those prices exceed amounts specified in the budget schedules. These goods include textiles, boots and shoes, articles made of gold or silver, and sporting goods. The basis of the tax is the whole cost of the article. Boots and shoes costing more than \$9 a pair, suits and dresses costing more than \$45, pay 10 per cent. on the whole selling price, the purchaser paying the tax. Thus one buying a \$12 pair of shoes pays \$1.20, while the purchaser of a \$46 suit or dress pays \$4.60 in addition to the selling price. The regulations prevent the purchase of suitings in separate garments at different periods with the idea of evading the tax.

The principal argument in opposition to this portion of the new taxation schemes was that it imposed a new and heavy burden on the buyer of necessities. It was urged that it should be based on the principle of the United States luxury tax, the tax being paid on the cost of goods above a certain limit. This is admitted in the modified proposals, which will undoubtedly have become law by the time this is in print. The tax is raised to 15 per cent. and will be on the excess retail cost above the limiting prices named in the schedule. Limiting prices are also set on sporting goods, under which no tax will be imposed, instead of the original plan of taxing



everything in that line which sold for more than 50 cents.

No change is announced as contemplated in the 1 per cent. tax on all sales of manufacturers, wholesalers, importers, jobbers and agents; this tax applies to everything except specified articles of food for man and beast, and coal. In practice it has been found that this tax leads to pyramiding; the manufacturer, wholesaler, jobber and retailer all have to meet in turn, with the result that from 1 to 5 per cent. is added to the cost for the consumer. Nor does any change appear to be pending in the heavy excise tax on spirituous liquors, the 2-cent tax on every share of stock transferred, and an addition of 5 per cent. to the previous taxes on incomes in excess of \$5,000. These and certain other taxes, including 15 per cent. on costly furniture and china, are apparently to stand.

The Dominion Government has also introduced legislation for the supervision of race track betting by Government inspectors, the fixing of the amount of profits that the various associations or clubs shall take from the betting allowed through the pari-mutuels, no other form of betting being permitted, and the fixing of a percentage of profits to go into purses for the various races. The betting profits are to be 7 per cent. where the amount bet on a race is under \$20,000, 6 per cent. on amounts over \$20,000 and under \$30,000, and so on to 3 per cent. on any amount over \$50,000 bet on a race. The bill has passed through most of its stages.

## AUSTRALIA

W. A. Watt, Treasurer of the Australian Commonwealth, has been in England endeavoring to arrange a loan, provided the money could be borrowed abroad more cheaply than in Australia. He was also to represent Australia at the Brussels Financial Congress. One lesson of the war, he declared, was that the worker was out for a larger share of the product of his labor, and he thought Parliaments and Governments in every country would be wise to give it. The Australian public, he said, does not want

German goods or German trade, and intends to keep them out.

Australia is about to go into the oil business, and in partnership with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company to form a refining enterprise, a bill to that effect having passed both Houses. A large body of oil shale east of the Kalgoorlie gold fields in Western Australia has just been discovered.

The wheat crop in New South Wales has been disastrously affected by drought, and it is estimated that the yield will be only 4,296,000 bushels, the smallest amount in twenty years, and not enough for domestic consumption. Meanwhile, the shortage of houses in all the Australian States is increasing, and the girls of Melbourne say it is easier to get a husband than a house.

The Prince of Wales has been enjoying his trip to Australia, taking part in a review at Melbourne of the Australian naval seamen on the anniversary of the battle of Jutland, May 31. He arrived in Melbourne on May 26 and was due at Sydney on June 16.

## NEW ZEALAND

The New Zealanders are as strongly opposed as the Australians and South Africans to giving Asiatics any opportunities for colonization. The Prime Minister of New Zealand is especially anxious that no alien race be established in the islands in the South Pacific. He hinted that the recent strike in Fiji had much more behind it than an industrial disturbance. To the Wellington Chamber of Commerce, he declared: "Look at what has happened in Hawaii. There are 60,000 Japanese there, and all the power of the United States cannot get them out. They are practically going to run the Sandwich group."

The Rev. R. Piper, a representative of the Pacific islands at the Methodist Conference in Brisbane, Australia, was pessimistic as to the future of the islands, considering their orientalization to be inevitable and merely a matter of time.

## INDIA

The terms of the Turkish peace treaty were published in India toward the mid-

dle of May. They aroused resentment among all classes of Indian Moslems, which whom many Hindus sympathized. The feeling expressed was that in regard to Thrace and Smyrna there had been a breach of the Prime Minister's pledge, and that the Moslems would not have taken the active part they did in the war if they had known that the Holy Places of the Moslem world would pass under a different rule.

A conservative tendency, however, was visible. One of the secretaries of the Caliphate Committee resigned on the ground that non-co-operation with the Government would be fatal to the Moslem community. Two members resigned in protest, but Mr. Gandhi deprecated all such resignations until the formal protest against the treaty was presented. A threatened emigration to Afghanistan did not develop, and the tendency was to await the calling of formal conferences. The Nizam of Hyderabad issued orders prohibiting Caliphate demonstrations as useless and prejudicial. The Madras Nationalists were dissociating themselves from the movement against co-operation. The industrial situation showed uneasiness, especially among railway workers.

## BRITISH AFRICA

**EGYPT**—The report of Lord Milner's mission in Egypt was still being awaited in June, and the Nationalists were busily engaged in a press campaign against British rule. General Sir Owen Thomas, a member of the mission, who went to Egypt with a strong feeling that if the whole or a large majority of the people desired independence they ought to have it, explained that the mission was practically kept from learning the views of the manual workers and fellaheen, or peasants, who number more than 12,000,000 of a population of 13,000,000.

He thought if the economic problem were solved the political problem would be greatly simplified. The substitution of cotton for cereals was bringing the hunger spectre perilously near. It pays financially better to grow cotton than corn, and anything from £500 to £1,000 an acre could be got for land on which

to grow cotton. But people cannot eat either cotton or bank notes, and the cost of living in Egypt rose from 250 to 400 per cent. As the bulk of the laboring population are employed in agriculture the question of land occupation becomes most important. Sir Owen Thomas says in Lower Egypt 36 per cent., in Middle Egypt 53 per cent., and in Upper Egypt 40 per cent. have no land. Nearly 1,500,000 families have no land, although there are large areas of unclaimed land lying idle. "While so many families remain landless," he declared, "so long will discontent remain and spread."

At the same time Sir Valentine Chirol, a well-known authority on Eastern affairs, points out another cause of discontent in the recognition of the infant son of Sultan Fuad as heir to the Egyptian Sultanate. This, he said, will be interpreted as identifying the British protectorate more closely than ever with a ruler "of whose unpopularity with all classes and parties we have to bear the burden as we chose him and imposed him upon the people of Egypt." His authority is defied by the University of El Azhar, the great Mohommedan institution, and the Princes of his own family, who boldly indorsed the Nationalist program.

Zaglul Pasha, head of the Egyptian delegation in Paris, late in May telegraphed to Suleiman Pasha in Cairo that the Milner mission had invited the delegation to go to London to discuss principles serving as a basis for an accord between Egypt and Britain. The delegation in reply selected Mahmud Pasha, Aziz Fahmi Bey and Ali Maher Bey to go to London and "ascertain the intentions of Great Britain in regard to Egyptian aspirations relative to complete independence."

The Ministry formed by Wahba Pasha in the parlous times of last Autumn, when that aged Egyptian statesman stepped into the breach caused by the resignation of Said Pasha, went out of office on May 18 and four days later a new Ministry was formed, as follows:

Tewfik Nessim Pasha

Prime Minister and Interior

Ahmed Ziwar Pasha.....Communications



Ahmed Zulfikar Pasha.....	Justice
Hussein Darwish Pasha	
Wakfs (Pious Foundation)	
Mohamed Shafik Pasha	
Public Works, War and Marine	
Yusef Suleiman Bey.....	Agriculture
Tewfik Rifaat Pasha.....	Education
Mahmud Fakhry Pasha.....	Finance

The new Prime Minister, who is one of the younger school with Cromer and Kitchener for tutor, is about 45 years old, and had a brilliant career in the courts, where he prosecuted in many political trials at a time when anti-British feeling was running high. He first attained Cabinet rank a year ago. On June 12 an attempt was made to assassinate him by means of a bomb—part of the Nationalist plot for the removal of high native officials in the British protectorate. He escaped unharmcd, but three persons were wounded, and the bomb thrower was arrested.

Newcomers to the Ministry are Mahmud Fakhry Pasha, Governor of Cairo and son-in-law of the Sultan; Tewfik Rifaat Pasha, former Procureur General, and Yusef Suleiman Bey, a well-known Coptic Judge of the native courts.

**UGANDA**—A tragic episode in the history of Uganda was commemorated at Rome on June 6 when the ceremony of the beatification of twenty-two negroes who died, martyrs for the faith under King Mwanga, was celebrated with great pomp in the basilica of St. Peter's. Cardinals, Bishops and missionary priests worn by their labors in torrid climates received the announcement from Pope Benedict and in his company venerated the pictures and relics of these humble saints. The twenty-two negroes were catechumens of the French White Fathers who entered Uganda in 1878 by permission of King Mtesa. Two years later the Arabs induced the King to expel the missionaries, but they returned in 1885 under King Mwanga, who was also persuaded by the Arabs to turn against the missionaries and their converts. In May, 1886, about thirty converts, including Joseph Mkasa, chief of the royal pages, were burned alive, and soon afterward seventy more died for their religion. The Arab Mohammedans, who were more powerful than the King, expelled the mis-

sionaries because the leader, Father Lourdel, was loyal to Mwanga. There were constant fights between the different chiefs until the British finally took over the country and declared a protectorate, transporting King Mwanga to the Seychelles Islands, where he died in 1903.

**BRITISH EAST AFRICA**—Although 80 per cent. of the trade and commerce of the British East Africa protectorate is carried on by Indians, who number about 25,000, as against 5,000 Europeans and Eurasians and a native African population of more than 4,000,000, the Indians are denied the franchise and have no representation in the Legislature. They are denied trial by jury and are not allowed to own land. The Legislative Council, inaugurated in 1909, passed a series of measures directed against Indians, the last in 1919, which conferred the franchise upon Europeans but withheld it from men born in India. In the Nairobi municipal area Indians number 6,000, against 2,000 Europeans, and pay more than half the taxes, yet they are allowed only two seats by nomination (which they have refused to take) against fifteen elected members representing the Europeans. When Crown lands are for sale it is made a condition that only British subjects of European origin may bid. These and other grievances have been laid before the British public by A. M. Jeevanjie, head of a big firm of ship owners, merchants and contractors of Karachi and Bombay.

**SOUTH AFRICA**—General Smuts's position as Premier of South Africa was considerably strengthened by the passage of the Profiteering bill, 62 votes to 40, the minority consisting solely of Nationalists, the Labor men refusing to lend themselves to Nationalist tactics. Next General Smuts brought forward a native affairs bill, in which he urged the establishment of native councils with the idea of building up self-governing institutions parallel to those in Europe.

"We are making a great experiment," General Smuts said in a published interview. "We are trying to make black and white live together in peace and

work out a civilization which does justice to both."

General Smuts advocates the establishment of equal status under the crown between the Governments of the dominions and United Kingdom. The matter will come up before the Imperial Constitutional Conference next year.

An impressive ceremony was that of the burial of Sir Starr Jameson at World's View, near Bulawayo, on May 22. A great company of South Africans and Rhodesians attended the funeral of the famous "Dr. Jim," who by his invasion of the Transvaal on Dec. 29, 1895, brought the South African question to the front and obtained for the leader a sentence of fifteen months' imprisonment in England. Despite the censure of the House of Commons on Jameson, Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit, fate dealt kindly with Jameson, and he returned to become Premier and founder of Britain's African empire, many of whose authorities attended the last rites amid rocky solitudes.

## FRENCH AFRICA

**SENEGAL**—By bringing native troops from Africa, France may have kindled national aspirations similar to those shared by Britain's Indian troops. A brigade of Senegalese black soldiers who took part in the French occupation of Frankfort on arriving at Marseilles refused to embark for military duty in Syria. They had been quartered in two camps where there were other negro troops from Senegal on their way home to be demobilized. When they were lined up and the order was given to shoulder their knapsacks for embarkation the men folded their arms and did not move. When the order was repeated they broke ranks and scattered. The officers reported the situation to Paris. The men salute their officers and obey all orders except the one to go to Asia Minor. They say they want to go home.

**CONGO**—M. Victor Augagneur, formerly Minister of Marine and at one time Governor General of Madagascar, has been appointed Governor General of Equatorial Africa.

## The Latin Nations of Europe

### Failure of the General Strike in France—Another Change of Government in Italy

#### FRANCE

**T**HE general strike begun early in May in defiance of the French Government came to a sudden end on May 21, when 95 per cent. of the striking workmen in various branches of industry returned to work at the order of the General Confederation of Labor. The breaking of this general strike, which threatened the very existence of the French Government, was due to the drastic and determined action of the Millerand Ministry in ordering the dissolution on May 11 of the confederation and arresting the strike leaders and organizers. The surrender of that powerful labor organization marked the passing of a crisis. Though the railway union refused to call off the strike, nine-tenths of the railway workers returned to work.

In the Chamber of Deputies on May 21 M. Millerand, the Premier, following a three days' debate on the strike, justified the Government's action by declaring that the object of the confederation in demanding nationalization was purely revolutionary in character. He pointed out that, though the confederation under the law of 1884 was organized only to secure better conditions for the workers, no question of shorter hours or better wages was involved in the strike just ended, and that the confederation had endeavored to assume the position of a dictator to the Government in defiance of the wishes of the great majority of the workers and of the interests of the nation itself. Meanwhile some 1,000 of the radical strike leaders remained in jail; a number of these were



pro-Soviet agitators. A large number of documents seized by the police showed the existence of a well-organized plot to overthrow the Government and substitute a Soviet rule, financed from Moscow via Amsterdam and otherwise. Revolution, said M. Millerand plainly, was aimed at, while the enemies of the republic waited without.

Debate on the new taxation bill voted by the Chamber continued, on May 22. M. Marsal, the Finance Minister, pointed out the seriousness of the financial situation of France and emphasized the need of covering the nation's enormous outlays. Beyond the sums raised by the taxes in operation there was a large deficit which could be met only by the new taxes to be imposed. The burden of these new taxes, he admitted, was heavy, but not beyond the power of the French taxpayers. With these taxes France would be able to meet both her war and peace costs. As for the vast sums needed to restore the devastated regions and the willful damage done by Germany, these, said M. Marsal, must be met by Germany alone.

M. Millerand on May 29 appeared before the Chamber and asked for a vote of confidence on his agreement with the other allied Premiers to exact from Germany a lump sum for reparations, which all should unite in collecting. No total, he explained, had yet been fixed pending the holding of the conference with Germany's representatives at Spa, though at the Hythe discussions he had asked for a total of 200,000,000 francs. He set forth in detail the arguments in favor of accepting such a lump sum, for which a scheme for negotiating German bonds in payment was being arranged, and asked for the Chamber's approval. This he secured by a vote of five-sixths of all the Deputies present. On the same day ex-President Poincaré, in his political article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, explained his resignation as head of the Reparations Committee on the ground that France was yielding to England's and Italy's desire of making the peace tolerable for Germany; this tendency he attacked most earnestly, expressing the fear that France would be led to "sell

for a mess of pottage her most sacred rights."

Of the seven traitors who were condemned on July 28, 1919, to be shot as proved workers in the pay of the German Gazette des Ardennes, four—three men and one woman—were executed on May 16 in the grove surrounding the prison of Vincennes in the outskirts of Paris. Those shot were Mme. Aubert, and the three men, Toque, Lemoine and Herbert. President Deschanel, after numerous appeals had been taken and lost, refused to exercise his constitutional prerogative of clemency.

It was announced officially on June 1 that the Government decision to award medals to mothers of large families had led to a large number of applications.

All France was thrilled on May 24 by the news that President Deschanel, while attempting to open a window on his train, which was bearing him from Paris on an official visit, had fallen headlong upon the track while the train was still in motion and sustained serious bruises and undergone a great shock. A trackwalker on the line met the President walking barefoot in pajamas, with his hair in disorder and his face covered with blood. Unwilling at first to believe that this was the President, this man telegraphed on ahead, and the Presidential coupé was found to be empty. M. Deschanel was taken to a hospital at Montargis, where it was found that he was suffering from scalp lacerations and bad bruises of one leg. He returned to Paris the following day. The official physicians declared that he was not seriously injured. It was stated in Paris on May 29, however, that his condition was not wholly satisfactory and was causing anxiety.

## ITALY

The political situation in Italy has dominated public interest for a month as it probably never had before in the history of the Third Italy. Francesco Saverio Nitti was called upon by the King on May 17 to form his third Ministry. Six days later the slate was ready with the added portfolio of Labor and Social Welfare. Including himself it was

made up of five Liberal Democrats, four Conservative Liberals, two Catholics, three Radicals and one non-political member, Admiral Giovanni Sechi, with the portfolio of the Navy, and possibly also Senator Vittorio Scaloja, who as an unpronounced Liberal Democrat was retained at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Carlo Schanzer was also retained, changing his portfolio from that of Finance to the Treasury. Schanzer has been called the lieutenant of Giovanni Giolitti, the man who was practically dictator of Italy from 1903 until, in the Spring of 1915, although a year out of office, he lost both his popularity and his influence by attempting to have Italy remain neutral and regain *Italia Irredenta* from Austria-Hungary through diplomacy.

The Ministry formed by Nitti resigned on June 9 without risking a vote in the Chamber, and Giolitti was called to succeed him as the "indispensable man." Nitti's task, both as head of the Government and as director of legislation, had been rendered difficult and then impossible by two factors. As Minister of the Interior he had tried to govern by decrees which brought about strange anomalies of policy. In Bologna the Bolshevik mobs paraded unchecked, but in Rome a procession of patriotic students was fired into by the military with fatal results; in Turin Socialists openly preached the Soviet doctrine and revolution by force, but in Rome visitors from Fiume and Dalmatia were sent to jail. Finally he lowered the price of bread for certain classes by a Government subsidy and then raised it again when he found that it cost the Treasury too much. The first decree antagonized the middle and upper classes; the second aroused such a storm among Socialists and Catholics alike that he resigned before disapprobation could be registered in a parliamentary way.

The second factor working against Nitti, which really made necessary his attempted administration by decrees, was the heterogeneous character of the Chamber. The balance of power was in the hands of two well-organized parties whose morals and programs were dia-

metrically opposed to each other: The Socialist Party, which, making a gain of 79 Deputies in the November election, held 156 seats, and the Catholic Popular Party, which had elected 101. The Liberal Party, of which Nitti himself was a member, had lost 157 Deputies and could only seat 161 after the election, and of these Nitti could only count on 50 personal followers, the balance being hopelessly disorganized by post-bellum questions, both foreign and internal. The other factions which made up the rest of the Chamber at Montecitorio with its 508 total seats represented persons rather than policies and hence were more divided than were the Liberals.

Both after the fall of the second Nitti Ministry and after the fall of the third, the King, whose democratic leanings are well known, tried in vain to select some party leader or former Premier who, by a policy of compromise between the parties, might sustain a Government, at least on the economic reforms of which the country stood in sore need. He asked Luigi Meda, the Catholic leader, but the Freemasons among the Liberals intimated that this would be impossible. He tried Ivanoe Bonomi, the leader of the Reformists, or those Socialists who had broken away from the pacifists when Italy entered the war, but Bonomi was obnoxious to the Catholics on account of his Freemason connections and was still called a "traitor" by the Socialists. His Majesty also summoned the former Premiers Salandra, Orlando and Sonnino, and the ex-Ministers Luzzatti and Tittoni.

Each could count on a certain number of followers, some on some questions, some on others, but not one could count on a sufficient number of followers to control the Socialists on all important questions, and the Socialists would take part in no Ministry unless invited to take entire control, which, if possible, would have arrayed against their 156 Deputies a concentrated Opposition formed of all the other parties and factions.

Both the Catholics and the Socialists advocated popular legislation, but naturally in very different ways. A Catholic leader with the co-operation of the



Liberals, the Radicals, and the Reformists would have been able to hold the Socialists in check sufficiently to legislate, had it not been for the fact that the Freemasons feared a revival of Vatican political influence and would have denounced a Ministry dominated by Catholics. A Liberal leader with the cooperation of the Catholics, the Radicals and the Reformists would have been able to perform the same feat if only he could depend upon his own party, as Nitti could not do.

Thus the alternative was set before the King: To recall Giolitti, who could do what Nitti had neither the influence, the ability, nor the courage to do, or to dissolve Parliament and order a new election. The last would have been resented by both Socialists and Catholics—by the former because they feared that a reawakening of the bourgeoisie would inevitably cut down their big November gains; by the latter because they feared the revival of Freemasonry against them. And Socialist resentment was likely to take an unpleasant form.

So Giolitti, who is called the "Magi di Dronero," because he is considered a wise man and was born in Dronero, was recalled and asked to form a Ministry. By June 15 he had completed his slate. It read:

#### LIBERALS

Giovanni Giolitti, President and Minister of Interior.

Luigi Rossi, Colonies.

Francesco Tedesco, Finance.

Camillo Peano, Public Works.

Giovanni Raineri, Liberated Provinces.

#### CATHOLICS

(Popular Party)

Filippo Meda, Treasury.

Giuseppe Micheli, Agriculture.

#### RADICALS

Luigi Fera, Justice.

Giulio Alessio, Industry.

Rosario Pasqualino-Vassallo, Posts and Telegraphs.

#### REFORMISTS

(Parliamentary Socialists)

Ivanoe Bonomi, War.

Arturo Labriola, Labor and Social Welfare.

#### NON-POLITICAL EXPERTS

Senator Count Carlo Sforza, Foreign Affairs.

Senator Rear Admiral Giovanni Sechi, Navy.

Senator Professor Benedetto Croce, Education.

The striking difference between the Giolitti Ministry and the third Nitti is that the former possesses leaders of their respective parties like Meda, Alessio and Bonomi, while the latter did not. Count Sforza is a brilliant young diplomat who was attached to the Peace Conference. Admiral Sechi, one of the best-known naval experts in the world, held his present portfolio during the war and in the three Nitti Cabinets. Professor Croce is one of the best-known Italian men of letters. Aside from Sechi, the Ministers who held portfolios under Nitti are Rossi and Tedesco in the first, Bonomi, Alessio and Raineri in the second, and Peano, Micheli and Rossi in the third.

One reason why Giolitti could do what Nitti could not do is that in Italy Deputies take their orders not from their constituents but from the provincial Prefects who have "supervised" their elections, and of these sixty-nine Prefects the "Magi di Dronero" still controls sixty—survivals of his long term as Minister of the Interior prior to the Spring of 1914. Since then, although some of them proved to have German, or at least Austrian, proclivities, no Minister of the Interior, from Salandra to Nitti, dared to oust them. Under these defeatism flourished. In the elections of last November, however, their influence, principally due to the absence of Giolitti, was in a measure usurped by the party leaders, whose aid, with the exception of the Socialist leaders, Giolitti has now apparently secured.

## THE VATICAN

On May 31 Pope Benedict XV. issued an encyclical on "Christian Reconciliation," which rescinded the veto on official visits of Catholic sovereigns to the King of Italy at the Quirinal. Under this veto the late Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria could never return the visit made to Vienna by King Humbert. Their Most Catholic Majesties of Belgium and Spain were said to have had a measurable influence on the Pope in issuing the encyclical, of which his Holiness said: "It

seems to be called for by the gravity of the moment and the established custom of exchanging visits for consultation between the heads of States and Governments."

The Pope added, however, that, so far from relinquishing his protest against the actual abnormal position of the Holy See and its supreme representative, he expected a reconstructed society to facilitate a solution compatible with the dignity of the Church.

The latter refers to the dogmatic doctrine of temporal power, of which Pope Pius IX. was deprived by the Italian Government in 1871 against his will, and to the need of a rapprochement between the Vatican and the Quirinal. It has nothing to do with the old idea of temporal power as defined by the fathers of the Church, but with the fact that Pope Pius IX., in his aspect of an earthly monarch and not as the Vicar of Christ, was deprived of his material realm—the Papal States with their capital, the Eternal City. Pope Pius X. in defining the new doctrine of temporal power said that the Pope could extend or contract his realm by negotiation with other sovereigns or Governments, but that he could not be deprived of his realm by force, or if deprived of it by force it became a usurpation which the Holy See could never ratify.

On May 23 Oliver Plunket, the Irish divine who was made first Archbishop of Armagh in 1669 by Pope Clement IX. and was executed for treason at Tyburn July 1, 1681, was beatified at St. Peter's. There was a large gathering of Irish pilgrims headed by Cardinal Logue, the octogenarian Primate of all Ireland. On May 26 the more celebrated among them were received in farewell audience in the Consistorial Hall.

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The week of May 26 was called "French Week" in Madrid, although the most famous guests, Marshal Joffre and ex-Empress Eugénie, had departed. The program for the week included three concerts of French music at the Royal Opera House, a dinner at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a reception at the Royal

Palace and the laying of the foundation stone of the Villa Velasquez, a school for French painters, for which the Spanish Government has donated a splendid site. It is to be organized on the same lines as the French School at Rome.

The only discordant notes were the bread riots on account of the shortage of wheat, which has reduced Madrid's bread output from 350,000 kilograms to 50,000, and an article published in the official paper, the *Epoca*, in regard to Franco-Spanish financial relations, which read in part:

While Spain always fulfills her financial obligations with France, the latter nation makes the admission of Spanish products difficult. Now France is demanding revocation for two years of a financial convention with Spain, making it necessary to enter into negotiations to settle mutual problems. Reprisals constitute the only way left open for this country to follow.

A report to Washington by Consul General Carlton Bailey Hurst, stationed at Barcelona, dealt with Spanish emigration and immigration as follows:

In 1918 transatlantic emigration from the ports of Spain comprised 26,406 persons, the lowest number during the decade 1909-18. For the first time the number of laborers coming to Spain exceeded that of the emigrants, the heaviest emigration having been in 1912.

The causes producing the change in 1918 were the lack of shipping for the transportation of emigrants, the risks of sea travel, the restrictions imposed in many countries on immigration, and the general insecurity of labor conditions in countries to which Spanish emigrants usually go.

Most of these emigrants are farmhands, chiefly from the Provinces of Salamanca, León, Avila, Zamora, Palencia and Caceres. During the war the demand for labor in France counteracted in large measure Spanish transatlantic emigration, and the majority of the farmhands returned to Spain after the harvests had been gathered in France.

On June 6 Antonio Maria Bautista, Portuguese Premier and Minister of the Interior, died suddenly in Lisbon, and was succeeded by Ramos Preto, the Minister of Justice. Senhor Bautista was 57 years of age. He served in the African colonies, where he won decorations, and for three years in France, where he commanded a counterattack against the Germans in the battle of the Lys in April, 1918.



## SWITZERLAND

The result of the plebiscite of May 16, by which the Swiss people declared its adherence to the League of Nations by a majority of almost 90,000 votes (414,660 for, 322,729 against), is the subject of animated discussion in the Swiss press. The anti-League sentiment of a portion of German Switzerland is voiced by the *Berner Tagblatt*, which says that by throwing its ancient neutrality overboard Switzerland also hands part of her independence over to foreign States. The paper ironically expresses the fear that the singing of the "Marseillaise" and the displaying of the French Tricolor will be made compulsory. "The supremacy in the Swiss State," the *Tagblatt* concludes, "has, by this decision, gone over to 'Welsh' Switzerland; from now on the French Swiss are our leaders." The Socialist press of the German cantons, which opposed joining on the ground that the League is an imperialistic conspiracy, is very much embittered over what it calls the "treachery" of the French Swiss proletariat, which supported the League by an overwhelming vote. On the other hand, the pro-League newspapers of the western cantons praise the good sense and patriotism of those German Swiss who voted in the affirmative in spite of the violent nationalistic propaganda against joining.

The financial program of the Federal Government includes an ambitious scheme of age and health insurance for all citizens. To cover the new expenditure taxes on beer, tobacco, inheritances and gifts are proposed, as well as an extension of the Federal monopoly of alcohol. In French Swiss circles the plan of an inheritance tax meets with much opposition, chiefly on the ground that it clashes with the principle of cantonal rights. The Government's proposal provides that the revenue from inheritance taxes should be equally shared by the confederacy and the cantons, while the indirect taxes should go into the Federal Treasury.

In view of the growing menace of housing shortage the Federal Government proposes a credit of 10,000,000 francs for building purposes. In addition the Government calls upon industrial concerns to facilitate, on a voluntary basis, the formation of co-operative building associations among their employees.

The report of the Federal Railways for 1919 shows a gross revenue of 341,746,755.55 francs and an expenditure of 290,892,079.88 francs. The net earnings of the railways thus amount to 50,854,675.67 francs. Since 1913 the freight traffic has increased 90 per cent., while passenger traffic has grown by 18 per cent. only.

## Strained Relations of the Low Countries

### Holland Grapples With Red Internationalism

#### BELGIUM

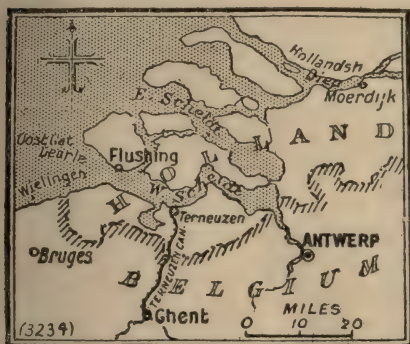
A VERY acute difference of opinion has arisen between Belgium and Holland over navigation of the outlets to the sea by way of the mouths of the Scheldt. This led to the suspension of treaty negotiations just as they had apparently reached the final stage, on May 26. The sea at the mouth of the Scheldt is very shallow and there are only three passable channels below Flushing. Two of these, the Oostgat and the Deurloo, turn to the north along the

Dutch coast, but the third, the Wielingen channel, which is the largest and most used, skirts the Belgian coast as far as Blankenberghe. At the Zwyn, where the Dutch and Belgian land frontier reaches the shore, the whole width of the channel available for larger navigation is within the three-mile limit, and is consequently Belgian water. Suddenly, on May 3, the Dutch delegation handed to Belgium a note claiming exclusive sovereignty over the Wielingen channel, and the Belgians broke off negotiations, referring the matter to the Chamber of

Deputies, which, on May 26, unanimously approved their action. Here is another matter for the League of Nations to settle.

The Belgian Socialists have just lost six seats in the Senate at by-elections held to fill vacancies of members whose selection had been invalidated. The Senate thus consists of sixty-three Cath-

olics, as the new loan of \$50,000,000, concluded with New York bankers, has solidified her financial relations with North America. At the same time the sporting world of all countries is looking to Belgium for the results of the international Olympic games now in progress at Antwerp, which were inaugurated by the opening of the vast stadium on May 24.



REGION OF THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE  
BETWEEN BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

olics, a gain of four; thirty-eight Liberals, a gain of two, and nineteen Socialists, a loss of six. The latter indicates a return to their old allegiance of many voters who cast their ballots in November for the Labor candidates.

Captain Charles Fryatt's historic ship, the *Brussels*, was offered for sale on June 23. This is the vessel which the British Captain once ordered to ram a German submarine, an act which led to his execution at Bruges after the enemy had captured him. The ship was taken by the Germans in June, 1916, and was torpedoed by the British during the Zeebrugge raid on April 24, 1918. One of the stipulations of the auction was that no bids would be accepted from any but British subjects.

Belgium's quest of foreign trade has been stimulated through the acquirement by the Lloyd Royale Belge of ten more freighters of the 4,000-ton type from the United States Shipping Board, increasing the company's fleet to eighty-four.

King Albert and Queen Elizabeth will leave Belgium in August for a tour in Brazil, which will undoubtedly strengthen Belgium's relations with South Amer-

## HOLLAND

Holland is engaged in endeavoring to shut out foreign agitators from interfering with her institutions, while at the same time, apparently, they plot within her borders against other States. It is generally admitted that the abortive strikes, which were to usher in the terrorist revolution in France, were ordered by the international Communist bureau at Amsterdam, following instructions from Nikolai Lenin. An American named Louis Frayne, alias Ralph Snyder, according to the *Paris Matin*, represents the United States at this headquarters, while Sylvia Pankhurst and Nora Smith are the English delegates, and Mme. Rosalie Grimm represents the Swiss Communists.

To remedy this situation Holland established a deadline zone at her frontiers beyond which no one might pass except along recognized roads, railways or water routes on penalty of being shot if he refused to halt. This was one of the measures adopted to prevent the entrance of undesirable persons, particularly Bolsheviks.

An Anti-Revolutionary bill, introduced in the Second Chamber on June 2, goes much further than the plotting or carrying out of overt acts, and is directly aimed at the moderate Socialists as well as the Communists. The Socialist leader, Troelstra, declares that the bill breaks with all existing rules and is directed against one-fourth of the Dutch people. Riots and strikes followed its introduction and there was fighting at The Hague between mounted police and the demonstrators, whose leaders carried placards reading: "Away with Reaction."

This whole question of international disturbance was likely to be considered



by the jurists who were gathering at The Hague to attend the first session of the commission on the construction of a permanent International Court of Justice, called by the League of Nations to meet on June 16. Elihu Root, who had been invited to take part in the deliberations, arrived at Plymouth on June 10 and proceeded directly to The Hague.

Holland is keeping close watch on the Hohenzollerns during the critical situation in Germany. Two suspicious char-

acters were arrested just inside the gates of the former Kaiser's new estate at Doorn in the latter part of May. As a consequence the number of Dutch police about the place was increased and many detectives in plain clothes were quartered in the village. P. J. Peereboom, Burgomaster of Wieringen, on the island where the former Crown Prince lives, was appointed private secretary to the ex-Kaiser and usually accompanied the son on his visits to Doorn.

## Progress in Scandinavian Countries

### An International Electric Project

#### DENMARK

CONCURRENT with the report that Danish industrial concerns have negotiated the purchase of 1,000,000 tons of American coal for shipment this year and next, the Scandinavian press is commenting on vast Danish plans to convey electrical power from Norway to take the place of coal. A Danish committee has sifted these plans in conjunction with Mr. Hanssen, Director-General of Waterfalls Control in Norway, and found them feasible. The design is to convey power from the funnels of the Skien and Rjukan Falls, in Southern Norway, by means of an underwater cable 1,000 kilometers (about 620 miles) long across the Skagerrak to Jutland. It is considered feasible also to convey the power via Sweden to Denmark by means of an air-line. The economic problems are not all worked out yet by the Danish committee, but if the price of coal continues at its present height the committee will push the project. Denmark is a low country with practically no water power, and plans for conveying cheap power from Norway are arousing intense interest.

No other country is as rich as Norway in great waterfalls, not even Switzerland. By harnessing her cataracts Norway could become the creditor of the British Isles and France if the coal situation should become acute in those

countries. Within the last ten years practically every farmer in Norway has come to be supplied with electric light, heat and power on his land, as waterfalls are accessible in every neighborhood.

The strike at Copenhagen of the sailors, stokers and dockers, which persisted after all the other divisions of the general strike following the dismissal of the Zahle Government had failed, came to an end June 11. This shipping strike was broken by about 4,000 volunteers from among the seafaring farmer population of Denmark. These farmers have manned some 150 ships, which have sailed to all parts of the world, so it will be some months before many sailors and stokers can get places on board ship again.

The introduction of the Danish krone into the first Slesvig zone has created a panic in the Flensburg, or second, zone. With the krone so much higher in value than the German mark, when the Flensburg zone has only German paper money, the people of the second zone feared that the Danes would buy up all their supplies with krone and make a famine. Berlin papers reported from Flensburg that the International Slesvig Commission had prohibited all goods traffic between these two zones.

On June 15 the International Plebiscite Commission announced at Flensburg that it had established the boundary be-

tween Denmark and Germany, as determined by the plebiscites held in Slesvig, and that, having discharged all its duties as laid down in the Treaty of Versailles, the commission's authority in the plebiscite region would cease at once.

Danish and German commercial and financial interests have been holding negotiations in Copenhagen to arrange a deal to make profitable the large Scandinavian stocks of German marks both to the possessors and to German industry and trade. This amount of German money, deposited against interest in a new banking concern in Copenhagen, is to serve as a guarantee for loans for the purchase of raw materials for Germany. The bank guarantees credits desired by Germany for the purchase abroad of cotton, iron ore, &c. A similar arrangement had been made by Germany with Holland, where a syndicate had been started under the style of "Credit en Belegingsbank." This and the Danish banking concern will have an important influence in promoting Germany's foreign trade, as they will both import raw materials and foodstuffs for Germany and export German industrial goods by way of Copenhagen and Rotterdam.

The American-Scandinavian Foundation has awarded nineteen traveling fellowships to American college students nominated by their Alma Maters for study in Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

## NORWAY

Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian explorer, has been appointed head of the organization set up by the League of Nations to repatriate as many as possible of the 200,000 German, Austrian and other war prisoners still held in Russia.

The Norwegian Government, with the approval of the Storting, has notified the Russian Soviet Government that Norway is ready to resume at once commercial relations with Russia, without, however, officially recognizing the Soviet as the legal Russian Government.

Norway is rapidly regaining her important place on the sea by a great ship-building program for her merchant ma-

rine. Though her loss of merchant shipping during the war was greater than that of any other Scandinavian country, most of the shipping companies have built up strong reserves to meet the requirements of their present and future development. New tonnage is being contracted for almost daily, and delivery of new ships has begun at a rate that bids fair to make Norway as strong in merchant shipping in 1921 as she was before the war. Owing to the offer of preferential rates, Norwegians are letting most of their foreign tonnage contracts in Great Britain.

For several months, as reported by the United States Consul at Bergen, Norwegian shipping concerns have been making high profits by carrying cargoes of American chocolate and other foodstuffs to Norwegian ports, transshipping them there and carrying them back for resale in the United States. The depreciation of the Norwegian krone, the rise of the dollar, and the rise of prices in the United States—also the low freight rates to the United States, as compared with the high freight rates from America to Scandinavia—are given as the causes of this line of business.

Efforts are being made to secure co-operation of the three Scandinavian countries for better mail service between them and the United States. The backwardness of this service is owing to strikes and other disturbances in Denmark and Germany. The regular mails between America and the Scandinavian countries, with transit to Finland and Esthonia, are now conveyed via England, Belgium, Germany and Denmark. Such co-operation is all that is needed to secure rapid daily mail service between Scandinavian countries and America. The Swedish New York-Gothenburg Line has two steamers, the Norwegian New York-Christiania Line has two and the Danish New York-Copenhagen Line has three. Postmaster General Juhlin of Sweden, after a careful study of conditions in the United States last year, has tried ever since to secure this co-operation.



# Germany's First Republican Reichstag

## A Period of Scrambled Politics

### GERMANY

**C**ONFUSION worse confounded summarizes the political situation in Germany as the result of the election on June 6 of the first Reichstag chosen since the overthrow of the Hohenzollern dynasty on Nov. 9, 1918. Nothing was settled except the fact that there is likely to be another general election within a few months. The strength of the parties supporting the old Majority Socialist-Democratic-Clerical Coalition Government was reduced from 336 out of a total of 421 seats in the old National Constituent Assembly to 222 out of an estimated total of 460 (according to returns up to June 15). The situation indicated that only the support of the People's Party or of the Independent Socialists could furnish a basis for some sort of a combination Government.

The makeup of the new Reichstag, as indicated by the returns up to June 15, was as follows:

Parties.	Deputies.	Popular Vote.
Majority Socialists .....	110	5,531,137
Independent Socialists .....	80	4,809,862
Centrists .....	67	3,500,800
German Nationalists.....	65	3,638,851
German People's Party.....	61	3,456,131
Democrats .....	45	2,152,509
Christian Federalists.....	21	1,254,963
Communists .....	2	438,190
Bavarian Peasants' Party....	4	.....
Guelphists .....	5	318,104

The German election was by the proportional representation method, and one Deputy was supposed to be apportioned to every 60,000 votes cast for each party. The Communists (Spartacus League) were expected to have about seven Deputies when the final computation was made. With the vote for the Bavarian People's Party estimated at 250,000, the total vote cast amounted to about 25,350,000, as compared with a vote of some 29,000,000 in the election to the Constituent Assembly. There was no election in East Prussia, in the Oppeln district in Upper Silesia, or in Slesvig-Holstein, because

the political destiny of these districts was subject to settlement through plebiscites. The thirty-eight members of the old National Assembly from these districts will sit in the new Reichstag until the fate of their constituencies is decided. Eighteen of them are Majority Socialists, 8 Democrats, 8 Centrists, 2 German Nationalists, 1 People's Party and 1 Holstein Peasants' League.

In the National Constituent Assembly, elected Jan. 19, 1919, the makeup had been as follows:

Parties.	Members.	Popular Vote.
Majority Socialists.....	163	11,112,470
Centrists .....	92	5,338,804
Democrats .....	71	5,552,930
German Nationalists.....	41	2,739,196
German People's Party.....	23	1,106,408
Independent Socialists.....	22	2,188,305
Bavarian Peasants' League...	4	.....
Bavarian Middle Party.....	1	.....
Brunswick Provisional League.	1	.....
Slesvig-Holstein Peasants' League .....	1	.....
Württemberg Citizens' and Peasants' League.....	2	.....

Immediately following the announcement of the result of the election the Cabinet, headed by Chancellor Hermann Müller, offered its resignation, but was asked by President Ebert to carry on until a new Cabinet could be formed. Chancellor Müller tried to obtain the co-operation of the Independent Socialists, but in vain; then Ebert asked Dr. Rudolph Heinze, Chairman of the People's Party, to undertake the task of forming a new governing group, but the latter was rebuffed by the Majority Socialists, and quit. Karl Trimborn, leader of the Centre Party, was then asked to try his hand, but on June 15 it was announced that he, too, had abandoned the task. On the 17th, when these pages went to press, Herr Trimborn was still trying in vain to form a workable coalition.

The elections have shown that the dream of the old conservative German Nationalists—of the Heydebrandt and Reventlow type—of a restoration of the

monarchy has no prospect of ever coming true. Hence, the more far-seeing members of that Junker group are expected to line up with the big business men controlling the People's Party and work for a strong Government which under the form of a republic may be able to check the rising tide toward socialization of industry. To these groups may be added the Centrists and the Democrats, in their great majority, and the Bavarian Peasants and the Guelphists. On the other side stand the Majority and Independent Socialists, the Communists and small factors of the Centrists and Democrats. Both the Independents and the Communists, during the campaign, emphasized the necessity of establishing the "dictatorship of the proletariat." They bitterly attacked the Majority Socialists for their alleged moderate tactics and stressing of democracy.

The whole campaign was waged with bitterness and mud-slinging on all sides. The Socialists and Democrats accused the People's Party of being under the thumb of Herr Stinnes, who had bought up some threescore newspapers, including the former semi-official *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, to influence public opinion; and with raising huge campaign funds from the other Rhine Industrialists. Meanwhile the Conservative groups charged the Majority Socialists with using Government money for campaign purposes and pointed to the granting of leave of absence to Prussian school teachers to take part in the struggle, as evidence of favoritism. The Communists and Independents denounced all the others and each other as enemies of the masses. Also a non-political offshoot of the Communist Party, known as the Communist Labor Party, branded all the rest as traitors to the working people.

Nearly all the prominent leaders of the various parties were returned to the Reichstag. Among the new members are twenty-two women, as compared with thirty-eight in the old Assembly. Louise Zietz, the Independent Socialist who created so much excitement in the old Assembly by her caustic anti-Government comments, will have

competition in the person of the veteran Klara Zetkin, elected on the Communist list. Matthias Erzberger was re-elected on the Centrist ticket, though he had been forced out of the Ministry of Finance last Winter. Count von Bernstorff, ex-Ambassador to the United States, ran on the Democratic ticket and was badly beaten. The new Reichstag is to set the date for the popular election of a President to succeed Herr Ebert, who says he will not be a candidate.

The last session of the National Assembly, held on May 21, ended in bitter partisan strife. This was due mainly to an announcement by Minister of the Interior Koch that, because of revolutionary agitation by radical elements, the Government would be unable to end the state of siege throughout the country, as had been demanded in a resolution which the Socialist members had forced through the Assembly the day before. Herr Koch promised that, although the state of siege could not be ended in the Ruhr district or in Gotha, it would be partly relieved in Bavaria and that general conditions would be improved. The Independent Socialists moved to vote a lack of confidence, but Konstantin Fehrenbach, President of the Assembly, refused to submit this motion because it was signed by fewer members than the necessary fifteen.

The next day President Ebert proclaimed the ending of the state of siege throughout Germany, except in the Düsseldorf district, East Prussia, and in Silesia and Saxony, thus showing the Government's confidence in the general situation in spite of wild stories of plots and counterplots. In the districts still held under the state of siege the military authorities were put under the control of civilian Commissioners, and the powers of the courts-martial were limited, their members to be appointed by the Commissioners.

On May 31 the commanders of the garrison of Greater Berlin visited Minister of Defense Gessler and solemnly swore to defend the Government from all attacks, either from the Right or the Left. On the same day the so-called



Volunteer Corps, which was originally organized to protect the Government, but had proved unreliable when the Kapp reactionary coup was attempted in March, was ordered out of existence. President Ebert issued an edict providing severe punishments for any one attempting to prevent its dissolution. Some of the more reliable elements were taken into the Reichswehr (regular army), a special body of which, called the Döberitz Brigade, under Major Gen. Reinhardt, ex-Minister of War, is supposed to constitute the Pretorian Guard of the republic.

Late in May it was announced that Admiral von Trotha, ex-Chief of the Admiralty; Rear Admiral von Leventzow, ex-Governor of Kiel, and Major von Falkenhausen, at one time an Assistant Secretary of State, with twelve other naval and military officers, had been dismissed from the service and their cases turned over to the Public Prosecutor because of their share in the Kapp revolt. Twenty-five other officers were relieved of duty and their cases sent to the Prosecutor.

On June 10 a Berlin report stated that, in accordance with the revised terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty, the German Army had been reduced to 200,000 men.

With the cutting down of the German forces in the neutral zone along the Rhine, the French troops that had occupied Frankfort, Darmstadt, Hanau, Dieburg and Homburg early in April to enforce compliance with the terms of the Peace Treaty were withdrawn on May 17. There was little complaint as to the conduct of the occupying troops, but there was much bitter comment on the use of French colored soldiers from the colonies; these soldiers were charged with attacks upon women and girls. The French military authorities, and Premier Millerand as well, vigorously denied the German charges and submitted data showing that of the 85,000 French troops in the occupied region along the Rhine only 7,490 were negroes. On May 29 it was announced that the main body of black troops would soon be withdrawn.

Business conditions in Germany were in a state of flux, due in part to the rise in the exchange value of the mark to nearly 3 cents, compared with 1 cent last Winter. There were the usual labor troubles.

Stories of huge investments in German industries and real estate by Americans, due to the low value of the mark, filled the Berlin press. Werner Wintermantel, Director of the American department of the Deutsche Bank, stated on June 8 that these investments amounted to more than 15,000,000,000 marks. Dr. Otto Weidels, Director of the Berlin Chamber of Commerce, estimated the foreign investments in Germany since the signing of the Peace Treaty at 50,000,000,000 marks, of which nearly half had come from America. At a conference in Paris between five German business men, headed by Dr. Deutsch of the German General Electric Company, and representatives of French industry, plans were worked out for the resumption of full trade relations between the two countries, which are expected to be approved by the Berlin and Paris Governments.

Although the food situation was reported to have been improved through the arrangement of credits for facilitating imports, it was decided at a meeting between the Ministers of Agriculture of the various German States and the Federal authorities to continue the rationing of bread and meat during the harvest season and to maintain the regulations compelling delivery of certain percentages of agricultural products, with the exception of peas and beans. The general crop outlook is good, except in the case of wheat, which is a little below the average. A plan has been sanctioned by the Federal food authorities providing for the creation this season of a potato reserve of some 160,000,000 bushels, through co-operation of the cities, the nation and the farming interests, to guard against a potato famine next Winter. The plan calls for compulsory delivery at 18½ marks per bushel.

American packing companies had advanced an additional credit of \$45,000,000 to the German Government for the pur-

chase of meats and other provisions to cover deliveries for twenty-two months, according to a report from the American Commissioner in Berlin reaching Washington June 11.

In connection with the multitude of robberies prevailing in Germany it was reported on June 6 that vandals had invaded the Grand Ducal vault at Weimar and stolen golden wreaths from the coffins of Schiller and Goethe.

Captain Imhof, a German officer accused of looting châteaux during the occupation of France, was sentenced to sixteen years in prison by a French military judge at Ludwigshaven on May 31.

General von Kluck, commander of one of the armies that tried to reach Paris in 1914, arrived in Switzerland on June 7 with the avowed intention of making his home there, as life in Germany had become "intolerable." He is reputed to have made considerable money out of his reminiscences.

On June 10 Count Adolph Montgelas,

a diplomat of the old school, arrived in New York en route to take up his duties as German Minister to Mexico. The same day Dr. W. S. Solf, ex-Minister of Colonies, left Berlin for his post as Ambassador in Tokio.

A step toward the revival of the Soldiers' Councils idea in the German Army was reported on June 14 in an order by President Ebert creating a Provisional Army Advisory Committee, to work with the Ministry of Defense, and a corresponding Navy Advisory Committee. The Army Committee, to be headed by the Chief of Staff, will be made up of fourteen army officers, five medical, three veterinary and three technical authorities, thirteen non-commissioned officers and twenty-nine privates. The Navy Committee, under the Admiralty Chief, will consist of nine officers, three medical men, three warrant officers, four petty officers and six privates. The soldier and sailor delegates will be elected by trustees in different districts.

## Hungary and Neighboring States

### Mourning in Budapest When the Hungarian Delegation Signs the Peace Treaty

#### HUNGARY

THE treaty of peace between Hungary and the Allies was signed by the Hungarian delegation at Versailles on the afternoon of June 4. It was accepted by the delegation for Hungary only after protest and a demand for modification, especially regarding boundaries, for which a decision by plebiscite was asked.

The text of the allied reply was published in Paris on May 6. In this response the difficulty of the ethnographic problem was frankly recognized; but it was pointed out that the conditions in Central Europe were such that it was impossible to make the political frontiers coincide with the ethnic. More than one aggregation of Magyars, consequently, said M. Millerand, the allied spokesman, must of necessity find themselves under the sovereignty of another State. A re-

turn of such territories to Hungary, when containing compact masses of population averse either to union or assimilation, would be impossible. Hence the allied Governments refused on practical grounds to modify the frontiers. It was further stated that plebiscites, if conducted fairly, would bring no substantial alteration in the boundaries as laid down by the allied experts after careful scientific study of the conditions prevailing.

After this unequivocal rejection of the Hungarian demands, however, the note announced that the allied and associated powers had adopted a method of correcting frontier lines. The Delimitations Commissions, which had already begun their work, were given power, in case they were of the opinion that the boundary provisions of the treaty created injustice, to report this to the Council of the League of Nations, which could then



offer its good offices to rectify the original line. Two new articles, furthermore, had been added to the treaty. The first (207) provided that one or other of the Danube countries—Jugoslavia, Po-

make certain payments between 1920 and 1926, and that the possibility of benefiting from any amelioration in the economic life would be reserved. Modifications on the subjects of national minorities, military and naval clauses and war-guilty nationals were similarly rejected, and Hungary was given ten days in which to declare her willingness to sign the terms imposed.

M. Prasenowski, Hungarian Minister, reached Paris from Budapest on May 21, the last day of the time limit. Early in the afternoon he notified the allied authorities that his Government accepted the treaty as drawn. A note, signed by the Hungarian Premier and Foreign Minister, was also presented, stating that the provisions of the treaty would be carried out loyally.

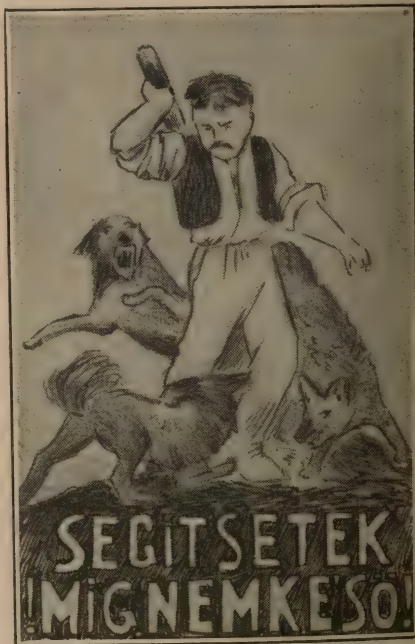
The ceremony of signing was held on June 4 in the long gallery of the Grand Trianon. It was brief and unspectacular. At the time set for the ceremony—



IN THIS HUNGARIAN POSTER THE PEACE CONFERENCE IS SHOWN CUTTING GREAT SLICES FROM HUNGARY AND LEAVING IT ONLY A FRAGMENT OF ITS FORMER SELF

land, Austria, Rumania or Hungary—should within six months begin negotiations to conclude a convention for the renewal of trade exchanges. The second new article (293) strengthened this policy of solidarity by instituting a Middle Danube Commission under a President appointed by the League of Nations, empowered to maintain in its broad lines the existing fluvial régime, thus creating a fresh tie between Hungary and her neighbors.

Regarding reparations, the allied powers maintained their refusal to allot a fixed sum, adhering to the system of estimating compensation by a reparation commission over an extended period—the plan originally decided on in the case of Germany. The note stated that it was not desired to saddle Hungary with a heavier burden than she could bear, but that it was believed that she could



PLACARD POSTED THROUGHOUT HUNGARY SHOWING THE COUNTRY, TYPIFIED BY A CITIZEN, TRYING TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST THE WOLVES SEEKING TO TEAR IT TO PIECES

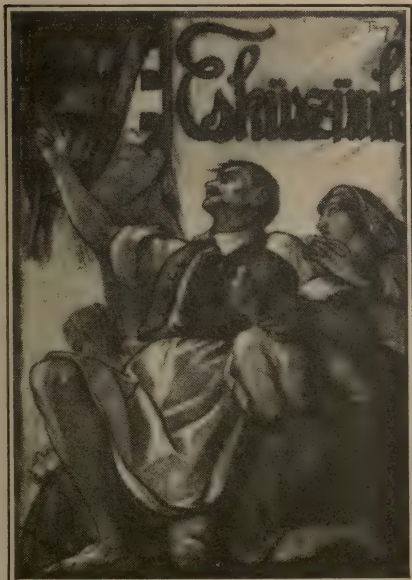
4:15 P. M.—the Hungarians, escorted by officers of each of the four allied nations, walked through the gardens to the palace; when they entered the gallery and were formally announced all the delegates rose from the horseshoe table. When the Hungarians and the allied representatives were seated, M. Millerand rose and briefly invited the Hungarians to sign the treaty. August Beynar, the Hungarian Minister of Labor, and Alfred de Drasche Lazar, Minister Plenipotentiary, then rose, walked to the little rosewood table before M. Millerand and affixed their signature. The American Ambassador, Mr. Wallace, was next to sign, followed by the other allies in turn. The whole ceremony took less than half an hour. M. Millerand then declared the proceedings at an end. As they left the building the Hungarian delegates received the salute of the military guard.

The act of signing was preceded by violent agitation in Hungary, led by former Premier Friedrich, chief of the "irreconcilable" wing of the Christian National Party, who asserted that the

Allies had no means of coercing Hungary if the Magyar Government refused to sign. The day of signing was made a day of national mourning in Budapest. The city was bedecked with black flags



POSTER REPRESENTING HUNGARY FIGHTING OFF THE FOES THAT COMPASS THE NEW NATION ON EVERY SIDE



POSTER REPRESENTING THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE AS SWEARING THAT THEY WOULD NEVER ACCEPT THE TERMS OF THE PEACE TREATY

and draperies, railways and street cars stopped service, and stores and banks were closed. One of the features of the celebration was a series of riots, in which "awakening Magyars" killed several Jews and wounded many more. These occurrences were reported to the State Department at Washington by U. Grant Smith, American High Commissioner at Budapest, who said that the allied missions at Budapest protested to the Hungarian Government, demanding the restoration of law and order.

The Peace Treaty was denounced in the National Assembly, in the churches and public meetings as an outrage against justice and humanity. Speakers, including Cabinet Ministers, pointed out that the provisions could not be fulfilled and contained the seed of new wars.

On June 3 the International Trades Union Conference and the General Council of the International Federation of



Transport Workers announced at Amsterdam that a general boycott, to take effect on June 20, was declared on all commerce with Hungary, including rail and wire communications, as a retaliation for the persecution of Socialists and trade unionists by the Horthy Government.

Four new classes of recruits have been called to the colors by the Minister of Defense. Vienna newspapers report that the Magyar Army, reduced by the Peace Treaty to 35,000 men, actually amounts to thrice that number. It has been discovered that agents of the Hungarian Government, aided by a certain British journalist, have smuggled enormous quantities of arms and ammunition, belonging to the Austrian Government, across the Hungarian frontier. Several persons involved in the plot are under arrest in Vienna.

In the National Assembly the cleavage separating the pro-Hapsburg Christian Nationalists from the anti-Hapsburg Farmers' Party widens. Nineteen members of the latter—all of them large proprietors—have seceded and formed a new Agrarian Party, which co-operates with the Christian Nationals. Violent scenes occurred in the House when Deputies belonging to the Farmers' Party protested against the outrages perpetrated on Jews and Socialists by the officers' detachments, activities which brought the nation into disrepute. Christian National members demanded that the protesters be ejected.

The Court of Justice at Budapest put an embargo on all possessions of Count Michael Karolyi, late President of the republic, now a refugee in Czechoslovakia. A bill of attainder against all members of his Government has been proposed.

Agitation for outlawing all Masonic organizations, declared hotbeds of liberalism and internationalism, is conducted by the Clericals and chauvinists. Officers belonging to the Move (Magyar Defense Union) invaded the Budapest headquarters of the Masonic Grand Lodge and took possession of the building and furnishings. The house serves now as an officers' club. Similar action

was taken in other cities, despite the protests of Masonic organizations abroad.

Among the latest anti-Jewish measures urged by the Friedrich group is a bill apportioning newsprint to Jewish newspapers on the basis of the percentage of Jewish population. Publications owned, managed or written by Jews are considered Jewish, and it is proposed that they be compelled to bear their name in Jewish characters on the first page.

The mission of the British Labor Party, led by Colonel Wedgwood, M. P., has arrived at Budapest to investigate charges about the White Terror.

## AUSTRIA

Anti-Semitic riots with numerous casualties occurred in the streets of Vienna with the participation of the Union of ex-Officers and German Nationalist students. Disturbances of a similar nature resulted in the death of fourteen persons in Graz, the capital of Styria. It is charged that the anti-Semitic agitation is financed and otherwise assisted by the Hungarian Government, which seeks co-operation with the Austrian monarchist and militarist circles. On the other hand, the anti-Semitic press asserts that the disorders were instigated by Communist refugees from Budapest and Munich.

The anti-Semitic organizations demand that all Jews be removed from public offices and the army, that the percentage of Jewish students in high schools be limited by law, and that all foreign Jews be expelled from Austria. Systematic attempts by German chauvinist students to exclude their Jewish colleagues from the university building occasioned the closing of the premises by order of the rector. Many Jewish students were severely beaten, and Hungarian officers in uniform were observed in the mob.

The antagonism between the "bourgeoisie" and the Socialists is growing sharper in every phase of public life. The alignment on the issue of constitutional reform, soon to be taken up by the Assembly, is determined by the desire of the Socialists to retain for Vien-

na, where they are in the majority, supremacy in the republic; while the middle class parties, above all the Christian Socialists and the peasants, are bent upon securing strong decentralization on a basis of federalism.

An unusual manifestation of this struggle is the anti-militaristic, or, rather, anti-military, propaganda of the "bourgeois" press, above all the liberal *Neue Freie Presse* and the Clerical *Reichspost*. These papers declare that Austria neither needs nor can afford an army even of the size to which it is reduced by the Treaty of St. Germain, and urge that the entire military force be disbanded. The Socialists, on the other hand, are strong for keeping the army intact. The explanation is that 70 per cent. of the new army of 30,000 consists of "class-conscious proletarians," or Social Democrats and Communists. It happened recently in Vienna that a session of the Citizens' Council was attacked by a mob of Socialists, who were first repulsed by the police, but returned reinforced with two battalions of soldiers and dispersed the meeting, police and all.

The Socialists, on their side, demand dissolution of the Vienna police, which, they charge, is nothing but a bourgeois "White Guard," and its substitution with a proletarian "Sicherheitswehr."

The budget of the State, submitted by Finance Minister Dr. Reisch, shows a deficit of over 10,000,000,000 kronen, with an expenditure of over 16,000,000,000 kronen against revenues totaling 6,000,000,000 kronen. The Government has been authorized to cover the excess by further credit operations, though prospects to raise new loans are regarded as desperate. Chancellor Renner himself said recently that State employes are facing a payless payday.

M. Margaine, Chairman of the Reparations Commission, in a report submitted to the French Parliament declares that the Treaty of St. Germain is impossible of fulfillment, since the Austrian Republic cannot subsist independently. As the only alternative to its union with Germany, M. Margaine urges that the Allies initiate a policy creating a con-

federation of all the Danubian States. As an instance of the growing German influence in Austria it is reported that Herr Stinnes, the German multimillionaire, who is the financial backer of the German People's Party, victorious in the recent elections, has bought up four important Vienna dailies, among them the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and the *Achtuhrblatt*.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

President Thomas G. Masaryk was re-elected for a term of seven years by the newly chosen National Assembly, called after the ratification of the new Czechoslovak Constitution. Masaryk's re-election was a pure formality, inasmuch as the Constitution practically provides for his continuance in office for life. Masaryk received 284 votes, among them those of several German and Magyar Deputies, while 61 German Nationalists voted for Herr Naegel, Rector of the German University of Prague, and 16 ballots were left blank.

The final returns of the National Assembly elections show that body to be composed of 199 Czechoslovaks, 72 Germans and 10 Magyars. One hundred and one Deputies belong to the different factions of the Socialist Party, 74 adhering to Premier Tusar's group of Social Democrats; the Farmers' Party counts 40 members, the Catholic Clerical People's Party 33, while the National Democratic following of the former Premier, Dr. Kramarz, was reduced to 19. Among the 72 Germans 31 are Socialists, the rest divided among bourgeois groups, and 4 of the 10 Magyar members are Social Democrats.

In the Senate 102 Czechoslovaks face 37 Germans and 3 Magyars. The Socialists have a plurality, but no majority. Nineteen seats of the Chamber of Deputies and ten of the Senate are still vacant, pending the outcome of the Teschen plebiscite.

The formation of the new Cabinet was intrusted, as generally expected, to Vladimir Tusar, whose resignation from the Premiership on the eve of the election had been regarded as a mere formality. The new Ministry is composed



of Social Democrats, Agrarians, National Socialists, National Democrats and Slovaks. The Government is being supported by a coalition of these parties, while the Clerical People's Party, suspected of royalist leanings, together with the Germans and Magyars, forms the opposition, though the German Magyar Social Democrats are likely to co-operate with their Czechoslovak fellow-Socialists. The list of the Ministry follows:

Premier and Acting Minister of Defense—Vladimir Tusar (Socialist).

Minister of Interior—Svehla (Agrarian).

Foreign Minister—Benès (Socialist).

Finance—English (non-party, expert).

Health and Administrative Unification—Srobar (Slovak).

Posts and Telegraphs—Stanek (National Democrat).

Education—Habermann (Socialist).

Railways—Stribrny (Socialist).

Justice—Meisner (Socialist).

Public Works—Vrbensky (Socialist).

Commerce—Sonntag (National Democrat).

Food—Johanis (Socialist).

Slovak Minister—Derer (Slovak Socialist).

Agriculture—Prashek (Agrarian).

Minister Without Portfolio—Hotovec (non-party, expert, in charge of foreign trade expansion).

Serious clashes between Czechs and

Poles have occurred in the Karwin district of Silesia. The decision of the Supreme Council to postpone the plebiscite to July 12 has caused great bitterness on both sides. The Czechoslovak organizations of the Teschen area protest against the ruling of the International Commission permitting persons having no domicile in the disputed territory to vote at the plebiscite. It is also charged that the Polish authorities refuse to honor Czechoslovak passports and other credentials.

The last of the Czechoslovak troops in Siberia have embarked at Vladivostok and are now on their way home.

Foreign Minister Benès advised M. Tchitcherin, the Foreign Minister of Soviet Russia, that a Czechoslovak peace commission will be sent out to meet a similar body, to be named by the Soviet Government, to discuss peace between the two republics.

It was announced that the Government contemplates raising a large loan abroad to finance the food supply scheme for 1920-21. The Government has purchased, for immediate delivery, 8,500 carloads of American grain, via Holland, as well as 3,500 carloads of flour and corn from Rumania.

## States of the Balkan Peninsula

### Territorial Gains of the Greeks

#### GREECE

THE Greek Parliament held a session on May 14 which was historically momentous. It was the occasion for a scene of the deepest enthusiasm, caused by the appearance before the delegates of M. Venizelos, the Prime Minister, who announced Greece's triumph in the terms laid down to Turkey. By these terms Turkey was left a State in name only, stripped of its most important territories, and reduced from its former greatness to a nation no larger than the boundaries of the new Greece created by the efforts of the Greek Premier. The historical significance of the announcement of M. Venizelos, telling

how the Hellas of 300 B. C., when Greece was in her prime, had been at last restored, was attested by the tumultuous applause of the assembled delegates.

By his extraordinary ability Venizelos had won for Greece at the Peace Conference even more than he had dared to hope when Constantine was overthrown. His dream of reuniting the scattered Hellenes to the utmost degree which geographical difficulties admitted had been fulfilled. He had begun the work years before with the liberation of Crete. He completed it in 1920 by wresting from Turkey Thessaly, Saloniki, Western Thrace, Eastern Thrace up to the outer ramparts of Constantinople, a zone



MAP SHOWING THE REMARKABLE EXPANSION OF GREECE. THE SHADED AREAS INDICATE THE NEW ACCESSIONS OF TERRITORY. THE DODECANESE ISLANDS, MARKED "TO ITALY" ON THE MAP, WERE AT ONCE HANDED OVER TO GREECE BY THE ITALIANS

on the Sea of Marmora, a Greek protectorate over Smyrna in Asia Minor and its hinterland, and by obtaining from Italy the cession of the Greek Dodecanese Islands, which, under the Turkish Treaty, were provisionally assigned to the Government at Rome. Only one step remained still to be taken, to obtain the Island of Cyprus from Great Britain, and that last step M. Venizelos was already preparing to take.

Provision by provision, he recapitulated the triumphs won for Greece under the Turkish Treaty. By the acquisition of Thrace, Greece expanded over a number of cities which had been centres of Hellenism. Bulgaria had been granted an economic outlet through Dedeağatch. A mixed international commission, including a Bulgarian representative, guaranteed Bulgaria free transit. The Greek coast of the Sea of Marmora had

been declared neutral to a depth of about nine miles, but the Turkish coast neutralized reached to a depth of sixty-two miles. The islands Imbros and Tenedos were annexed to Greece; Turkey had been forced to renounce her claims to the islands of Lemnos, Samos and others, which had been ceded to Greece by the London Conference of 1913. Of the Dodecanese group, only Casrellorizo had been completely lost; all the others, assigned to Italy by the treaty, were transferred at once to Greece by a treaty signed by the former country simultaneously; Rhodes, it was true, remained under Italian occupation provisionally, but its ultimate reversion was expected.

Regarding Smyrna, the treaty provided for abandonment by Greece of part of the Vilayet of Aidin. M. Venizelos explained, but the entire sanjak of Smyrna and certain districts of the san-



jaks of Magnes and Akhissar had been ceded to the Greeks, moving back the frontier to double the distance occupied up to this time by Greek forces. In the north the frontier was extended as far as the middle of the Bay of Adramyti; in the south, to Kemer. The conditions of the creation of this second Hellenic State were as follows: The City of Smyrna and its hinterland became detached territories of Turkey remaining technically under Ottoman sovereignty, but with Turkey transferring to Greece the right to exercise this sovereignty in practice. A Turkish flag on a fort near Smyrna was to be designated by the Allies to symbolize the Turkish ultimate ownership. A local Government was to be formed, with the right to maintain military forces in Smyrna and the hinterland to preserve order. A local Parliament was to be elected assuring proportional representation of all parts of the population, including minority nationals. A customs frontier was to be created and incorporated within the Kingdom of Greece. Turkey obtained the right to have a customs zone in the port of Smyrna, where she would enjoy full freedom of import and export.

The treaty further provided that Greece should present to the League of Nations within six months a set of laws conforming to these provisions. Elections should be postponed until the Greek population expelled by the Turks should be repatriated, the delay not to exceed one year. The relations of the Hellenic administration with the local Parliament were to be regulated by the Hellenic Government in accordance with the Constitution of Greece. After five years the local Parliament by a majority vote shall have the right to ask the Council of the League of Nations for permanent reunion with Greece, to be decided by a plebiscite; should this be favorable, Turkey must renounce all rights and titles possessed by her in Smyrna and the hinterland. The rights of minority populations in the zone between the mouth of the Dardanelles and the mouth of the Bosphorus, on the Black Sea, were to be assured by the creation of an international commission.

## ALBANIA

[For map of Albania see Page 583]

The murder of Essad Pasha in front of the Hôtel Continental at Paris, June 15, and the attack of Albanian rebels directly against the Provisional Government and indirectly against the Italian troops occupying the Avlona hinterland, because these troops had attempted to defend the menaced Government, were events so handled by certain news agencies as to connote the death of an excellent patriot in the first place and the efforts of a little nation to throw off a foreign yoke in the second, so that the deduction was invited that the assassin, Rustem, who passed through Rome on his way to Paris, may have been an agent of the Provisional Government, which had been recognized by Italy, bent on the mission of removing the leader of the rebels.

As a matter of fact Essad Pasha was a mere adventurer; in the Balkan war he defended Scutari with the Turko-Albanian garrison and then betrayed it to the Montenegrins; after the recognition of Albania as an independent State by the London Ambassadorial Congress in 1913, for a time he supported the fortunes of the Prince of Wied, who had been made sovereign of the new State by the powers; he then led a rebellion against him and had himself proclaimed President. At that time, as an Albanian chief, he had a small Moslem following in Central Albania.

During the first ten months of the great war he made an ineffectual effort to have the title of President confirmed, first by Austria-Hungary and then by the Entente. When Italy entered the war in the Spring of 1915 he was in Rome trying to induce General Poro to exchange the strategy of attacking Austria-Hungary on the Isonzo for that of a campaign through the Balkans. When this proved vain he shook the dust of Italy from his feet and went to Paris, and then to London in a more or less successful attempt to interest the authorities in his military scheme to bring the war to a close in the Balkans. For certain reasons he was, for a time, encouraged by the French; at Saloniki, at the

French Headquarters there, he was treated more or less as a person of distinction. Just before the surrender of Bulgaria he returned to Albania and at-

ment toward the Adriatic aspirations of Italy and promoted by funds and munitions sent by Albanians abroad. On the other hand, many Albanian societies in the United States expressed their faith in the Provisional Government and the necessity of an Italian protectorate.

As most of the alleged news from both sides regarding the progress of the military operations was either colored on one side or censored on the other for propaganda purposes, the actual situation was unknown. The story that the Italians had been obliged to retreat to the protection of the warships off Avlona and that the rebels numbered 15,000 well-armed men was probably correct; as was also the story that the Italian garrison was being measurably reinforced.

## BULGARIA

Bulgaria began the reconstruction of her gendarmerie in conformity with the terms of the treaty of peace, and Stefan G. Dentcheff was appointed press representative of the Bulgarian Legation at Washington. A lot of commercial and industrial information arrived in Washington forwarded by Graham H. Kemper, the American Consul at Sofia, and collected by the Near East Division, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Wool was shown to be the great future product of the country if only modern methods of cultivation could be introduced, while the development of railway building since the war was also described:

Bulgaria, because of its economic exhaustion, is not in a position to undertake any vast schemes of railway extensions, and must perforce confine her energies to the improvement of the existing system. In view of the altered circumstances, the Government is now planning to improve the main trunk line—the Tsaribrod-Sofia-Mustafa Pasha Line. This route, which has already been relaid with heavier rails for a distance of fifty kilometers, will be relaid throughout its whole length, and it has now been decided to take the necessary survey for the construction of a double line between Tsaribrod and Mustafa Pasha. When the financial position has improved the Government proposes to proceed with the completion of the Shumla-Karnobat Line.



ESSAD PASHA

*Head of Albanian delegation in Paris, assassinated by an Albanian student*  
(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

tempted to raise an army. His success was doubtful; at any rate, the army never took the field.

During the Peace Conference he was at first treated with some consideration by the Entente until delegation after delegation of Albanians repudiated him; he was also repudiated by Albanians abroad, particularly those in the United States.

But Essad Pasha had no connection with the revolt of the Moslem and Catholic Albanians which attempted through the month to overthrow the Provisional Government and drive out the Italian troops. This revolt was inspired by the attitude of the United States Govern-



## JUGOSLAVIA

On May 16, after prolonged negotiations between the various Government and Opposition Parties, a Coalition Cabinet was formed and accepted by the Prince Regent from the hands of M. Vesnitch; it contained nine members of the Parliamentary Union group of parties, which was in power in the last Government, and eight members of the Democratic Union group, which formed the Opposition. The list was:

M. VESNITCH (Old Rad.)	Prime Minister
Dr. TRUMBITCH (Dal.)	Foreign Affairs
M. DAVIDOVITCH (Leader of Democratic Party and Prime Minister in August, 1919)	Interior
M. TRIFKOVITCH (Old Radical)	Justice
M. YINTCHITCH (Old Radical)	Commerce (and Foreign Affairs in the absence of Dr. Trumbitch)
M. VELISAR YANKOVITCH (Old Radical)	Agriculture
M. DRINKOVITCH (National Croatian Club)	Posts & Tel.
M. YITSA YOVANOVITCH (Old Radical)	Public Works
M. KORISEC (Leader of Slovene Popular Party)	Transport
M. PRIBITCHEVITCH (Democrat)	Public Instruction
M. RISTA YIVITCH (Montenegrin)	Food
M. MARINKOVITCH (Democrat)	Religious Affairs
M. KOVATCHEVITCH (National Croatian Club)	Forests and Mines
M. KISTA STOYANOVITCH (Democrat)	Finance
M. KRISMAN (? Kristan) (Croatian Democrat)	Agrarian Reform
M. KIUKOVETS (Slovene Democrat)	Social Policy
General BRANKO YOVANOVITCH	War
M. RAFAILOVITCH (Democrat)	Public Health
M. Protitch, the leader of the Old Radicals	

and the last Prime Minister, will also be a member of the Cabinet.

The first work of the new Cabinet was to consider the agreement reached by the Yugoslav and Italian negotiators at Palanza in regard to the settlement of the Adriatic problem.

## RUMANIA

Under the decisions of the Peace Conference, the area of Rumania was practically doubled, and the population increased from 7,500,000 to 15,000,000. Some details concerning the new provinces and their resources were noted as follows by the British Commercial Agent at Bucharest:

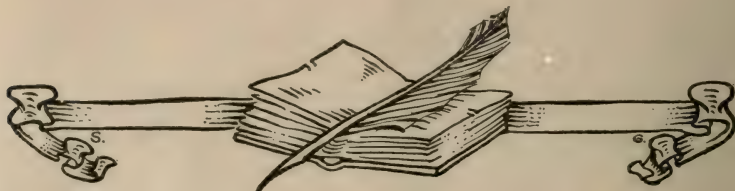
The area of Transylvania is about 5,780,000 hectares and the population 2,600,000 (1911 census). The land is divided as follows: Cultivated land, 29 per cent.; pasture, 14 per cent.; hay, 15 per cent.; forest, 38 per cent.; sterile, 4 per cent.

A large number of cattle, horses and sheep thrive in this country. Iron ores are found, and Transylvania and the Banat produced annually before the war 230,000 tons of pig iron and 190,000 tons of iron and steel. The metal foundries employed nearly 20,000 men. Transylvania had 2,278 kilometers of railways in 1911.

The area of Bukovina is about 1,000,000 hectares and the population 800,000. The land is divided as follows: Cultivated land, 28 per cent.; orchards, 1 per cent.; hay, 12½ per cent.; pasture, 12½ per cent.; forests, 43 per cent. The exports, in order of importance, are corn, potatoes, sugar beets, &c. It is proposed to erect a large paper factory.

The area of Banat is about 2,800,000 hectares (with a population of 1,500,000), divided as follows: Cultivated land, 11 per cent.; orchards, 1 per cent.; forests, 47 per cent.; pasture, 28½ per cent.; hay, 3½ per cent.; sterile, 9 per cent.

The people are occupied mainly in agricultural pursuits—86½ per cent. being rural and 13½ per cent. town population. The Banat had 1,950 kilometers of railways in 1910.





PRIVATE BODYGUARD OF SULTAN MOHAMMED VI. AT THE GATE OF THE ROYAL PALACE IN CONSTANTINOPLE. THE SULTAN IS SEEN STANDING IN THE ARCHWAY  
(© International)

## Turkey and Her Former Dominions

### Attacks on the Peace Treaty

*NOTE—The Turkish Peace Treaty, printed elsewhere in this magazine, is to be modified in important details, according to an announcement issued on June 17 by the allied Premiers.*

#### TURKEY

THE Turkish Government received a cipher dispatch on May 14 from the head of the Turkish Mission at Paris, Tewfik Pasha, containing the principal provisions of the Peace Treaty. On June 1 the full text arrived at Constantinople. Criticism of the terms meanwhile arose from three sources—the Government organs, the Nationalist papers, and the anti-Nationalist papers. There was not a phase of the treaty which was not attacked from all three sources.

Aside from the loss of territory the Government papers condemned the maintenance of the capitulations and their extension to subjects of States which had not previously enjoyed capitulatory rights; also the grant of wide administrative powers to the International Commission which will control the Straits, on the ground that it would reduce Turkish sovereignty at Constantinople to a mere shadow. Finally, it was asserted that the majority of the population in Cilicia,

North Syria, and in the Urfa, Diarbekir and Mosul regions is Turkish and should not be handed over to the States of Syria and Mesopotamia. The Government press waived the Smyrna grievance, trusting to a reversal in the plebiscite, but the absolute surrender of Thrace was declared to be unendurable, as it brought the Greeks to the very gates of Constantinople.

The Nationalist organs, the most pronounced of which are published in Angora and Adrianople, contained a number of manifestoes addressed to the Ulema, to officers and soldiers returned from captivity, and to the "youth of Turkey and the Ottoman Army." They called upon the Turkish people not to support Damad Ferid Pasha, the Grand Vizier. All patriots in Stambul were urged to repair at once either to Angora or Adrianople and join "the defenders of their country." "What is the use of remaining in Stambul," it was asked, "if the Greeks are to occupy Thrace up to the Tchataldja lines? Constantinople will be a prison rather than a capital,





BRITISH SOLDIERS OF THE YORKSHIRE REGIMENT ON PATROL DUTY NEAR JERUSALEM. THE HILL IN THE BACKGROUND IS THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, FAMOUS IN NEW TESTAMENT SCENES

and the Greek Prime Minister will become the Turkish Grand Vizier."

The anti-Nationalist organ, the *Peyam-Sabah*, published a leading article from its editor, Ali Kemal, who, after declaring that the Nationalists and the Committee of Union and Progress were to blame for having brought this humiliating treaty to pass, roundly assumed that the terms were such as to deprive Turkey of all hope of leading an independent national life. Three courses, added Ali Kemal, were open to the Turkish people:

1. To throw themselves upon the mercy of the powers, pointing out that the loss of Smyrna will injure Turkey without advantages to the Greeks, while the Tchataldja frontier will cause endless hostility between the races and envenom future relations.
2. To sign the treaty and trust to the future to improve Turkey's position; but what Turkish statesman can sign such a treaty?
3. To offer passive resistance to the execution of the peace terms, since the hope of armed resistance is vain.

On May 17 Salih Pasha, who was Grand Vizier before Damad Ferid Pasha, with about fifty notables eluded the police and "escaped" to Angora to join the Nationalist leader, Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

On May 21 the Entente Liberal Party organized a public meeting at Stambul, where order was maintained by the Turkish police, assisted by the inter-allied police. The speakers included Sabri Effendi, the former Sheik-ul-Islam; the Senator and philosopher, Riga Twelfik; Said Mahir, the ex-Deputy for Smyrna; Rassih Bey, and a Turkish schoolmistress. There were between three and four thousand in the audience. Sabri Effendi made a speech typical of all, in which he said:

We prefer that the whole of our country should be occupied by one of the great powers rather than accept the peace conditions. Our sole weapon consists of the power of speech and sentiment, and we have confidence in divine justice for the settlement of our destiny.

He referred to Great Britain as the greatest Mohammedan power, and expressed the hope that Great Britain would therefore take into consideration the appeal of the Moslem Turks. Said Mahir declared that Islamism would never submit to a civilization whose emblem was the cross.

Even the papers which have been consistently pro-Entente since the armistice, like the *Alemdar* and the *Turkish Times*, declared that the only evidence



BRITISH AND INDIAN TROOPS GUARDING ST. STEPHEN'S GATE, JERUSALEM, SAID TO BE THE GATE WHERE STEPHEN WAS STONED TO DEATH IN THE TIME OF CHRIST

of civic courage now left would be not to sign the treaty.

A communiqué appeared in the press from the court-martial announcing that the following Nationalist chiefs had been condemned to death by default for high treason, rebellion, and instigation of a long list of crimes ranging from massacre to confiscation of funds belonging to orphanages: Mustapha Kemal "Effendi" of Saloniki, ex-Inspector General of the Third Army; Kara Vassif Bey; Ari Fuad Pasha, ex-commander of the 20th Army Corps; the convert to Islam, Ahmed Rustem, formerly known as Alfred Rustem Bilinski, ex-Ambassador at Washington; Dr. Adnan Bey and his wife, Halida Edib Hanum. With the exception of Kara Vassif, who was in British custody at Malta, and Ahmed Rustem, who was believed to be in Italy, all the foregoing were with the leader, Mustapha Kemal, at Angora.

The Nationalist papers which contained the manifestoes against the treaty also brought the first official news to Constantinople of the opposition Government established at Angora by Mustapha Kemal. His so-called National Assembly was composed partly of delegates "elected" in the proportion of five per sanjak, plus a certain number of

Deputies of the dissolved Chamber at Stambul, and was invested with the functions of both a legislative and executive body. Its officials were Mustapha Kemal, President of the Assembly; Nejmed-Din Arif (ex-Speaker of the Turkish Parliament), Second President; Shelebi Konia, head of the Mevlevi Dervishes, First Vice President, and the head of the Bektashi Dervish Order, Second Vice President.

This Assembly had voted to refuse to be bound by any treaty negotiated by the Turkish Government as at present constituted, and would decline to recognize any peace treaty unless negotiated by persons delegated by itself. The Assembly also enacted that any person guilty of action, speech, or propaganda hostile to the National Assembly should be liable to the death penalty.

Angora is 215 miles southeast of Constantinople, to which it is connected by rail. The collapse of the Sultan's troops left the British alone to guard the Bosphorus and Marmora littoral and the railway terminals opposite the Golden Horn at Scutari. The Nationalists advanced their lines so as to be just out of fire of the British warships patrolling the Straits, and, on June 5, drew the





SULTAN MOHAMMED VI.  
*Latest portrait of Turkish ruler, taken in  
 Constantinople*  
 (© International)

warships' fire near Touzla, thirty-eight miles west of Ismid.

On June 12 Damad Ferid Pasha, the Grand Vizier, left Stambul for Paris via Italy. On July 11 he is expected to tell the allied peace delegation that he cannot sign the treaty, for if he did so his life would pay the forfeit. Before he departed on the steamer Goljemal, which will land him at Taranto, four men convicted of conspiring against his life were publicly hanged. Among them were Kasad Riza Pasha, a General of artillery, and Michad Pasha, formerly in command of the Turkish troops at the Dardanelles.

### THRACE

From interallied sources of information the situation in Thrace was deduced as follows:

On May 12 the French raised the Tricolor on all the railway stations in Western and Turkish Thrace and announced that they would continue to operate the railways until the Greeks occupied the territory. This implied sufficient detachments of French troops as railway guards. Up to May 22 only about fifty suspect Bulgars had actually appeared at Kirk Kilisse, thirty-five miles east of Adrianople, and 150 in the neighboring villages.

In every considerable village there was an organization under a Turkish Captain and Lieutenant. This controlled an amount of military munitions greatly exceeding that believed to exist. There was no real rapprochement between the Bulgars and the Turks. In the week of May 22 Tjafar Tayar Pasha convened a meeting of notables at Adrianople. This decided, by a vote of 118 to 82, to resist the Greek occupation; but the minority complained that Tayar Pasha only obtained a majority by packing the meeting with officers. The total force that could be counted upon to resist the Greeks in Turkish Thrace was estimated at 8,000. Against these the Greeks could bring three divisions.

To this information was added that

contained in a letter received from Adrianople. This stated that Tayar Pasha had attempted to restore the fortifications of the city and had placed batteries in position at Pavlokeui and Uzun-Keupru, and that 3,800 well-armed troops and irregulars had moved to the latter station, which was not far from the former Bulgar-Turkish frontier. Finally, the Turkish Thracian Committee had imposed a per capita tax of 5 liras on the population for a war budget.

The Nationalist press of Adrianople, as well as the press of Sofia, made capital out of the report of the French censors on the population of Thrace. According to Greek official figures, the total population of 204,000 included 82,000 Turks, 76,000 Greeks and 35,000 Bulgars. According to the French report there were 86,000 Mussulmans, of whom 74,000 were Turks and 12,000 Pomaks or Bulgar converts to Islam; 56,000 Greeks and 54,000 Bulgars, of whom several hundred were political refugees.

### PALESTINE

Several events showed that the British Government has the intention *de facto* if not *de jure*, as the mandatary of Palestine, to carry out its promise made in November, 1917, in favor of the Holy Land as "a national home for the Jewish people." About the middle of May Herbert Louis Samuel, an Oxford honor man, with a fine record for administrative work behind him as Special Commissioner to Belgium, Home Secretary, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Postmaster General and President of the Local Government Board, reached London after a tour of several weeks' investigation in Palestine with an important report for Downing Street. His statement on the conditions there, issued in Cairo, extracts of which were published in these columns last month, cleared the air in regard to the misconceptions of "Zionism" entertained not only by Moslems, both Arabs and Turks, but by many interested Christian church communities as well.

On June 1 he was appointed High Commissioner of Palestine and twelve days later he was knighted by King

George, and made preparations for his return to Palestine with his new rank and office on June 20. Meanwhile he announced the purposes of the British mandate as follows:

Complete religious liberty will be maintained in Palestine. Places sacred to the great religions will remain in control of the adherents of those religions. Civilian administration for the country will be established immediately. The higher ranks will consist of British officials of ability and experience. The other ranks will be open to the local population, irrespective of creed. Order will be firmly enforced. The economic development of the country will be actively promoted.

In accordance with the decision of the allied and associated powers measures will be adopted to reconstruct the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The yearnings of the Jewish people for 2,000 years, of which the modern Zionist movement is the latest expression, will at last be realized. The steps taken to this end will be consistent with scrupulous respect for the rights of the present non-Jewish inhabitants.

The country has room for a larger population than it now contains, and Palestine, properly provided with roads, railways, harbors, and electric power, with the soil more highly cultivated, the waste lands reclaimed, forests planted and malaria extirpated, with town and village industries encouraged, can maintain a large additional population not only without hurt, but, on the contrary, with much advantage to the present inhabitants.

Immigration of the character that is needed will be admitted into the country in proportion as its development allows employment to be found. Above all, educational and spiritual influences will be fostered in the hope that once more there may radiate from the Holy Land the moral forces of service to mankind.

On the eve of the publication of Sir Herbert's program the League of British Jews, while warning "hot-headed Zionists," took occasion to annotate as follows the Government's view as it had up to that time been declared—observations which may or may not have played their part in shaping Sir Herbert's program:

The declaration of his Majesty's Government does not mean (1) a Jewish State, unless at some distant future the Jews should outnumber the other elements in the population. It does not mean (2) Jewish ascendancy, unless such were to come by superior moral and mental qualities on the part of the Jews.



It only involves (3) a free field for the people of many lands in the development of the country. It does not (4) seek to displace the Palestinian. Recognizing the excellent work done by the agricultural colonies of Jews, all it says is (5) that the Jews shall be free to continue what they have so well begun. Wise words, no less timely than the accompanying warning to hot-headed Zionists. But can this interpretation be truly regarded as the obvious meaning of those ill-chosen words, "A national home for the Jewish people"?

Toward the end of May in London the Zionist Executive Committee was making preparations to start a "drive" to secure £25,000,000 to enable the organization to start the work in Palestine on a large scale.

### SMYRNA

A hundred kilometers from the coast of Smyrna, according to Sir Philip Gibbs, the correspondent of *The New York Times* at the City of Smyrna, "the Greek Army faces Turkish soldiers enrolled, armed and disciplined, mostly against their will, by Mustapha Kemal and his confederates in disobedience to the Sultan's orders, but in secret alliance with all those Turks who under the old régime lived by the system of political tyranny, corruption, and plunder which it embodied."

Sir Philip's dispatch, dated June 7, confirmed the atrocities to which the Greek population had been subjected by the Turks during the last six years—their villages destroyed, their beautiful vineyards leveled, and the owners either slain or scattered through the cities of the Levant. Sir Philip had been told that it would not be safe for him to live in Smyrna or the neighborhood. He discovered nothing but peace, tranquillity and work, and added this in regard to the Greek administration:

Under the wise guidance of Venizelos the Greeks are administering their Turkish territory with justice and mercy, and with even a generous spirit, to the Turkish population. The Prefect of Smyrna is a Turk, Hadji Bey, and all the Turkish officials of the municipality have remained at their posts with authority over the civil side of the administration. I took coffee with Hadji Bey and his assistants, and they told me that the Greek rule had been accepted by the

Turks in Smyrna with resignation and without rebellion.

The problem of the Greeks is difficult, and the courage of the people will be tested by what the next twelve months holds for them. With Mustapha Kemal raising Turkish levies against them, they cannot demobilize their army, and the daily cost of maintaining these officers and men is a dreadful drain upon the resources of the State. Unless communication is established between the coast and the interior the port of Smyrna will be idle and empty and many Greek merchants will be ruined. The line held by the Kemalists must be broken by force or by persuasion or the Greek hold will be hard to maintain. If Kemal's line is broken by force there may be guerrilla warfare among the mountains, which will be long-enduring and costly to both sides.

That is the gloomy side of the picture for the Greeks, but I find them full of hope and with spirits elated by the great chance which fortune offers them.

### SYRIA

With the raising of the so-called siege of Aintab by a French column and the unconfirmed report that the besieging Turkish Nationalists had surrendered, General Gouraud issued a statement at Beirut on May 21 saying that normal conditions had been restored throughout the hinterland.

At Cairo on May 19 General Nuri Pasha, who represented "King" Feisal at San Remo, made a statement in which he denied that the recent attacks on the Jews in Jerusalem and by Arab bands on French outposts had the encouragement of official Arabians or Syrians; on the contrary, the officials were using all their influence to prevent such actions, and the Arab Government would welcome an investigation. He declared, also, with emphasis, that it was untrue that Emir Feisal refused to go to Paris unless the independence of Syria and his position as King were recognized. The real reason was that he felt that if he left Syria serious troubles might break out.

### PERSIA

Last month the subject of Persia was left with both the British and the Persian Governments apprehensive of the military situation at Teheran as influenced by the news of the Bolshevik victory at

Baku, whence a road now leads to the Persian capital, and by the unrest among a Cossack detachment stationed at the latter place since the armistice. When the Bolsheviks next took possession of the Caspian seaport of Enzeli, south of Baku and only seventy miles north of Teheran, the event started a false report that they had reached the Persian capital. This news, on June 3, filled the London press with consternation until Prince Firuz Mirza, the Persian Foreign Minister, who happened to be in London, showed a communication sent to Teheran by M. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Commissioner, declaring that the Soviet Government had no intention to invade Persia and would withdraw its troops

from Enzeli as soon as it had removed the ships and munitions stored there for the aid of General Denikin.

Whatever be the exact truth in regard to the Bolshevik invasion of Persia, either armed or diplomatic, and the alleged loss of British prestige at Teheran, through the agency of M. Bravin, the Soviet Civil Commissioner for the Middle East, Prince Firuz, put the matter squarely up to the British Government and to the League of Nations. He asked the former to invoke the defensive terms of the Anglo-Persian Treaty, and the latter to apply Article XI. of the covenant. The League of Nations took up the matter on June 15.

## Complex Situation in the Caucasus

### The Bolshevik Coup at Baku

#### GEORGIA

A NEW phase in the mutual relations of the Caucasus republics began with the establishment of a Soviet Government at Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, on April 28-29. Georgia and Armenia, both actually at war with the Tartar Republic, were placed thereby in a difficult position. Severe fighting between the Georgians and Tartars was temporarily ended by the conclusion of an armistice on May 19. This truce found the battlefield within twenty-five miles of Tiflis, the Georgian capital, where 3,000 Georgians wounded had arrived. Despite the fact that Georgia had concluded an agreement with Moscow based on Soviet recognition of its independence and of its right to the possession of the combined with a pledge that its territory should not be invaded—British-administered province of Batum—dispatches from this region dated May 29 indicated that in the fighting on the Azerbaijan front the Georgians had taken Bolshevik prisoners, a fact which was accepted as evidence that the Georgians were also fighting the Bolsheviks on this front. The armistice signed at Baku was for seven days, but after four

days' truce hostilities broke out afresh. A defensive alliance between Georgia and Armenia was in process of formation.

#### ARMENIA

At the time of the Baku coup Armenian and Tartar delegates were actually negotiating at Tiflis the question of suspending the hostilities which had arisen over the districts of Shusha and Zanzezur, where an Armenian minority resided. Armenia was abruptly summoned by the Bolshevik authorities on May 2, before the negotiations were concluded, to evacuate these districts forthwith. Other demands included the release of Armenian Communists arrested by the Erivan Government and refusal to grant asylum to deserters from the anti-Bolshevik Volunteer Army.

These demands were at first rejected by M. Khatissian, the Premier-President of Armenia, but the powerful Dashnakzoutian party won the day and an agreement with the Soviet authorities was concluded. By this agreement, as well as by making terms with the Turkish Nationalist leader, Kiazim Kara Bekir, at Erzerum, Armenia made her southern front safe from attack and gained hope



of forestalling further massacres in Cilicia.

This defection of Armenia to Bolshevism was regarded both by the Allies and by many prominent Armenians with the deepest concern. It was reported from Constantinople on May 12 that the Khatissian Government had been overthrown by a Bolshevik uprising at Erivan and that an Armenian Maximalist had assumed power. Advice received on May 25 by the Armenian diplomatic representative at Tiflis, however, indicated that the loyal Armenians had crushed this new régime and that a loyal Armenian Army was in control of Alexandropol.

That Armenia, despite the forced agreement with the Soviet Government, did not intend to accept invasion of her territory with equanimity was shown by her action in protesting to Moscow against the crossing of the frontier at Uzuncala by two Bolshevik cavalry regiments on May 21 and in dispatching troops to bar their way. The formal armistice with Armenia remained unbroken, but great uncertainty prevailed regarding the future.

### AZERBAIJAN

The situation of the Armenians in

Asia Minor, according to information received by Sir Philip Gibbs in Smyrna toward the beginning of June, was desperate, the Turkish Nationalists and Arabs having vowed their extermination.

The situation at Baku underwent little change. The members of the Mussavet Government had fled and the town was quiet by May 6. A garrison of 6,000 Red troops with a small local force was in control. Chief Commissary Narimanov presided over the new Soviet Government. Some twenty British citizens, arrested at the time of the coup, had been placed under surveillance. It was reported from Tiflis on May 30 that the Soviet Government at Baku had been removed from power by the Bolshevik emissary, Pankratov, sent from Moscow. About 60,000 Bolshevik troops were concentrated in the region of Baku at the end of May. These forces had not participated largely in the fighting against the Georgians and the Armenians. Through the capture by the Bolsheviks of the Denikin fleet at Enzeli—the chief port of Persia—they gained domination of the Black Sea. Enzeli itself was captured by the Red forces on May 18 and the small British force stationed there was driven out. [For details of this capture see article on Persia.]

## Poland's War on Moscow

### A Month's Heavy Fighting

[For map of Poland see Page 575]

#### POLAND

THE anti-Bolshevist campaign of the Poles, supported by the Ukrainians, on a wide-flung line reaching down to Kiev, continued during the month under review with varying success. But the Red forces struck back hard, and at times claimed more or less important victories. Moscow, by its wireless service, admitted the capture of Kiev on May 6. George Renwick, who made a special trip from Warsaw to Kiev, found this formerly bright and prosperous city in an indescribable condition of filth and desolation after the long Bolshevik occupation. Water and sanitation were be-

ing re-established toward the end of May, and some of the shops were being reopened.

Meanwhile the Poles concentrated on the front south of Kiev in Podolia, and were heading their advance toward Odessa, their ultimate objective, toward the middle of May. The Soviet Government, after issuing an urgent proclamation asking nation-wide support against Poland, bent every effort to dispatching strong reinforcements to the menaced front. Such auxiliary forces were arriving between the Dnieper and Dniester on May 17, and new brigades were again attacking Kiev. The reorganization of



GENERAL HALLER AND A POLISH FISHERMAN OF ANCIENT RACE IN A HISTORIC CEREMONY AT PUTZIG, ON THE SHORE OF THE BALTIC, SYMBOLIZING POLAND'S REUNION WITH THE SEA. THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF IS ABOUT TO CAST ON THE WATER A CIRCLET MADE OF POLAND'S SACRED FOLIAGE

(© Western Newspaper Union)

the Ukrainian Army was being carried on as fast as possible, in order to relieve the Polish troops when Odessa was reached. The Poles were leaving the civil administration of the country entirely to the Ukrainian Government, provisionally located at Vinnitsa, and declared their intention to withdraw as soon as their military objects were attained. Petlura, after a tour of the captured towns, which welcomed their liberation from the Bolsheviki with joy, sent a message to General Pilsudski expressing his gratitude to Poland for aiding in the work of Ukrainian independence.

The first evidence of the Bolshevik onslaught in the northern sector, which later assumed considerable proportions, occurred on May 18, when the Bolsheviki launched an attack between the River Dvina and Borisov, forcing the

Poles to give ground. During the next few days the Reds attacked in waves, in an effort to break the Polish lines and open communication with East Prussia via Dvinsk. The fiercest fighting seen in months raged along a front ninety miles in length. Sixteen Red divisions (about 96,000 men) were identified among the reinforcements constantly arriving. The Soviet forces were aided by airplanes and armored trains. The Poles were fighting strongly, and the official communiqué stated that the Bolsheviki were being repulsed at almost every point. Red troops which succeeded in crossing the upper Beresina River, south of Borisov, were thrown back across the river with heavy losses, and were encircled and captured by hundreds. Fighting continued along the whole front, where the Poles encountered the heaviest forces they had ever had



to face. Soviet cavalry was being used effectively in the swampy districts. The two hostile armies swayed back and forth, territory constantly changing hands. Polish reinforcements sent by train broke the impact of the Red offensive definitely, and it became the turn of the Polish forces to attack.

The Polish counteroffensive began on June 2 and gradually swung eastward over the ground that had been lost. In this forward movement the Poles drove eighteen miles into the Bolshevik front, and routed the Soviet soldiers eastward all along the line. The heaviest fighting occurred north of Borisov, where the Bolsheviks were endeavoring to break the Polish Vilna defense. General Pilsudski in person watched the progress of the Polish offensive, which was continuing favorably on June 9. The Poles had broken the desperate resistance of the Russians and had annihilated the 3d and 12th Soviet Divisions. They had captured several towns, and the enemy's morale was much impaired. The whole Kovno-Vilna-Minsk line, where most of the fighting occurred, is famous in history as the scene of much of the tragedy and heroism of Napoleon's historic retreat.

In the south the fighting was on a smaller scale. The Red forces made strenuous but ineffectual efforts to batter in the Kiev bridgehead from May 28 on. South of Kiev the Reds concentrated large forces in a drive northwest to compel the Poles to evacuate the city. At this point the Poles launched a counteroffensive, which drove the Red troops back. A Bolshevik flotilla on the Dnieper which was trying to cut the Polish communications to Kiev was routed by the Kosciusko aviators with machine guns and bombs; one monitor was sunk. Moscow reported heavy losses suffered by the Poles fifty miles southwest of Kiev on June 5. The Bolshevik attacks between the Dnieper and the Dniester broke down completely, despite the bringing up of an infantry division and 16,000 cavalry, and the onslaught on the Kiev bridgehead lines made no progress. An attack on the Red forces in the Crimea, reinforced by

tanks, armored cars and trains, met with initial success, but was checked, according to Moscow wireless, around June 9.

While obstinate fighting on both the northern and southern fronts was proceeding, General Pilsudski had returned to Warsaw, well satisfied with the results of the Polish campaign, as placing Poland in a strong position for the making of future terms of peace with Moscow.

But suddenly the tables were turned on the Poles by an unforeseen stroke of Russian strategy. The conqueror of Denikin, General Budenny, who commands the Red army on the Ukrainian front between the Dnieper and Dniester Rivers, reported to Trotzky his despair of retaking Kiev. Trotzky at once sent him strong reinforcements and ordered him to begin a drive on a date when his movements would coincide with important action elsewhere in the north. On the night of June 9, with 5,000 of his Red cavalry, General Budenny drove boldly through the centre of the Polish lines west of Byelaya Tsirko, southwest of Kiev. After going a few miles further, he divided his cavalry into three detachments, one moving on Berdichev, another on Fastova, cutting in two places the southernmost of the three railway lines to Kiev, while the centre detachment rode on to Jitomir, entering it June 12, before the Polish General Staff was aware of the drive. The raiders spent June 10 burning farms, ripping up railroad tracks, destroying rolling stock and capturing stores.

Through Jitomir runs the central of the three lines of communication to Kiev. This line was saved by the action of the Polish infantry posts and cavalry patrols, just as the Reds were about to isolate Kiev and jeopardize 50,000 Polish troops. Pilsudski dispatched orders to General Rydzmiglio, the Polish commander of Kiev, not to make a stand there, but to evacuate the city at once. This was accomplished in good order by June 13. Meanwhile, on June 11, one Polish airplane squadron from Korostyshev, the Red objective, and another squadron from Kiev suddenly routed the Budenny raiders from Jitomir and Fastova, playing havoc after driving them to cover

in a forest. By June 15 the Poles had established a strong position at Jitomir and were consolidating their lines from the Dvina southward along the Beresina, after having won a battle on the northern front and ousted the Reds from territory gained in the recent offensive. However, the whole Polish front was facing constantly greater odds, the Reds having concentrated thirty-three divisions against them, by far the largest force the Poles have yet had to cope with.

Elections to the new Diet were held on May 16. The results were as follows: German National People's Party, 34; Social Democrats, 19; Independents, 21; Centre Party, 17; German Democratic Party, 10; Free Economic Association Party, 12; Polish Party, 7.

The Minister of Public Health in Warsaw, in a letter of thanks to the American people, stated that 1,200,000 Polish children and Polish mothers were receiving their daily meal from American food-stuffs.

By executive decree of May 26, Brazil recognized the Republic of Poland, and the first Minister of Poland to Brazil presented his credentials on the following day. Brazil accepted the principle of the independence of Poland on Aug. 17, 1918, while the war was still in progress.

The situation of the "free city of Danzig" is now becoming clarified. The city since Feb. 9 has been under interallied occupation. A Constitution for the new republic has been drawn up by all parties, inclusive of the Independent Socialists and the Poles. This follows the lines of the Constitutions of the Free Towns of Hamburg, Lubeck and Bremen. The name chosen was "the Free and Hanse Town of Danzig." The official language is to be German. The People's Diet is to consist of 120 members. The electoral system is to be similar to that now existing in Germany. The Constitution was placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

## Soviet Russia's Trade Negotiations

### The War With Poland

THE outstanding features of the Russian situation during the month under review were the continuance of the Polish-Ukrainian campaign against the Soviet Government and Moscow's success in finally bringing about negotiations with her representatives in London regarding a resumption of trade.

One aspect of the Denikin liquidation in South Russia was the intervention of Great Britain on behalf of the remnant of Denikin's army commanded by General Wrangel, whom the Bolsheviks, following their successful drive against the former, cooped up in the Crimea. According to a statement issued by General Wrangel on April 24—only recently made available—the final collapse of Denikin had just occurred when Great Britain, on April 4, sent a note to Admiral de Robeck, the British High Commissioner in Constantinople, declaring

that General Denikin must accept mediation to bring the civil war in South Russia to a close, and that if he declined to do so all British aid would be withdrawn from him and the British Government would not be responsible for the consequences.

General Wrangel, to whom the British note was transmitted in Denikin's stead, after taking counsel with his staff, sent de Robeck a reply admitting that it was impossible to continue the struggle without allied aid, and accepting the British offer of mediation on the strict condition that the safety of the Southern Army be secured. On April 19 General Wrangel received from Admiral Seymour, commander of the British fleet in the Black Sea, a copy of a note addressed by the British Government to M. Tchitcherin, Soviet Commissary of Foreign Affairs, calling upon the Bolsheviks to



cease hostilities and to guarantee the inviolability of the Crimea, saying that otherwise the British naval forces would be ordered to take measures to prevent the occupation of the Crimea by the Bolsheviks. The order closed with an expression of General Wrangel's determination to fight for every foot of Russian territory, and to make strenuous efforts to snatch victory from the Bolsheviks pending their consent to cease hostilities.

Meanwhile negotiations with the British continued, and Moscow wireless advices of May 8 reported that the conversations between M. Tchitcherin and Earl Curzon, acting for Great Britain, had had the following results: Earl Curzon had proposed direct discussions between the Soviet Government and General Wrangel, in which British officers should take part. He had demanded, meanwhile, a guarantee against further attacks of General Wrangel. M. Tchitcherin states that the Soviet Government was prepared to meet the British desires fully in these respects, and was also willing to take British interests in the Caucasus into consideration.

Profiting by the slackening of the Bolshevik attempt to reach the Crimea, attributed by military observers mainly to the effect of the Polish offensive, General Wrangel in the month under review disbanded the volunteer forces and organized a regular army under the strictest discipline; more than 70,000 troops were under arms, prepared to assume the offensive.

On June 14 General Wrangel's forces were reported to be advancing northward from the Crimea and the Sea of Azov in three columns. They had been phenomenally successful against the Bolsheviks and had established a front along Kaskovka on the Dnieper eastward through Melitopol to Mariopol. They had captured 4,000 Bolshevik prisoners and forty big guns of the 100 estimated to be in the possession of the Bolsheviks. General Wrangel had lost only 800 men. His three columns had advanced simultaneously from Perekop, Guenitz and Mariopol, clearing the Bolsheviks from both the Crimean Peninsula and the shore of the Sea of Azov. His

army was equipped with airplanes and armored cars.

The joint campaign undertaken by the Poles and Ukrainians on April 24 along a 250-mile front between the Pripet and the Dniester had resulted by May 4 in the penetration of the Bolshevik-Ukrainian front to a depth of seventy miles, with a maximum advance toward Kiev of 100 miles. Great alarm in Soviet Russia followed the capture of Kiev on May 6. Troops from the Urals and the interior, including many mercenary Mongolian units, were at once sent to the Polish front. It was reported from Warsaw on May 20 that General Alexei A. Brusiloff, former Commander in Chief of the Russian armies, had assumed command. The tide of war fluctuated for several days. Red troops crossed the Beresina and were flung back about May 24. [For later developments see article on Poland.]

The Soviet Government on May 25 addressed a wireless message to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States, declaring that the Soviet Republics of Russia and the Ukraine were free from territorial ambitions, had no aggressive designs on other countries, and were devoting themselves only to economic reconstruction when Poland, ignoring all Moscow's efforts to open negotiations with Warsaw, launched this new attack. Charges of barbarism against the Polish soldiers were preferred. M. Tchitcherin also sent a protest to M. Millerand against France's rendering military service to the Poles by allowing French military instructors to train the Polish Army.

In Siberia the situation underwent little change. Japan still held the region around Vladivostok and was trying to set up a buffer State in the Transbaikal.

In a series of articles published in May the special correspondent of The New York Globe and Chicago Daily News described the régime of horror and atrocity instituted in Siberia by Cossack forces and by their leader, Semenov, before Kolchak's fall. According to this writer, armored trains were used to scour the country in search of alleged Bolsheviks; hundreds of men, many of them innocent,

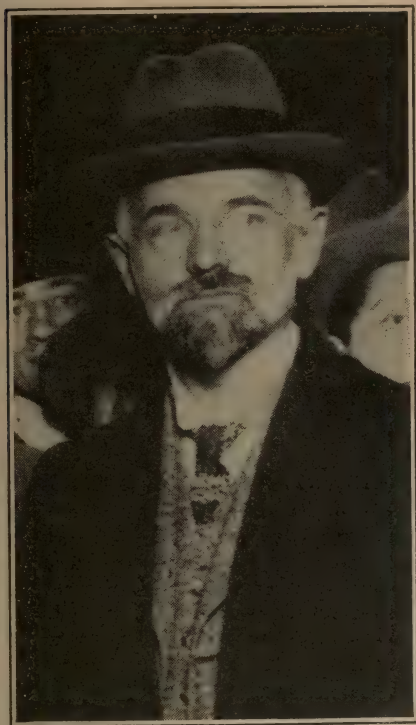
were tortured, murdered, mutilated, drowned in holes cut through the ice; women were ravished indiscriminately. The story as told is a ghastly one, equaling, if not outrivalling, any of the tales of horror narrated of the Bolsheviks themselves. Lieutenant Beliakovsky, who was commissioned to report on these crimes, stated that Semenov was

that allied representatives had been authorized to negotiate with him in London. The Russian trade delegates, headed by M. Krassin, a member of the Central Soviet Committee, reached London on May 26.

In some sections of the British press the Government was roundly condemned for agreeing to deal with a Soviet commission. The French Government, on its part, decided officially to oppose any trade arrangements on the basis of a payment in gold which, in its opinion, should be applied to the cancellation of Russia's debt to France, and to make it plain that it would not subscribe to any negotiations of a political character with the Soviet delegation. M. du Halgouet, the French representative on the Allied Economic Council, was instructed by his Government to make known to his English colleagues, as well as to M. Krassin himself, these two decisions. The French contention was that, as the Russian Co-operative Union, as an independent body, had been practically suppressed, M. Krassin represented only the Soviet Government, with which France—unofficially the backer of Poland—refused to treat, while consenting, more or less reluctantly, to the British plan of an exchange of commodities not based upon a gold or money payment.

M. Krassin and his colleagues, who had remained secluded in a London hotel since their arrival, were granted their first conference in Downing Street on May 31 and negotiations were begun between Premier Lloyd George, Bonar Law, Lord Curzon, Sir Robert Horne and Mr. Harmsworth, on the one hand, and MM. Krassin and Klisko, on the other. These discussions continued at intervals throughout the next fortnight, but little concerning them was made public.

About June 10 the French Government, acting in the name of the French holders of Russian bonds, formally requested the British Government to sequester all the Soviet gold shipped from Russia to London and to guarantee that this gold should not be paid over in any commercial transactions between British subjects and Russia. The same request was made to the Swedish Gov-



GREGORY KRASSIN

*Russian Bolshevik envoy in London, negotiating for resumption of trade relations*  
(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

drunk most of the time and that many of the orders producing these atrocities were signed by him when he was in that condition.

As a result of their representations at the San Remo conference the Soviet authorities won their first success in the direction of trade resumption when Gregory Krassin, head of the Russian trade delegation, then at Copenhagen, was informed at the beginning of May



ernment, which immediately responded by announcing that it would hold in Swedish banks 250,000,000 Swedish crowns in gold which had been sent to Stockholm by the Russian Government. The French Government intends to take similar steps toward the Government of every other country to which Russian gold will be sent.

The French were highly satisfied with the Swedish action and expressed confidence that Britain, an ally, would not refuse the friendly action taken by

neutral Sweden. They voiced the hope that this turn of affairs would keep the Krassin mission in London from accomplishing anything. By thus blocking the commercial dealings of the Soviet Government, while Wrangel and the Poles were bringing military pressure to bear, the French believed they had done a great deal toward loosening the Bolshevik bonds on the Russian people. The United States Government was sounded by Britain on the subject of Russian trade, but made no answer.

## Japan and the Chinese Consortium

### Favorable Trend in Both Countries

#### JAPAN

JAPAN'S efforts to induce China to open negotiations over Shantung still failed of success in the month under review. China's official reply to the Japanese proposals was being formulated early in May, and it was stated semi-officially on May 9 that the reply would reiterate China's refusal to enter into negotiations with Japan until after the Shantung settlement had been revised by the League of Nations.

Interesting details of the mission of Thomas W. Lamont to China, and of how he finally won success in bringing about the consortium agreement—in which Japan became a participant with England, France and the United States—were sent from Shanghai on May 18 by the Chinese correspondent of The New York Globe. Mr. Lamont while in China was faced with the haughty aloofness of intrenched autocrats on the one hand and by threats of violence from excitable patriots on the other. In Peking, Chinese students declared their intention to stone the hotel in which the Lamont party was staying, in consequence of a report that the mission came to China for the purpose of inducing the acceptance of a loan from Japan. Mr. Lamont invited the malcontents to enter and take tea with him, in order to talk the matter over. Twenty boys and ten girls, representing the students, accepted

the invitation and bombarded Mr. Lamont with questions for two hours. They departed satisfied that the consortium plan would be beneficial to the republic. A bouquet of flowers was subsequently sent in lieu of the threatened shower of stones.

The consortium was signed at a moment when many feared that the mission was doomed to failure. Its success was hailed as the brightest augury in recent years for China's future. By the terms agreed upon the millions involved are to be used for China's internal improvements, chiefly in respect to railways, currency, and general development. Measures were taken to avoid the useless extravagance seen in the case of former loans.

The main reasons for Japan's entering the consortium without reservations were stated as follows:

1. A desire to stabilize China by putting the national finances on an economical basis. With a stable and friendly China, Japan, through geographical proximity, will have a commercial advantage over any other nation.
2. Japan's ambition to retain her place among the world's great powers.
3. The necessity of continuing on cordial terms with the same power especially America, in order to float needed loans for her own national improvements.

Before leaving for the United States Mr. Lamont expressed his conviction that the result of the consortium agreement would be to stabilize political as

well as financial conditions in China, and to maintain peace in the Far East.

Energetic measures were being taken by the Japanese financial circles toward the end of May to relieve the recent Stock Exchange, banking and industrial crisis. Syndicate banks, acting with the Bank of Japan, were aiding the stock market, and the disturbed industrial situation, caused by abnormal war conditions, overproduction, and post-war depression, was reported to be well in hand. Two banks in Yokohama were forced temporarily to suspend as the result of being heavily involved in silk transactions. That the crisis was still far from being over was indicated by the fact that thousands of tons of imports, many from America, were lying in the customs warehouses of Japan, the consignees refusing to accept the goods contracted for. This was stated to be a direct result of the great economic depression following the financial crisis, itself caused in considerable part by the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods, which was still continuing.

The Japanese Cabinet late in May decided to open negotiations for renewal and revision of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which will expire on July 13. Baron Gonsuke Hayshi, the new Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain, had been instructed to take up negotiations for a renewal as soon as he arrived in London. Articles by Japanese publicists were daily advocating renewal, but calling for modifications. The Bolshevik menace to India was considered a strong reason why Great Britain should desire renewal. Pro-American Japanese groups declared, however, that the alliance as now framed would oblige Japan to join Great Britain in case of war between the latter country and the United States, and denounced any agreement whereby Japan might be drawn into conflict with the United States, with whom Japan's interests demanded permanent peace.

It was reported from Peking on June 2 that China had sent a message to Great Britain protesting against a renewal of the alliance without consultation with China. Such a renewal was being sharply criticised by the Australian press at this

time. The right of Australians to control domestic legislation affecting Japanese immigration and labor was insisted on, and it was advocated that the terms of the renewed alliance should contain a proviso which would prevent Great Britain from being drawn into a possible war between Japan and China.

## CHINA

China's plans for the recently recovered province of Mongolia were embodied in an elaborate program for its civil and military administration drawn up by General Hsu Shu-chen, the Chinese Amban (representative of Chinese suzerainty) at Urga, toward the beginning of June. The scheme provided for the creation of a separate administration, as well as a separate tariff for this territory, and included the development of Mongolia's agricultural resources by the employment of soldier labor, new railway construction, the leavening of the old criminal code with new provisions, and a new educational program. Part 4 of the memorandum suggested that if adequate protection were afforded the Mongolians, the territory which has fallen under Russian influence would return to China.

The prospects of a solution of the long and apparently irreconcilable conflict between the Government of Peking and the secessionist Government of Canton, South China, were considered in Shanghai early in June to be brighter. Many of the strongest leaders were deserting the Canton Government. At a meeting held in Shanghai on June 3 the secession of the provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Hunan, Shensi, Szechwan and Hupeh was voted by the following leaders: Wu Ting-fang, former Chinese Minister to the United States and a leader in the recent movement for unity; Sun Yat-sen, former Provisional President of China; former Premier Tang Shao-yi and General Li Lieh-chun, who was outlawed for his part in the rebellion of 1913. The issued manifesto declared all the acts of the Canton Government invalid. It was stated in Shanghai that Dr. Wu had left Canton, where he occupied the post of Finance



Minister and Chairman of the Administrative Council, and come to Shanghai, because he could no longer trust the men he had had to work with there. The Government of Canton, he declared, was a thing of the past. The leaders of the southern faction, he said, now intended to help organize a new united Parliament, possibly in Shanghai, to draft a Constitution for all China, and to formulate a policy to restore internal peace. Dr. Wu was followed by about 100 members of the former Southern Parliament; only three members of the Canton Administrative Council were expected to remain outside the revolt. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, following negotiations with Peking,

announced that an agreement had been reached for joint action by representatives of both north and south.

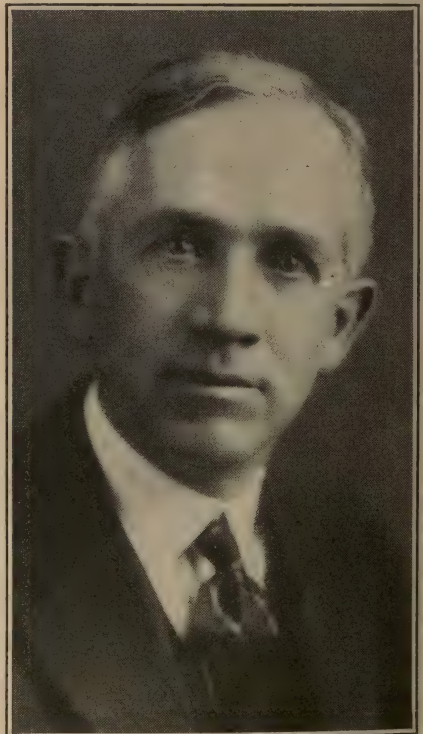
Charles R. Crane, the new American Minister to China, arrived in Peking on May 27 and assumed his duties at the United States Legation on June 10. In response to diplomatic exchanges, China had decided to recognize Poland as an independent State, to exchange diplomatic representatives with her, and to sanction trade relations. It was stated from Peking on April 8 that the Polish Government had appointed the Polish Special Delegate to Siberia as its representative to China.

## Secretary Polk Succeeded by Norman H. Davis

**F**RANK L. POLK of New York City, Under Secretary of State, on June 1 tendered his resignation to President Wilson on the score of ill health. His resignation took effect on June 15. Secretary Lansing's resignation in February, followed by the appointment of Bainbridge Colby as Secretary of State, had caused Mr. Polk to postpone his retirement, long contemplated, in order that the incoming Secretary might have the benefit of the Under Secretary's close familiarity with pending international questions.

Mr. Polk was appointed Counselor of the State Department on Sept. 16, 1915. Later he became Assistant Secretary. He was made Under Secretary upon the establishment of that office by special act of Congress last year. After President Wilson's and Secretary Lansing's return from the Peace Conference Mr. Polk conducted all negotiations of the American delegation until the close of the conference last December.

Secretary of State Colby on June 5 announced that Norman H. Davis of New York, one of the financial advisers to the President at Paris, would be appointed Under Secretary of State to succeed Mr. Polk. Mr. Davis is 42 years old and a native of Tennessee. He assumed his new duties on June 15.



NORMAN H. DAVIS  
*Who succeeds Mr. Polk as Under Secretary  
of State*  
(© Harris & Ewing)

# THE MARCH OF SCIENCE

## Wonderworking Inventions That Make Long-Distance Oratory Possible by Wireless

THE recent feat of Secretary Daniels in addressing a speech to a vast throng in Times Square, in the heart of New York City, while he stood on the battleship *Pennsylvania*, at anchor in the Hudson River, was rendered possible by a combination of two wonderworking wireless inventions. The distance, it is true, was not great. The vacuum tube, whose wonders never cease to beggar those of Aladdin's lamp, had enabled the Naval Secretary to talk across the continent and across the ocean. But the amazing thing in this case was that he could make his words distinct, not to one operator, but to a larger audience than any speaker in the open air could reach with his unaided voice.

This was achieved by an ingenious combination of the vacuum tube with a certain loud-speaking telephone apparatus, which had made a remarkable record during the war in various other applications. Had Mr. Daniels stood on top of the Times Tower he could hardly have made his voice audible to anybody in the street below; but the magic of the De Forest apparatus installed there

transformed the ordinary conversational tone he used from the *Pennsylvania* into a voice that the Slave of the Lamp might envy.

Directional wireless telephony and the wireless compass so important in navigation nowadays have been described in a former issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. The directional receiver used in this case was a loop antenna fourteen feet square. This simple-seeming device of wire wound in square turns around a wooden framework has, in varying sizes, a wide range of applications, even including a portable wireless receiving set. Other parts of the station installed on the Times Building included a vacuum tube outfit, with several stages of amplification. The electromagnetic waves bearing the speaker's voice from the *Pennsylvania* were intercepted by the loop antenna, transformed through the amplifiers, and the current from the final amplifier led into the loud-speaking telephone, whose large horn-shaped receiver faced the audience. This telephone apparatus is an advanced development of the type used in Liberty Loan drives during the war, being more unified and intensified and easier to install.

## Hearing the Printed Page

The optophone, a recent invention now being manufactured in England, opens up the world of written thought to the blind by actually making ordinary print audible. That all the essential problems of reading print by ear had been solved was publicly demonstrated at the British Scientific Products Exhibition of 1918. But certain defects had to be righted to ease the prolonged use of the instrument by a necessarily clumsy operator. The manufacture was undertaken by a well-known Glasgow firm of makers of range-

finders and apparatus for the control of gunfire for the British and foreign navies. That the defects have been finally overcome was demonstrated at a meeting on March 24, 1920, of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, where a thoroughly sound, compact and practical instrument was shown.

While the optophone does not make reading by ear as rapid as reading aloud by a person with eyesight, it spells by sound about as fast as music is played. In its present form it gives out the words



musically at the rate of about twenty-five words a minute. Certainly a vast improvement on raised letters!

The general principle transmutes light-waves into sound-waves in a sort of phonograph, which can be carried about

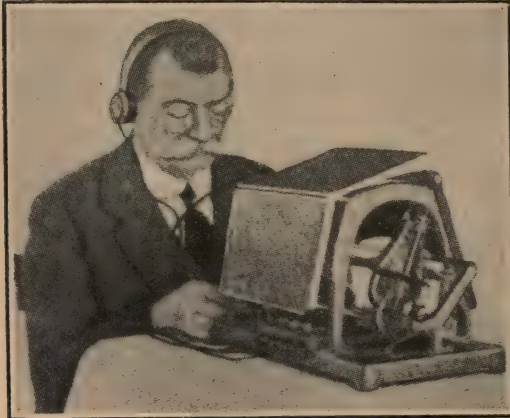
white paper produce a note of their own musical frequency, those which fall on black are extinguished. Thus is obtained a "white-sounding" optophone, in which one reads the black letters by the notes omitted from the scale rather than by the notes that are sounded. A subsequent modification of this principle produced a "black-sounding" optophone through the introduction of a second selenium preparation in the form of a cylindrical rod. This rod receives the light reflected by the concave surface of a meniscus lens which, for this purpose, is tilted slightly out of the axis of the other two lenses. Thus is produced a real image of the line of dots on a generator of the cylindrical rod, and by turning this rod about its axis one can make the image more or less effective at will. By balancing the effect on the selenium rod against the effect on the selenium tablet, when only the white paper is ex-

posed, there comes a silence in the telephone; so the passage of a black letter makes a sound which varies in accordance with the formation of the letter. This direct sounding of the black letters facilitates the learning of the alphabet, though the operator may not get greater ultimate speed by it than by the

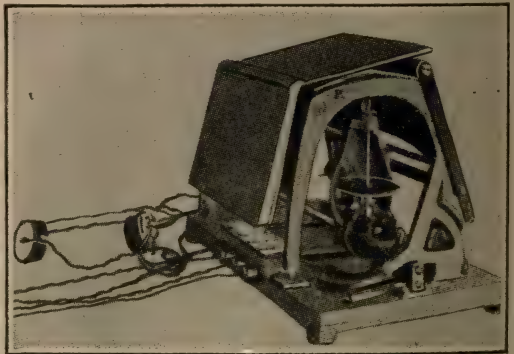
like a typewriter and is operated with a simple reading handle, or lever. A siren disk is revolved at about thirty turns a second by means of a small magneto-electric motor. This disk contains five circles of square holes, twenty-four holes to the innermost circle and forty-two to the outermost, the other circles being intermediate and corresponding to the relative wave-frequencies of certain notes of the diatonic scale. A festoon lamp sheds a beam of light in a radial direction, and the image of the filament of this lamp is thrown upon the print by a system of three lenses on the other side of a selenium tablet. This optical system casts on the print a line of numerous dots, every dot having a different musical frequency. These dots of light are diffusely reflected upon the selenium, this being put in circuit with a battery and a high-resistance telephone receiver. While those dots which fall on

posed, there comes a silence in the telephone; so the passage of a black letter makes a sound which varies in accordance with the formation of the letter.

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A BLIND MAN READING A PRINTED BOOK BY MEANS OF THE OPTOPHONE, WHICH ENABLES HIM TO "HEAR" EACH LETTER INSTEAD OF SEEING IT



THE OPTOPHONE, A WONDERFUL ELECTRIC INVENTION WHICH APPLIES THE PRINCIPLE OF THE TELEPHONE IN SUCH A WAY AS TO MAKE AN ORDINARY PRINTED PAGE READABLE BY EAR INSTEAD OF EYE

"white-sounding" instrument. The disk, lamp, selenium and motor are all mounted in a swinging "tracer," which can be brought over to the right by means of the reading handle. It then returns to the left with a slow, silent, steady motion regulated by a worm-gearing, which drives a small paddle. This paddle is kept inserted in a viscous liquid more or less deeply by a regulating nut, and the range of adjustment is such that a line can be read in any time from five seconds to five minutes, according to the reader's proficiency. As soon as a line is read the next line is brought into focus by the shift-bar. This works a friction clutch inside the bar on which the "tracer" is pivoted and can be adjusted for any desired line space by means of a screw attached to the shift-bar. A lever attached to the tracer enables the operator to reverse this motion

or to release the whole "tracer" from the friction gear, so that it may be brought quickly to the top of a page.

Where the festoon lamp is inserted it is held by a spring clip, whence even a blind operator can easily remove it for renewal. The various connections and their adapters are so fitted that a blind operator can make no mistake in inserting them. There is an important special contrivance in the "tracer" for adjustment to different sizes of type. This is regulated by means of a nut with six nicks across its rim, which enables the blind operator to count the number of turns of the nut in adjusting for a definite size of type. Practice has proved that the various adjustments for size of type, length of line and line interval are easily made by blind persons, so that the optophone and all its parts can be in use for a long time without anything getting out of order.

## Flightless Hydroplanes

To utilize the picturesque waterways of France for a new kind of "tourism," certain French inventors have perfected a cheap means of swift river transportation with all the pleasures of automobile riding. This craft they call the *hydro-glisseur*, "water-glider"; in reality it is a hydroplane without power of flight. Three models of this water-glider were recently exhibited at the Salon Aeronautique, in Paris. One model is considered as the classic water-glider. It consists of a sliding surface supporting the passenger cabin, the under surface being so shaped as to release the plane from the water, even at low speed. As in all these hydroplanes, the propeller is aerial.

Another model is of more recent design. A charming automobile coach body (*carrosserie*) contains the passengers, and is luxuriously appointed. The prow forms the hood and shields the motor. This motor is of the type used for automobiles, either eight-ten horse power or

sixteen-twenty. It controls, by means of a shaft and two sets of gearing, an aerial propeller placed upon a stand, or socle, behind the coach body. The whole is fixed upon two cylindrical floats shaped like whistles. The propeller is of variable rotation, a novelty quite interesting. The rotations are controlled from within the cabin and permit getting all the variations of speed, including progress backward, without touching the control of the motor.

A third model is equally new in design.



FRENCH AERIAL WATER-GLIDER, USED FOR TOURIST TRIPS ON SHALLOW RIVERS





THE AMPHIBIOUS AUTOMOBILE, AN AMERICAN INVENTION, WHICH CAN GO SIXTY MILES AN HOUR ON LAND, OR TWENTY ON THE WATER

This hydroplane has the feature of hydro-pneumatic sustentation; that is, it is supported in speed by the double reaction of air and water. The air rushes in under the central caisson, the curvature of which recalls that of the wings of avions; and compressed by this surface the air constitutes a veritable elastic mattress between the hull and the water.

Upon this hull-shell is mounted a spacious and comfortable passenger cabin. The motor placed in the bow actuates a two-bladed propeller mounted on a stand. The steering is done with a large rudder placed at the extremity of

the fuselage. The whole is pleasing to the eye, and the apparatus seems capable of rendering great service on all the rivers that cannot be doubled by a railway.

Amphibious automobiles, such as the one recently tried in the ocean off Atlantic City, are much more costly than the French water-glider, and shallow rivers are inaccessible to them. This American invention is a fully equipped motor car capable of sixty miles an hour on land and twenty miles in water, the clutch readily throwing the power off the wheels on to the propeller, which is at the rear of the car.

## A Stride in Wireless Control

While science has been girdling the world with wireless telegraphy and telephony, efforts have been made in various countries to apply the principles of radio to the control of craft and vehicles; and though radio control is still far from passing the experimental stage, it is beginning to show encouraging marks of progress. Wireless controlled motor-boats were produced in this country during the war. Now comes a little crewless airship so controlled.

What made wireless telegraphy and telephony practical for long distances was the sensitiveness of the filings

coherer. The inventor of this wireless aircraft has discovered a surer and more sensitive coherer still, the secret of which he guards. It may be the means of adding crewless bombing planes to "the nations' airy navies" in time for the next war, a feature unforecasted in Tennyson's prophecy.

The new radio aircraft weighs 185 pounds, and under proper conditions attains a speed of five miles an hour, while responding instantly and surely to the signals from the controlling station. The craft is driven by the electric motor it carries, mounted on a pivoted frame in such wise that its weight can be

brought to bear on the central driving wheel. The craft has three wheels besides the driving wheel, two spinning on a fixed axle and a steering wheel in front. The current for the motor and other purposes is furnished by storage batteries on board. A wireless receiving set is also carried.

The control station has the usual equipment for wireless transmission. By

depressing the telegraph key one sends a train of signals to the antenna on the craft. There the detector responds and the waves operate a complex electromagnetic apparatus controlling the motor and steering-gear. The responses to signals are flashed from a small green lamp on the masthead, so the operator can keep count of the necessary moves he makes.

## A Portable Radiophone Receiving Set

While we are still marveling at the successes of wireless telephony in communicating over vast distances with huge and ponderous apparatus, experiments in the radio section of the United States Bureau of Standards at Washington have brought into being a means of making it portable, so that one can install and use it locally anywhere—so far as the receiving end is concerned.

Apparatus that can receive wireless messages over fifteen miles has been devised and tested out. It is an ingenious combination of the vacuum tube and the loop-antenna. The loop-antenna furnishes the wireless compass needed for determining the direction whence the signal comes. Thence the signal-waves are

communicated to the vacuum-tube detector and a two-stage amplifier, all operated by a dry-cell battery. Next the signals pass into a special loud-speaking telephone, with a large horn, which reinforces the waves so that the sounds will fill a small room or a very large one, depending on the size of loop used. The whole can be inclosed in a carrying case about a foot square.

With such an apparatus in the home the whole household can sit by and hear the latest baseball scores, the election returns, or even get the morning news while at breakfast. Also music for a dancing party can be communicated from a distance. The wave-length is low, equaling that allowed by the Government to amateur stations.

## Strange Career of Ex-Empress Eugenie

**EX-EMPRESS EUGENIE**—called Europe's Queen of Sorrows—on May 5, 1920, observed in Seville, Spain, the 94th anniversary of her birth. A white-haired woman, dim-eyed and lame, the former Empress of France, widow of Napoleon III., lives wrapped in the memories of her past, with its royal tinsel, tragedy and grief. "I am a shadow of the past," she says; "it is a dream that is vanishing. Let me disappear with it." From time to time she leaves her English home at Farnborough and takes short trips to Paris, to Biarritz, to the Riviera. A few months ago, a sombre figure in black, she wandered through the Tuileries Gardens in Paris, where her home

had been in the days of her youth and pride, and plucked flowers there unproved. In Spain, the country of her birth, she spent her birthday as the Queen's guest.

The mother of this aged ex-Empress was the daughter of a Scotch wineseller in Malaga, who married a Spanish nobleman, Count of Montojo. Eugenie was born at Granada in 1826. Sent to a convent in Paris, she grew up beautiful, alluring, capricious, delighting in public attention and "shocking the bourgeois." At the French Court in 1852 she aroused a tempest by seeking and gaining the attentions of the Emperor, Louis Napoleon, son of Bonaparte's brother and of





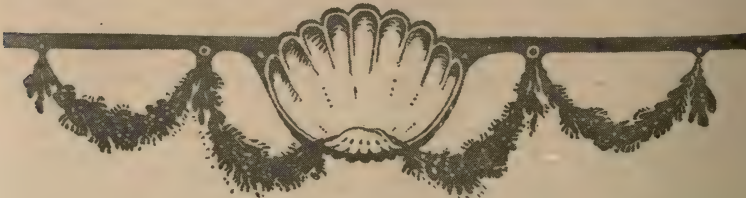
THE AGED EX-EMPRESS EUGENIE OF FRANCE ON HER 94TH BIRTHDAY, WITH QUEEN VICTORIA EUGENIA OF SPAIN, WHOM SHE WAS VISITING

Hortense Beauharnais. The new Napoleon married her whom the ladies of his Court disdainfully called the "Spanish adventuress" on Jan. 29, 1853.

For nearly twenty years the life of Eugénie was marked by brilliance and extravagance, by fêtes surpassing many of the most gorgeous in French royal history. Her influence was everywhere. The disastrous war with Mexico was said to have been due to her initiation. Impaired in health, Napoleon III. protested weakly against the war with Prussia in 1870, which cost them both their crowns and plunged France into a long despair. "My little war," Eugénie called it. A little later she was stealing out of Paris in the carriage of a celebrated American dentist to find exile in Eng-

land. Her husband died there three years later. Eugénie lived on, last survivor of the Third Empire; lived to see the vanishing of her last hopes when her young son was killed with a British expedition to Zululand in 1879. At a cost of over \$500,000 she bought Farnborough Hall in England and erected there a double memorial—to Napoleon III. and to her dead son.

She was in Spain when the European war broke out. "This is my revenge!" she exclaimed. "Would that the Emperor were here to see it!" She turned Farnborough Hall into a hospital for wounded soldiers, and went with slow step from one to another, holding her last court. Her constant hope to see Germany—destroyer of all her happiness—beaten by the allied arms was fulfilled.



# CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

## With the Best Cartoons of the Month From Many Nations

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 12, 1920]

### FRENCH TAX ON BACHELORS

THE French Senate at its session of May 26 was the scene of one of the stormiest and strangest discussions it has even known. The subject of debate was the proposed tax on bachelors, spinsters and divorced persons. All speeches, pro and con, were of the most heated character. The usually dignified

ing blows and just as they were about to exchange cards preliminary to a duel.

The impost that gave rise to so much

### [POLISH CARTOON]



—Mucha, Warsaw

### WHY POLAND MUST FIGHT

LLOYD GEORGE (to Ebert and Lenin): "Do what you like. I'm not supposed to let you, but I can close my eyes for a while"

tumult added a 25 per cent. increase to the income tax of any resident of France "more than 30 years old, single or divorced, who has nobody dependent upon "him or her"; and 10 per cent. to the tax of any person over 30, who has been married two years from Jan. 1 of the fiscal year and has neither children nor other dependents.

The tempest started when Senator Dominique Delahaye, in advocating an amendment exempting women from the provisions of the bill, shouted: "This "bill perscutes unmarried folk simply "because there is a hole in the budget!"

### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—San Francisco Chronicle

### THE SCARECROW

atmosphere of the upper house was electrified by the violence with which the bill was opposed by two Senators, Dominique and Jules Delahaye, brothers, and both members of the extreme clerical wing. The tempest which their onslaughts created led to suspension of the sitting. In the lobby, before the session was resumed, Jules Delahaye and Senator Hervey, a supporter of the Government measure, were torn apart at their exchange



Senator Hervey, supported by the President of the Senate, refused to yield the floor to the clamors of the Delahaye brothers, and, dominating the tumult, explained that the bill was not meant to force bachelors and spinsters to wed, but rather to oblige those whose family expenses were less than those of married persons to contribute in larger proportion to the State. After the enforced suspension, Senator Courju, in an attempt to gain exemption for women, brought out the fact that women are rarely spinsters from choice, the reserved French girl of good family waiting to be asked, and if not asked, remaining un-

married, perhaps with a broken heart. The Senator seized the opportunity to make a plea for equal suffrage, that "the fair sex might be man's equal, and "not merely the most charming and most "distinguished of his servants." Senator Dominique Delahaye took up the defense of bachelors, and compared the bill to measures passed by the Romans under Augustus, under decadent moral conditions. Christ, he said, honored true celibacy, and his forerunner, John the Baptist, paid with his head the first tax on bachelors. The Senator also urged exemption of priests, on the ground that their celibacy was due to church laws.

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



-Tacoma News-Tribune

TRYING TO LEAVE IT ON OUR DOORSTEP

Despite all arguments and the violence of the opposition, the bill finally became law by a large majority.

\* \* \*

#### THE FILIPINOS AGAIN DEMAND INDEPENDENCE

THE Philippine Commission of Independence, whose headquarters are in Washington, sent an appeal to the Republican National Convention for a plank declaring in favor of the immediate independence of the islands. The appeal cited the pledged word of the United

States as expressed in the preamble of the Jones law, approved Aug. 29, 1916, to "recognize their independence as soon as a stable Government can be established therein"; it called attention to the many Filipino attempts to secure fulfillment of this promise, deplored the fact that no Filipino delegates were invited to the convention, and declared that the obligation of the American people was a solemn one, and that "the great parties should do all in their power to redeem the promise." The document was signed, among others, by Jaime C.

[POLISH CARTOON]



—Mucha, Warsaw

#### IN DANZIG AND CONSTANTINOPLE

ENGLAND: "Let the hot-blooded Poles and French say what they like. Europe is all right—for us, who hold both ends of it"



de Veyra, President of the Filipino Independence Commission to the United States.

\* \* \*

#### COAST DEFENSES IMPREGNABLE

**I**N an address delivered before the Society of Mechanical Engineers at St. Louis on May 25, Lieut. Col. H. W. Miller, U. S. A., discussed the question whether or not any section of a coast line can be so fortified as to be impregnable to attack from the sea, except at

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—San Francisco Chronicle

#### THE CORE

a prohibitive cost. Up to the outbreak of the European war this question had never been definitely decided. During the war there were three such fortified coast sections considered to be virtually impregnable. These were the German coast at Kiel, defended by mine fields, and the fortifications at Heligoland; the Turkish centre of Constantinople, protected by the fortification of the Strait of Gallipoli, and the Belgian coast, protected by the fortifications of the only two landing points, Ostend and Zeebrugge.

The allied fiasco at Gallipoli has become a matter of record. The Allies did not even attempt to force the defenses of Heligoland and Kiel, and ruled out Ostend on the score that the loss of life and material involved would be prohibitive. As for the attempt to block the harbors of Zeebrugge and Ostend at the end of April, 1918, it was accomplished at the price of terrible punishment under the fire of a 150-millimeter German gun at ranges from 200 to 500 yards for approximately one hour. But despite the fact that a majority of the German batteries were located on top of the dunes and in plain sight of the sea, Lieut. Col. Miller pointed out that there was no evidence that any of them were damaged by the shell fire from the allied monitors or from bombs dropped from allied airplanes, the heavy smoke-screens sent up by the Germans while under fire proving highly effective. The inference drawn by Lieut. Col. Miller from the experience of the war was that sea-coast fortifications could be made virtually impregnable to attacks from the sea.

\* \* \*

#### PRESBYTERIANS DECLARE UNION

**B**Y action taken at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the Welsh Presbyterian Church in the United States, these two bodies were organically united at a common meeting

held in Philadelphia on May 22. A delegation of twenty-five Welsh Presbyterian clergymen and laymen from Columbus, Ohio, filed upon the platform and was greeted by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, who stood while the Rev. Dr. S. S. Palmer of Columbus, the Moderator, read the declaration merging the two bodies. A report brought in at this session condemned Sunday moving-picture shows, Sunday games and sports, and Sunday newspapers. It called for 10,000 sermons on Sunday observance

each year, with "one million Presbyterians helping with prayer, example and gifts." The committee claimed some of the credit for defeating the bill in the New York Legislature which would have legalized Sunday business when conducted by persons whose faith prescribed some other day than Sunday for religious observance.

Before adjourning the Assembly brought in a plan for complete union of all Presbyterian religious branches within a few years. Resolutions were also passed demanding that the United States enter the League of Nations and denouncing the long debate in the United States Congress preventing this action. A policy of non-interference with Great Britain in her handling of the Irish republic question was advocated in another resolution. The Assembly adjourned on May 28.

\* \* \*

#### THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

THE second reading of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's bill providing for the unmarried mother and her child was carried on May 7 in the British Parliament by 108 votes against 9, despite the fact that the Home Secretary, Mr. Shortt, was emphatic in stating the Government's hostility to the measure as drawn. The bill set forth that the illegitimate births in the United Kingdom averaged about 50,000 a year. The death rate of illegitimate children was double that of the legitimate; of the children born under the social ban some 10,000 perished within a year. The Home Secretary held that though the bill sought to secure justice for the mother and protection for the child, it did not remove the stigma of bastardy if the parents married, as was done by the Scotch law. The Government also objected to the compulsory registration of the father, and to the constant regulation of the money arrangement by the court, whose

ward the illegitimate child would become under the bill, without regard to the wishes of the mother. These and other objections made it plain that the Government would introduce its own measure, on the ground that the bill advocated was incapable of satisfactory amendment in committee.

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—New York World

"GO AWAY!"

#### CONFERENCE FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

JAMES L. KEY, Mayor of Atlanta, Ga., on May 30 welcomed the eleventh annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This was the first time the association had held a meeting in the South. The opening addresses urged mutual tolerance, mutual sympathy, and mutual respect of the races. "We have no views to present," said Captain Arthur B. Spingarn, Vice President, "which are so radical that they cannot be found in the Sermon on the Mount or in the Constitution of the United States." He read a paper from Moorfield Story, the eminent Boston lawyer,



advocating the late Henry W. Grady's program of justice between the races, including the giving of the ballot to properly qualified negroes and the offering of better opportunities for their industrial and educational progress.

The sessions of June 1 were devoted to a discussion of lynching and segregation. Major Joel B. Spingarn, the author and critic, who presided, proposed a new

plan for bringing about better race relations by means of permanent commissions in each of the Southern States. Each commission would consist of five leaders of the respective races, who should be chosen by the Governor on a basis of leadership and not of politics. Their duty would be to investigate causes of friction, to make recommendations for legislative and other means of promoting

[AUSTRIAN CARTOON]



—Kikeriki, Vienna

THE TERRIBLE VICTOR

MARSHAL FOCH: "Disarm the German barbarians!"

[A biting Austrian comment on the French occupation of Frankfurt with colored troops]

race harmony, and to have all matters of race relationship submitted to them by the Governor before such measures received his approval.

Charles Edward Russell, author and publicist, spoke on the perils of illiteracy in the United States, urging the formation of a bureau of education under a Cabinet secretaryship. He said that 60 per cent. of the Southern cotton growers could not read the bulletins of the Department of Agriculture. He said that from eight to ten times more money is spent for each white child than for the

negro child. A telegram from ex-President Eliot of Harvard declared that it was in the highest degree desirable that no distinction be made between the application of money to white schools and to negro schools throughout the South. William Pickens, a negro graduate of Yale, in an address on lynching and segregation, said:

The degradation and outlawing of the colored race has produced more mulattoes in a single year than the equality of the negro in the eyes of the law would ever produce in a century. And lynching does not prevent the crimes which attack the

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



THEN AND NOW

—Detroit News



integrity of the races, lynching does not even touch the greatest enemy of racial integrity, and that is the moral slavery forced upon the submerged colored woman.

At the closing session on June 2 the chief address was made by Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, editor of *The Crisis* and this year's recipient of the Spingarn medal for the greatest achievement of a man of African descent. He urged the South to give the ballot to every adult citizen, man or woman, white or black. When the white officials and colored delegates left for the North the Southern Railway, contrary to its usual custom, provided special Pullman cars and did not enforce the "Jim Crow" system.

\* \* \*

#### RAISING SUNKEN TREASURE

WHEN a German submarine sank the British steamship *Laurentic* early in 1917, off one of the wildest parts of

#### [GERMAN-SWISS CARTOON]



—Nebelspalter, Zurich

#### FRANCE AND THE REICHSWEHR

ROLANDO FURIOSO: "Help! Help! France is in danger! Germany is going to attack us! The Home Guard is a concealed mobilization! Save us! We are lost! We must occupy Berlin, Munich, Dresden, Vienna, Warsaw, Petrograd, Peking, Zurich, Bümpliz \* \* \*"

GERMAN HOME GUARD: "Don't be alarmed. I won't hurt you"

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Brooklyn Eagle

#### FIFTY-FIFTY

UNITED STATES: "What a land for mosquitos!"

MEXICO: "What a country for flies!"

the North Irish coast, it caused, besides the loss of human life, the submergence of about \$15,000,000 worth of gold ingots. There the treasure has lain for three years, 120 feet below the surface, though British attempts to salvage it began long before the armistice. In 1919 the Admiralty ship *Racer* made a serious effort to get the lost bullion, but two years of constant pounding by the deep Atlantic swells had caused the decks of the *Laurentic* to collapse into a heap of wreckage barely ten feet high, and it took the divers two months to locate the gold. High explosives were used to cut through the successive layers of steel plates. The strong room, formerly twelve feet high, had been compressed into a compartment only a few inches in height, and the treasure had to be cut out, bit by bit, like a vein of rich ore between steel walls. When it had been removed from one section it was necessary to begin cutting another hole with explosives to reach the vein of ingots again. This slow process resulted last year in the recovery of about \$2,500,000, but \$12,500,000 remained unsalvaged. The *Racer*, after waiting for the Winter

## [AUSTRIAN CARTOON]



—Wiener Caricaturen, Vienna.

## BEFORE THE JUDGE

"What are you?"

"A German-Austrian"

"Then you can go free. You are punished enough"

storms to pass, was again at its task in April, and the methodical quest for sunken treasure is still going on twenty fathoms below the surface of Lough Swilly at the present writing. The salvage ship this time is equipped with a powerful pump that can lift 800 tons of water every hour; not only water, in fact, but also coal, mud and small wreckage. In due time the whole treasure will be raised from a depth formerly prohibitive for such difficult operations.

\* \* \*

## DR. GEORGE MORRISON

DR. GEORGE MORRISON, political adviser to the President of the Chinese Republic and famous as the Peking correspondent of The London Times, died in London on May 30. An Australian by birth, a wanderer by choice, shipping on strange ships as a common sailor, though his father was President of an Australian college, nearly killed by native spears in New Guinea, he eventually studied medicine and received his degree in Edinburgh. Further extensive travels ended finally

in Peking, where he became a power as adviser to the President. Dr. Morrison was one of the most impressive figures at the Portsmouth Peace Conference.

\* \* \*

## BLAME FOR AMRITSAR

WITH the official British report on the Amritsar disorders in India there was received at the end of May an independent report made by the commission appointed by the Indian National Congress last December. This report, based on the testimony of 1,700 witnesses, strongly condemned the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab, attributing to his provocation the rioting in which, the report declared, "at least 1,200 persons were killed and 3,600 wounded." No evidence of organized conspiracy had been found and the passing of the Rowlatt bills against anarchy had been a completely unjustified act of the British Government. The report ended with demands for the repeal of these laws, for the dismissal of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the recall of the

## [ENGLISH CARTOON]



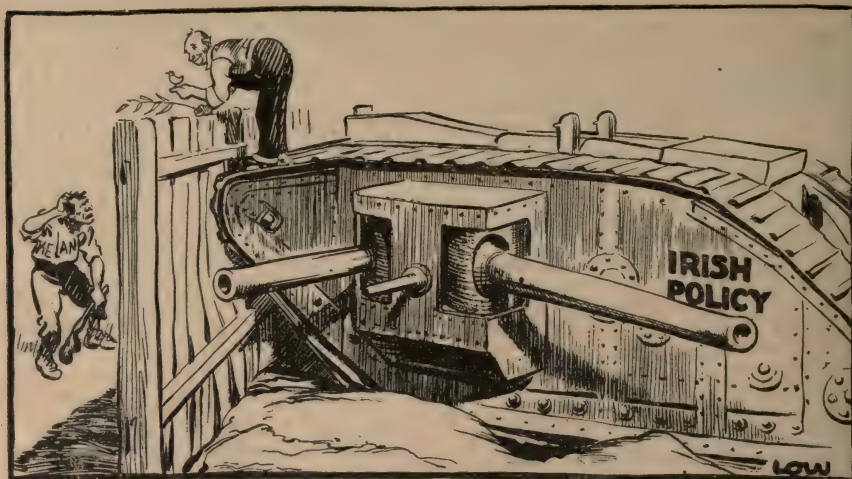
—Daily Express, London

## THE PEACE OF SAN REMO

And blessings on the falling out  
That all the more endears,  
When we fall out with those we love,  
And kiss again with tears!—TENNYSON



[ENGLISH CARTOON]

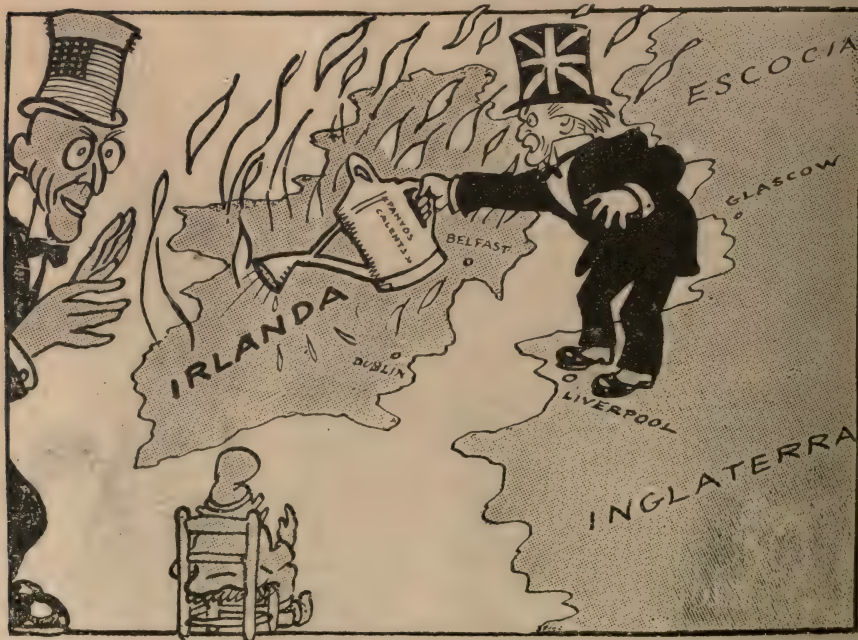


—The Star, London

## THE PEACEMAKER

SIR HAMAR: "Let us be friends"

[SPANISH CARTOON]



—Campana de Gracia, Barcelona

## THE CONFLAGRATION IN IRELAND

Both of them are trying to extinguish it with oil

## [BRAZILIAN CARTOON]



## RUSSIA OFFERS PEACE TO EUROPE

Viceroy, and the refunding of all fines imposed.

\* \* \*

## THE CZAR LEGALLY DEAD

IN an affidavit filed in the principal probate registry in London on May 14, Grand Duchess Xenia Alexandrovna,

wife of Grand Duke Alexander Mikailovitch and sister of the late Czar, now living in London, swore that the Czar died July 16, 1918, at Ekaterinburg, intestate, and that neither his wife nor any children survived him. She also deposed that under Russian law, the ex-

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Chicago Drivers Journal

## THE HUNT FOR PROFITEERS



Czar's mother, who survived him, had no interest in the estate or in the grant of letters of administration, which interest vests in the two sisters who survive him. This last deposition was confirmed by an affidavit from the Advocate of the Court of Appeals in Petrograd. On these combined affidavits, a grant of letters of administration was issued to Grand Duchess Xenia with respect to the English estate of the late Czar. The wording of this grant was as follows:

Be it known that his Imperial Majesty, Nicholas Alexandrovitch, Czar of Russia, of Petrograd, Russia, died on the 16th day of July, 1918, at Ekaterinburg, in Russia aforesaid, domiciled in Russia, intestate, leaving no widow or child.

Various rumors of the escape of the late Czar or members of his immediate family from the massacre at Ekaterinburg were thus officially denied and the denial was legally put on record by a member of the Czar's own family.

## [NORWEGIAN CARTOON]



—Hvepsen, Christiania

## THE WILLING APPRENTICE

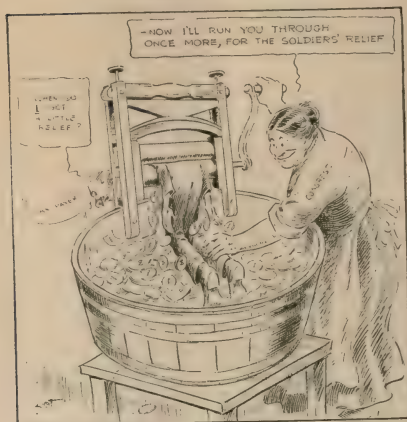
OLD NICK (to financiers): "Pardon, gentlemen, but would you mind explaining this foreign exchange trick to me?"

## ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, the new British Ambassador, formally presented his credentials to President Wilson at the White House on May 26 and exchanged with him assurances of goodwill and amity. After delivering a special message from King George conveying the latter's great interest in the prosperity of the United States, his great regret over Mr. Wilson's illness and his gratitude at the heartiness of the reception accorded the Prince of Wales in this country, the new Ambassador expressed his own good wishes and his hope that the bonds of friendship between the two countries would be strengthened and drawn closer—an object to which, he declared, he would dedicate all his most earnest efforts. President Wilson made a cordial reply, in which he said:

Believing in the reciprocal friendship of the British people it will be my aim in the future, as it has been my endeavor in the past, to further the cordial relations and close ties of friendship which unite the two nations.

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Dallas News

WRING OUT THE OLD, WRING  
IN THE NEW!

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Dallas News

## THE OPTIMIST

## SHELL-SHOCK AND CRIME

STATEMENTS made by Lord Peel before the House of Lords recently showed that 343 death sentences had been carried out upon officers and men during the war for desertion, cowardice, or other military crimes. But death sentences were passed in a far larger number of cases—namely, 3,076—and it is now revealed that the great majority of these sentences were never executed. The total of executions is small in comparison with the immense numbers of troops engaged. In commenting on these figures Lord Southborough raised the point that failure of duty by soldiers had often been proved due to shell-shock or some other form of hysteria, caused by prolonged strain, and that apparent cowardice in the case of men who had proved their bravery was in reality due to temporarily shattered nerves.

\* \* \*

## NEW YORK'S GREATEST TUNNEL

AT an expense of \$22,000,000 the Board of Water Supply of the City of New York is now busy putting through a gigantic project which will nearly double the flow of water into the

great reservoir of the Ashokan Dam. The northward course of the Schoharie Creek is to be reversed, and then, by a long, rock-hewn tunnel, the stream is to be turned southward to a point where it can join the waters of Esopus Creek and speed thence to the Ashokan Reservoir. Authorization for this work, made necessary by the rapid growth of the city's population, was given four years ago and active prosecution of the plan is now under way. The proposed tunnel will be the longest in the world, being eighteen miles from intake to outlet; the longest European tunnel, the famous Simplon, through the Alps, is twelve and a half miles between portals. The seriousness of the undertaking will be realized when it is

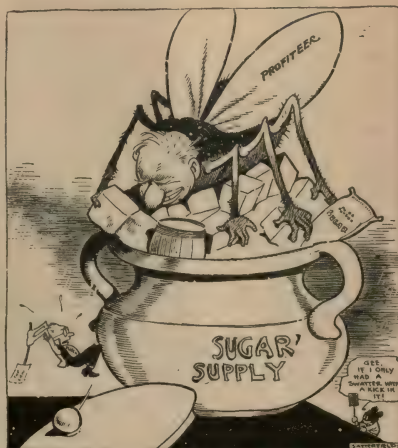
explained that all these eighteen miles of tunnel must be drilled through solid rock.

\* \* \*

## KIPLING ON ENGLISH CHARACTER

AT the festival dinner of the Royal Society of St. George, held in London on St. George's Day, Rudyard Kipling

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Newspaper Enterprise Association  
CAN'T REACH HIM



ling presided and offered the toast of the evening—"England." His speech, which culminated with this toast, was a penetrating analysis of the English character. After reciting their composite origin and the many political vicissitudes to which the English were subjected, he declared that "the Englishman, like a "built-up gun barrel, is all of one temper, "though welded of different materials, "and he has strong powers of resistance." Those who refused to accept the domestic

situation at home always had the recourse of going to sea, "to seek or impose the peace which they had been denied at home." Thus had the British Empire been born and the tradition of the strength of the breed had never been abandoned by English hearts.

Herein [said Mr. Kipling], as I see it, lies the strength of the English—that they have behind them this continuity of immensely varied race experience and race memory, running through every class back to the very dawn of our era, which

[GERMAN CARTOON]



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

### A PLACE IN THE—CRESCENT

JOHN BULL: "Don't you agree, my dear Marianne, that this fits as if it were made for me?"

[Referring to the British control of Constantinople]

unconsciously imposes on them, even while they deride, standards of achievement and comparison; hard it may be, and a little unsympathetic, but not low, and, as all earth is witness, not easily lowered. \* \* \* These standards are taken for granted, and it is by the things that are taken for granted, without words spoken, that we live.

They were taken for granted during the war, Mr. Kipling intimated. The national tradition made the decision inevitable when the crisis came; the national tradition brought it to success despite all lack of preparation. England, he said, is now like a convalescent, crip-

pled by the loss or wastage of a whole generation, somewhat prone, through weakness, to hysteria, with the good ballast of the national past to navigate all present and future brainstorms. Englishmen must stick to the job, must face responsibility, hard work and criticism, sharing with France the burden of the whole weight of the world. The sole force which can avail is character, and again character, "such mere, ingrained common-sense, hand-hammered loyal strength of character as one may humbly dare to hope 1,500 years of

[A AMERICAN CARTOON]

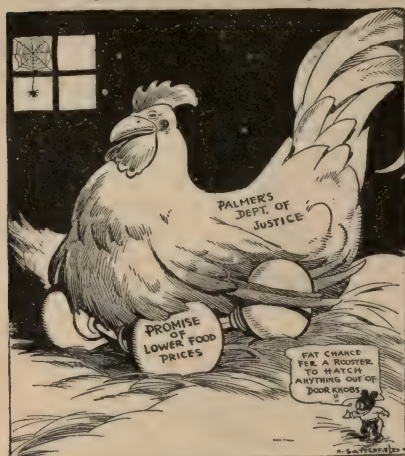


—Dayton Daily News

NEXT!



## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Newspaper Enterprise Association

SETTIN'

"equality of experience have given to us.  
 "If this hope be true, as, because we  
 "know the breed, we feel it to be true,  
 "our children's children, looking back  
 "through the luminous years  
 "to where we here stumble  
 "and falter, may say, 'Was  
 "it possible that the English  
 "of that age did not know,  
 "could not see, dared not  
 "even guess to what height  
 "of strength, wisdom and en-  
 "during honor they had  
 "lifted their land?'"

\* \* \*

## AMUNDSEN'S POLAR QUEST

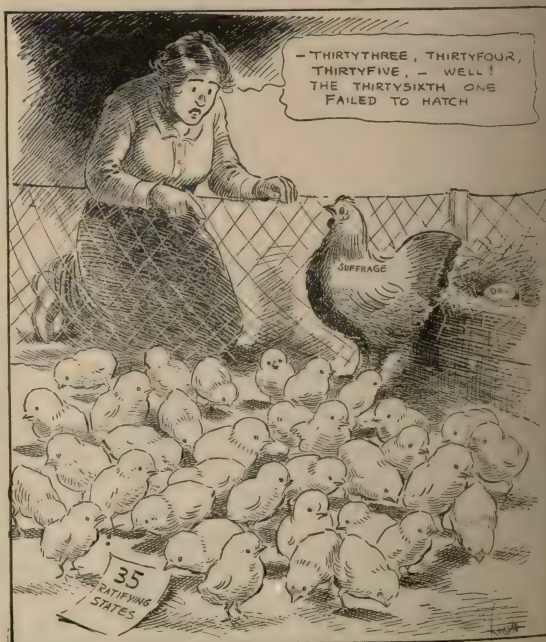
THE first message received from Captain Roald Amundsen since he left Norway in June, 1918, to try a new venture in the Arctic, was published by The London Times on May 1. Amundsen, the discoverer of the South Pole, planned his present expedition with the intention of completing the feat attempted by Nansen in the Fram, that is, to enter the ice-pack, and to trust to the Arctic current to carry his vessel across the Polar Basin to open water between

Greenland and Spitzbergen. By entering the pack further east than Nansen had done, Amundsen hoped that his ship would drift over the North Pole itself. When his ship, the Maud, left Christiania in 1918, it was stocked with all comforts for a five years' absence. Framed above the writing table in Captain Amundsen's private cabin was a little English poem which expressed the spirit of all on board:

The stars are with the voyager wherever he may sail,  
 The moon is constant to her time, the sun will never fail,  
 But follow, follow, round the world, the green earth and the sea,  
 So love is with the lover's heart wherever he may be.

The message from Amundsen had been transmitted via Anadyr (Siberia) and Nome (Alaska). He had Wintered in the neighborhood of Cape Chelyuskin, the most northerly point of the mainland of Asia, and he intended to make another attempt—the first had failed—to enter

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Dallas News

COUNTING THE SUFFRAGE CHICKENS

the ice pack near Wrangel Island and thence drift across the polar sea.

\* \* \*

#### LONG JOURNEY OF WAR PRISONERS IN SIBERIA

PRISONERS of war to the number of 200,000 still remained in Siberia at the beginning of June, according to Swedish Red Cross figures cited by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen. In addition, said Dr. Nansen, there were about 200,000 Russian prisoners in Germany and 20,000 in France. The noted explorer had been asked by the Council of the League of Nations to investigate the repatriation of prisoners, and had found that the principal obstacle, at least in Russia, was lack of transportation. Those in Siberia were instructed by telegraph to try to get to Moscow. Accordingly thousands of Austrian and Hungarian prisoners, dressed in the tattered remnants of the uniforms they wore when captured by the Russians in 1914, and despairing of official repatriation,

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Detroit News

#### THE PORTIA OF POLITICS

began toward the middle of May an attempt to reach home on foot—a 4,000-mile journey—from the Siberian concentration camps. No provision was made by the Bolshevik authorities for feeding, clothing or housing them. American relief organizations have collected nearly \$1,000,000 in a drive for thrice that amount to supply the necessities of life for these unfortunate men, and for the tens of thousands of others still scattered through Siberia. A bitter protest against the conditions prevailing in the Russian concentration camps, and especially against the year-long delay of the allied powers in securing the repatriation of the prisoners, was published in the name of a committee in an April issue of the Japan Chronicle. Vienna advices of May 28 reported that ex-Premier Huszar of Hungary would soon go to America to arrange for the transportation of the Hungarians from Siberia.

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Tacoma News-Tribune

#### EMMA SEEMS TO HAVE HAD A CHANGE OF HEART



[ENGLISH CARTOON]



—John Bull, London

### THE MOUNTAIN AND THE MOUSE

Tho' Germany owes us a mountain of debt,  
We've got to be thankful for what we can get;  
We may expect something as big as a house,  
But the thing that arrives is the size of a mouse.

Up to the end of May the efforts of the American Red Cross to secure transportation for the \$1,000-a-day colony of children in Vladivostok had proved unsuccessful.

\* \* \*

#### PREMIER MILLERAND'S PERSONALITY

AT San Remo all eyes turned on the French Premier," says Sisley Huddleston in *Everyman* (May 1). "We knew what Mr. Lloyd George was thinking. We knew what Signor Nitti was saying. We did not know what M. Millerand would do. He was, to all appearances, stolid and fixed; and yet it was always possible that he would give way. His personality became an intensely interesting one for us."

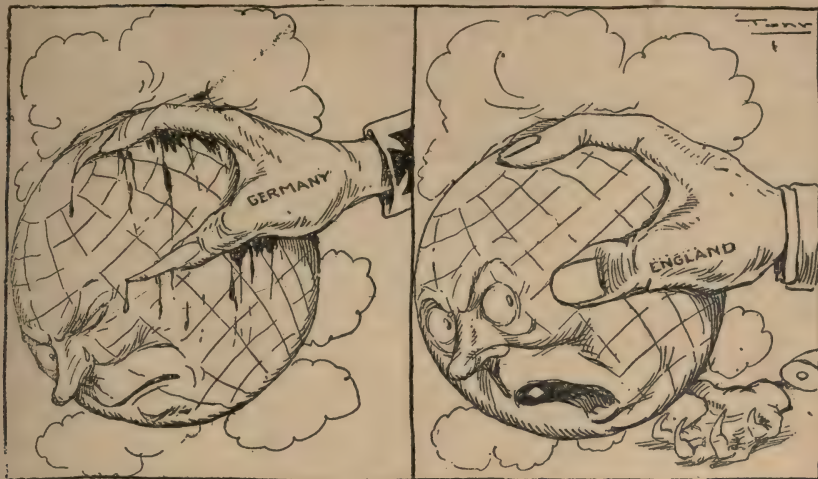
That personality, as defined by Mr. Huddleston, is that of a peculiarly heavy type of lawyer—"the solid, four-square lawyer who specializes in commercial cases," devoid of fancy, knowing the law, and stubbornly expounding it, hanging on like a bulldog, not to be cajoled or trapped—a character, in short, of grim

persistence. As a statesman, observes this critic, he has the same qualities and the same defects of these qualities. Once he fastens on an idea he will never let go. His idea is that Germany is dangerous and that France must disarm her and hold her down. Whether Great Britain agrees or not, even if it weaken the Entente, the mastery of Germany must be attained by France. It was in this uncompromising spirit that M. Millerand faced Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. Huddleston draws the picture and defines the issue keenly and clearly:

The drama grew intensely interesting: two conceptions clashed. The protagonists were men of vastly different temperaments—on the one hand Mr. Lloyd George, volatile, imaginative, lively—the typical Frenchman. On the other hand M. Millerand, stony, slow, difficult to move—the typical Englishman. It was strange to find the rôles reversed, to find the French bludgeon crossed with the British rapier. The bulldog was Millerand.

In reality, however, Mr. Huddleston adds, M. Millerand displays fundamental French qualities and Mr. Lloyd George

## [ITALIAN CARTOON]



—11 420, Florence

## WAR PERILS AND PEACE PERILS

There was a rapacious hand that wanted the earth—but it has simply been replaced by another

fundamental British qualities. The latter shows the British instinct of letting up on the under dog; the former typifies the French instinct of keeping the enemy down until his capacity for mischief is destroyed. Though the French policy may seem to store up much trouble for the future, this critic admits that in view of the industrial and financial ruin wrought by Germany in France it is hard for the special victim of German ravage to be magnanimous. "The Frenchman has been molded by bitter experience into a good hater. He has become pathetically suspicious." All Lloyd George's efforts to show on the basis of official reports that Germany is crushed, half-starved, a paralytic nation incapable of action, merely brings Great Britain within the range of this suspicion of a German plot to gain undeserved relief, and excites the resentment of the two chief opposers of this policy of mitigation—Marshal Foch and M. Poincaré. Clemenceau, who opposed this combination, failed of the Presidency; M. Millerand is carrying out the policy of these two leaders against Germany and would fall, thinks Mr. Huddleston, if he were not their spokesman.

## MEMORIAL DAY AT HOME AND ABROAD

ON May 30—Memorial Day—America's dead received their tribute both at home and on the battlefields of France, Belgium and Italy. The ceremonies at home included special messages sent forth from Washington by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy. In New York City the day was marked by parades of 50,000 veterans, in which soldiers of three wars participated. Some 20,000 marched in Manhattan alone. Surviving heroes of the civil war and of the war with Spain, followed by members of 200 American Legion Posts, passed in review before General Miles and other notables. A great outburst greeted the arrival of the British, French and Italian veterans parading with the American Legion, rank after rank of square-shouldered, fast-stepping men representing almost every branch of the service. Another parade of 10,000 men took place in the Bronx. Memorial services were held in many churches and all cemeteries.

America's Memorial Day was fittingly celebrated in the British Isles. Services were held at Glasgow, Liverpool and



Manchester, and the graves of 2,500 American soldiers and sailors buried in British soil were adorned with wreaths and American flags. Special homage was paid at St. Margaret's Church in London, the official church of the Commons, where Canon Carnegie, sub-dean of Westminster Abbey, lauded the deeds of the American hero-dead.

Similar honors were paid to America's dead in all parts of France, and flags floated over the resting places of the 70,000 who had fallen there. All allied organizations joined with the Americans in France to pay this homage, while throughout the republic detachments of poilus in horizon blue acted as guards of honor at the cemeteries. Marshal Foch and Marshal Pétain, with other men of prominence from the French Army and Navy and from civil life, spoke at the ceremonies. Many Frenchwomen in various localities decorated the American graves of their own accord. Special ceremonies occurred in Alsace, a children's chorus marching with song from one burying place to another, while their mothers and sisters placed wild flowers or grass wreaths on the graves of the American dead.

Major Gen. Henry T. Allen spoke at the

great military ceremony in Romange-Sous-Montfaucon, where more than 21,000 Americans are buried. On the slopes of Mt. Valerien, in the little cemetery of Suresnes, Marshal Pétain expressed to an audience of 10,000 France's gratitude to America. In an eloquent address the American Ambassador, Hugh C. Wallace, declared that the dead soldiers' task would not be completed until world peace was attained. A message from General Pershing was read at all the ceremonies. Acting for the French Government, Premier Millerand sent a special Memorial Day message to the American people.

Exercises were also held at Genoa, Italy, in the presence of the entire American colony, headed by David F. Wilbur, our Consul General there. The graves of the American fallen were covered with flowers. A letter from Robert Underwood Johnson, American Ambassador to Italy, was read, in which a plea was made for mutual understanding and sympathy between Italy and the United States on the ground of a common love for liberty.

The graves of two American privates

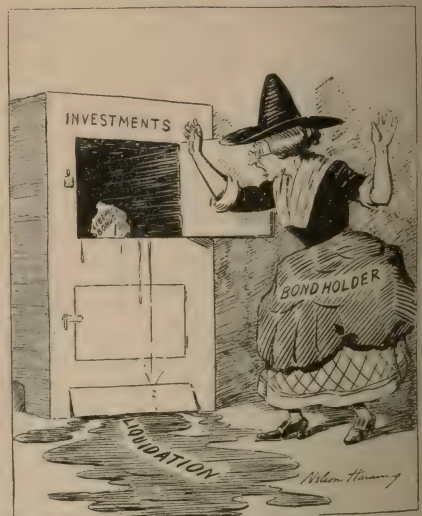
[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Brooklyn Eagle

NAVAL AMENITIES

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Brooklyn Eagle

OLD MOTHER HUBBARD WENT  
TO THE ICE BOX—

buried at Hasenheid, in the outskirts of Berlin, Germany, were decorated by the American Commissioner. A brief address was delivered by Ellis Loring Dresel, head of the commission.

\* \* \*

#### EGYPTIAN AGITATION AGAINST ENGLAND

**H**ARASSED upon the west by the ever-growing Irish disorders, the Government of Great Britain for some months past has been looking with anxious eyes at the disquieting situation in the Near East. In the Caucasus, in Turkestan, in Turkey, in Mesopotamia, in Afghanistan, in India, wherever she looks, England sees the sinister hand of Bolshevik propaganda working on the nationalist, anti-foreign sentiments of the native populations living under British rule. Above all she is troubled over Egypt, the gateway to India. Here, though direct uprisings have been put down under martial rule, the nationalist disaffection continues, and, like Banquo's ghost, refuses to be laid. An Italian publicist, Signor Pietro Silva, writing in the April issue of *La Lettura* (the monthly review of the *Corriere della Sera*, Milan), passes in review the origin and the development of this agitation.

The very benefits which thirty-five

years of British policy in Persia brought to Persia, says Signor Silva, the development of the country and the increase of its prosperity, tended to awaken the national conscience and to excite national opposition to the foreign benefactor. The germ of this opposition existed already when the war broke out. With its declaration a situation arose which crystallized the hostility of the Egyptian Nationalists. Fearing Turkish action against Persia, and distrusting the Khédive in power at that time, England at once took energetic measures to secure herself in Persia, the gate to India. The Khédive was ousted as a Germanophile and replaced by the present pro-British ruler, and the English protectorate was declared over Egypt.

This action stirred Egyptian nationalist feeling strongly. Repressed by the war régime, it worked like a leaven underground and secretly. After the armistice it appeared openly, and the principle of self-determination, excluded by the Entente during the war, was energetically invoked. But the demands of the Nationalists that an Egyptian Commission be allowed to go to Paris to present the national claims were curtly

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—The National Republican

AND SO DO WE—LIKE THIS

[SWEDISH CARTOON]



—Naggen, Stockholm

#### ON THE MERRY-GO-ROUND

HIGHER PRICES (to Higher Wages):  
"Don't fret yourself, my friend; you will never get past me!"



## [DUTCH CARTOON]



—De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

## THE PARTITION OF TURKEY

Armenia remains as a wallflower, while Lloyd George, Millerand and Venizelos walk off with all the rest

rejected, and the leaders of the movement, including the popular National leader, Saad Zaglul Pasha, were arrested and confined to Malta.

This measure brought Egyptian exasperation to the point of an explosion, already threatening in consequence of the Government action in instituting forced conscription and drafting 1,000,000 men for work behind the lines and in sanctioning an obligatory subscription to the Red Cross, the very name and symbol of which was anathema to people of the Mohammedan faith. The outbreak came in the Spring of 1919, and England's reply was to send General Allenby, invested with full powers to put down the revolt. The latter's attempt to placate the rebellious Egyptians by liberating the Nationalists at Malta and allowing them to proceed to Paris was counteracted by his establishment of martial law in Egypt itself.

The Nationalists at Paris seized the opportunity to conduct a tireless and

persistent campaign against the British rule while clamoring vainly for a hearing before the Peace Conference. Hand in hand with these agitators the Nationalists worked at home to extend the movement and to intimidate all Egyptian statesmen disposed to collaborate with the British rulers. England's answer to this was the sending of the Milner Commission.

The only effect of this concession was to arouse new and violent protests, and to provoke a new crisis. The Nationalists feared that acceptance of this mission would be equivalent to recognizing the British protectorate. Under this pressure Mohammed Said Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, was forced to resign.

The Nationalists meanwhile published a manifesto declaring that the Milner Mission was "contrary to the will of the Egyptian people, who are the sole masters of the fate of Egypt," and again demanding their independence. The Brit-

## [A AMERICAN CARTOON]



—New York World

## THE END OF AN ADMINISTRATION

ish plans have undergone no modification, however, and the Nationalists remain irreconcilable. The agitation of the malcontents continues unceasingly, and the Moslem University of El Azhar in Cairo is a hotbed of Egyptian "dis-sent." Meanwhile the Bolsheviki, who are working assiduously to undermine England's position in the Near East, and to unite all Moslem sentiment in this region, continue to train their professional propagandists in all Asiatic tongues at Tashkent, and under their highly organized direction the "Union for Freeing the East," an organization established and controlled from Moscow, grows and flourishes. Like all other Near East nationalism, that of Egypt looks toward Bolshevist Russia. It has been implied semi-officially in France that Mr. Lloyd George's reception of the Bolshevist envoy, M. Krassin, in London recently, was to be attributed, at least in part, to the British Premier's realization of the danger of this Bolshevist-Nationalist agitation in Egypt and the other Moslem regions involved.

## BOLSHEVISM IN CHINA

CAN Bolshevism gain a foothold in China? This question is put by Professor Wilhelm Schüler in the *Deutsche Politik* in an article translated by The Living Age in its issue of May 29. This German scholar, at the time he wrote, did not know the exact arguments which the Bolsheviki would use in attempting to convert the Chinese to Bolshevism. The text of the Soviet offer of alliance with China, published by the Shanghai Bureau of Information, leaves no doubt of the Bolshevist manner of approach. The appeal is addressed almost exclusively to the Chinese people, citing their right to self-determination, political independence, liberty from foreign oppression and from the yoke of foreign capitalism, including annulment of concessions and privileges granted to foreigners. Shrewdly enough Dr. Schüler deduces all these planks in the Bolshevist Far East platform from the program of the Tashkent Union for Freeing the East. Officially China has not replied to this skillfully devised appeal to



ideas and sentiments held by the Asiatic races in general and by China in particular. But Professor Schüler points out that such a program is received with willing ears in China, a country whose people are conscious of their present powerlessness and their hopeless financial situation and who hold the capitalist avarice of other countries responsible for these evils. What is considered as China's "betrayal" by the Entente in the Versailles treaty has strengthened the popular resentment. Of this, as well as of the national hatred of Japan, shown in the universal Chinese boycott, still continuing, the Bolsheviki have taken clever advantage, this writer points out, in expressly condemning not only European and American imperialism but also Japanese imperialism.

The other part of the program of the Tashkent Union, faithfully reproduced in

the Soviet appeal of alliance with the Peking Government, is no less skillfully devised to appeal to China's masses. Its guiding thought is the absolute authority of the people, its insistence that only the laboring, productive classes—principally peasants, laborers and artisans—are entitled to organize a national Government, the ultimate aim being to unite all Asia into a federal union of such republics. This part of the Bolshevik program gives evidence of an intimate knowledge of Chinese popular sentiment, extremely democratic in instinct and practice. These various features of the internal situation of China, concludes Professor Schüler, combined with the general discontent produced by the protracted civil war and the susceptibility of the Bolshevik Chinese mercenary troops, whose pay is always in arrears, to the Bolshevik advocacy of the expro-

[DUTCH CARTOON]



—Notenkraker, Amsterdam

TURKEY'S FATE  
Or, the man in the moon

priation of all private wealth, make the ground for Bolshevism in China extremely favorable to the Bolshevik propaganda, though whether China will take the Soviet road or not still remains to be seen.

\* \* \*

#### MAX HARDEN'S VIEWS ON GERMANY

TWO interviews with the redoubtable Max Harden, the inveterate foe of the former Kaiser's régime, contain strong meat for the German people to feed upon. The first of these public expressions was published by The London Times on April 11; the second was given in Copenhagen during a visit paid the Danish capital by Herr Harden, and was published in The New York Globe on May 14. In The Times interview the publicist declared that the German people had never grasped the meaning of

the word liberty, and to this inability he traced the von Kapp revolution and most of Germany's present troubles.

The real aim of von Kapp and his followers, declares Herr Harden, was to secure power to tyrannize over the rest of Germany. It was one of a series of blundering attempts made with the declared intention of establishing liberty, and the end is not yet. It was cleverly organized, and, in Herr Harden's opinion, Ludendorff was the chief director of it. The organizers knew well how to excite the admiration which Germans have been taught to display for any demonstration of effective might. The initial brilliant success broke down only as the result of inefficient handling. The brief period of Kapp's Government, however, produced no little rejoicing, expressed in the singing of *Deutschland*

[A AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Chicago Drovers Journal

KILLING THE GOOSE THAT LAID THE GOLDEN EGGS

Will he come to his senses in time?



*über Alles* and *Die Wacht am Rhein*. "That was in accord with the German character. The *Siegeskranz* is irresistible to them, and whenever a man appears before them wearing a crown or any semblance of it, accompanied by military bands, he will be welcomed without question as to his intentions."

In the Copenhagen interview Herr

Harden made further statements about the psychology of his countrymen which created a sensation in Germany. The German people, he said, were like a stinging nettle: they must not be handled gingerly but with an iron hand. Only force can compel them. To Entente leniency was due Germany's complete failures to observe a single one of the stipu-

[ENGLISH CARTOON]



—The Passing Show, London

IRELAND'S AGONY  
O Peace, Where Is Thy Victory?

lations of the Peace Treaty. The Germans gained the impression from the start that the allied nations, with the exception of France, "were soft-hearted, unpractical fools, who did not for a moment expect them to live up to their signature." France's energetic measures have lately caused them to change their minds to a certain extent. There will be no more trouble, said Herr Harden, if the Allies continue to follow France's lead and exercise unrelenting pressure. In conclusion Harden said:

We understand the French. They know us and have learned to fear us, and for this reason they want to get us down so low that we shall never be able to think of doing harm. But we shall never understand the English or the Americans, who combine the application of the sternest measures under certain conditions affecting the opulence and power of their own empires with humanitarian ideas, which we put down as mere sentimental slush and nonsense. We think ourselves more consistent, and I do not know that we are not right.

\* \* \*

#### MAXIM GORKY, BOLSHEVIST

IS Maxim Gorky really with the Bolsheviks, or is he only another one of those "counter-revolutionaries" who are secretly endeavoring to save at least a little of the former Russian culture? This question is propounded by Eugene Liatsky, a well-known Russian literary critic and publicist, in an interesting article translated and published by struggling Russia in its issue of May 29. This writer, after due consideration of Gorky's career and temperament, decides that his present relation to the Bolshevik authorities is due to the conservative motive just indicated.

As a Russian exile on the island of Capri, Gorky spent years in a kind of idyllic dream, gazing through his open window, as he sat at a table loaded with

books and flowers, at the blue waves of the warm sea, at Vesuvius wrapped in a golden mist, realizing that his fame was leaving him, and embittered as he wrote out the scenes of his childhood to bequeath to the world one last intimate

#### [A AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Leavenworth Post

#### SPEAKING OF HIGH HORSES

We know a man who would like to come down off of his

work. All this time he never relinquished his dreams of a social revolution in Russia, and he was very well aware that because of his prominence and his views he was a thorn in the flesh of the Czar's Government. Sullen and brooding in 1912, as moody as a woman, chafing as he watched the war in 1914, he at last secured the long-sought privilege of returning to Russia after the revolution broke out—the long-desired revolution, which none had preached more ardently than Gorky himself.

At first he was a declared enemy of the Bolsheviks, but he yielded to Lenin at last, to his crafty and delicate flattery: Gorky was called upon, as the supreme Russian representative of "bourgeois" culture, to save Russian literature from the anarchic conditions



of the great upheaval. No other position was more suited to his attainments than that of State Publisher for the best works of the world's literature. And so, while the Bolsheviks boast that the great social revolutionary is with them, Gorky, closing his eyes to the atrocities around him, works to save Russian culture, his own creative talent at a standstill, his soul imprisoned by the chains of voluntary servitude. A tragic situa-

tion for Maxim Gorky, this fine artist and fiery worshipper of culture, compelled to publish books when blood is flowing all around him, and to follow submissively the Bolshevik triumphal car. M. Liatsky sees only in the overthrow of the Bolshevik régime a possibility that Gorky will come again into his own, and unfold his talents for a disappointed world in some new and unprecedented splendor.

## CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS

*CURRENT HISTORY undertakes in this department to publish such open letters as it considers of general interest. No letter will be used without the name and address of the writer. On controversial questions it will be the aim to give all sides an equal chance at representation; CURRENT HISTORY, however, aiming to record events as nearly as possible without comment or bias, does not necessarily indorse opinions contained in these letters.*

### JOHN BURROUGHS ON GERMANY'S EXCUSE FOR WAR

*To the Editor of Current History:*

Professor Paul Rohrbach, who is described as a German publicist and lecturer, has, at the request of the editor, contributed to the May number of the Atlantic Monthly an article in which he seeks to justify Germany's conduct during the great war. Something like an apology might have had a certain interest, but this attempt at a wholesale justification is intolerable. He uses the outworn excuse that Germany was attacked; that she fought only a defensive war. Let us grant that this is true, but not exactly in the sense in which the publicist means: She was attacked just as every scoundrel is attacked in spirit and implication by every man who lives a decent and honorable life. There was a natural and inevitable antagonism between the genius of the civilization of the Entente and that of German Kultur. The Teutons felt this and complained that they were in the midst of a ring of hostile nations—hostile to their military spirit and dreams of world conquest.

Yes, Germany was attacked. She had been attacked long before the appeal to arms was made by every man in the Entente nations who thought a free thought or did a kind, disinterested act or felt bound by the rules of honor or justice or fair dealing or yielded to the impulse of sympathy.

For more than ten years, says Professor Rohrbach, his country "had watched a ring of hostile nations closing round it." Yes, hostile to the principles of international morality (or rather immorality) and national comity which its political teachers and military leaders—Nietzsche and Bernhardi—had inculcated.

The Entente nations' propaganda against Germany in pre-war days was well founded, but unfortunately was heeded by very few. Lord Roberts knew what it meant and what the toast "Der Tag" meant, but the alarm was not general.

Yes, Germany was attacked. She was attacked when treaties and covenants were regarded as sacred—not mere scraps of paper; she was attacked when the rights of weaker nations were insisted upon; she was attacked when the word "honor" was spoken, when autocracy was condemned and democracy was recognized; she was attacked when the citizen was held more sacred than the State; she was attacked by all forces of individualism; she was attacked by all efforts to reduce armaments and all efforts to establish rules for civilized warfare—that is, to wage war upon the armies of the enemy and not upon the people. The devil is attacked by every kind and innocent thought or act and by every impulse of altruism and every alleviation of sin and misery.

The Germans were in very truth attacked. All they stand for in world politics was attacked—their selfishness, swinishness and greed. There is a natural antagonism between Germanism and all other Western civilizations. Feeling the growth and force of surrounding conditions, they instinctively rushed to arms to defend themselves, and when the battle went against them threw up their hands with cries of "Kamerad!" Professor Rohrbach's appeal takes scant account of Germany's guilt—would have us forget it as a tale that is told—while he laments and laments that we did not lift the blockade when the armistice was signed, so that the "moral recuperation of Germany" (!) could have begun.

It was a principle of Germany's military

teachers not only to wage war against the military power of her enemy and seek to destroy and capture his armies, but also against the people themselves—women and children—and against the homes, the industries—indeed, against the very life of the nation—in short, to destroy the enemy nations, root and branch.

Did the Germans not aim to fulfill this dictum to the very letter with France, destroying her mines, her factories, carrying away the machinery and demolishing that which they could not carry away, deporting the population? That Paris was not reduced to ashes and London laid waste was no fault of theirs. Can one doubt for a moment that if they could have torpedoed the British Isles as they torpedoed the ships they would have done it? They figured out on paper that, with ruthless submarine warfare, they could inevitably starve England to the point of submission. And at one time it looked as if they might succeed. But in their greed and confidence they overreached themselves and drew the United States into the conflict. That act of pigheadedness sealed their fate.

I can but repeat: In the same way that Satan may justly feel that he is attacked by every moral and religious precept inculcated in school and church, Germany was attacked. His satanic highness may look upon the Golden Rule itself as a direct assault upon his most cherished schemes, a damaging evidence of preparedness and even of mobilization.

Germany's war gospel as preached by Nietzsche is illustrated by their whole conduct of the war. What was that gospel? I have never read it and never intend to, but Dr. Hibben of Princeton has made a study of it, and here are some of the principles which he finds:

"There is but one vice and that is weakness, and but one virtue and that is strength."

"It is better to cherish and develop our brute inheritance than to be steeped in the dreary commonplaces of morality."

"Whatever prospers is right, whatever fails is wrong."

"The supreme duty of life is to forget that we owe any duty to ourselves."

"There is no standard of conduct but success."

"To make men equal is to reduce them to a dead level of mediocrity."

Nietzsche taught that the worst of all so-called virtues was sympathy; that sympathy always has been and always will be an obstructive force in the normal development of humanity. "Vigorous eras, noble civilizations see something contemptible in sympathy. Brotherly love is a lack of self-assertion and self-reliance." The whole sum and substance of it is that might makes right, and that survival is the only test. The principles of German Kultur were written in fire and blood on the fair lands of France and

Belgium during the great war. Judged by her own standard, Germany was wrong because she failed. Had she succeeded, nothing but the Germanization of the world would have satisfied her ambition.

Yet she has not suffered for the full measure of her guilt. In her own eyes she has never been guilty, and she is at heart as defiant and unrepentant as ever. The Junker and the military gang that brought on the war are still in power. There is not the slightest sign so far that they regret anything except their failure to destroy France.

We are not through with the Huns yet. They cannot change, and do not want to change. There are still over 70,000,000 of them, and they are very prolific, as most bad things are. There will be 100,000,000 of them before we fairly know it. They are the one great standing peril which casts its black shadow upon the world, and they must be watched and checked in all possible ways.

JOHN BURROUGHS.

West Park, N. Y., May 26, 1920.

## APPRECIATION FROM CANADA

### *To the Editor of Current History:*

I wish you to know that, as a Canadian reader, I appreciate to the utmost the interest that *CURRENT HISTORY* is taking in Canadian affairs. I believe that you are taking a step in the right direction by publishing such articles as have been appearing lately under the name of William Banks, who shows a very keen insight into the affairs of this country.

While in the United States last Summer I was very much surprised to find so many Americans misinformed or unaware of Canada's war efforts and post-war conditions. Where doubt and ignorance exist there is no room for friendship.

I trust that the splendid articles by Mr. Banks will do much to give Americans a better understanding of their northern neighbor—an understanding that will lead to mutual trust and good-will.

BRUCE B. SHIER.

859 Roslyn Avenue, Montreal, Can., May 31, 1920.

## WHY POLAND IS FIGHTING

### *To the Editor of Current History:*

We are constant readers of your magazine, which we value highly as perhaps the only reliable source of exact information on contemporary history. Trifling errors may of course occur everywhere, and if we take the liberty of calling your attention to a few inexactitudes in your June issue it is only because in *CURRENT HISTORY* they happen so rarely that one is struck by them.

I. In your article, "Poland's New War on Soviet Russia," Page 454, you quote the statement of "The Polish War Minister, Major Boufall." The Polish War Minister is not Major Boufall, but General Lesniewski.



Major Boufall is the Polish Chargé d'Affaires in Latvia.

II. Your title, "Poland's New War on Soviet Russia," may lead into error American readers who do not know that it is always the same war, the war begun by the Bolsheviks in January, 1919, when they invaded Poland without any reason at all and which has continued ever since without interruption. The last Polish offensive, like those which preceded it, was undertaken in self-defense, to prevent a new invasion, for which the Bolsheviks are continually making preparations. From a military point of view such offensives are indispensable until peace is obtained—for which Poland is always ready.

III. Your map contains the line "Poland as defined by Treaty of Versailles, 1919." The Treaty of Versailles decided only the western frontiers of Poland. The eastern frontiers were provisionally fixed by the Peace Conference in December, 1919, with the addition that further rights of Poland are expressly reserved. We inclose a copy of this decision, as communicated to the Polish delegation in Paris on Dec. 8, 1919, by Mr. Clemenceau.

IV. The plebiscite area as marked on your map does not include the second plebiscite area between Poland and Germany in Upper Silesia and the plebiscite area of Teschen, between Poland and Czechoslovakia, in Silesia and former Northern Hungary. We are sending you under separate cover a map where these areas are indicated, but where the Polish military line should be altered in conformity with the last movements of the Polish Army.

T. ZUK-SKARSZEVIKI.

Director Polish Bureau of Information, 40 West 40th Street, New York, June 3, 1920.

## AZERBAIJAN AND THE KURDS

To the Editor of Current History:

May I, without seeming discourteous, call your attention to the mistakes contained in the Kurdistan section of the article on the "Dismemberment of the Turkish Empire"

in your June number? It contains the following phrases: "Kurdistan emerges from the Turkish Treaty better than does Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is only incidentally mentioned. *Geographically one is superimposed upon the other.* So the blunder the Entente made last January in recognizing the independence of Azerbaijan is now wiped out in the treaty. \* \* \* Meanwhile the Tartars of Azerbaijan, *starting from the Persian province*, have practically absorbed that part of Turkish Kurdistan which is dealt with in the treaty, and *these Tartars* are now fighting the Armenians."

These statements are not correct, owing to a very frequent and natural confusion between the "independent" Republic of Azerbaijan and the Persian province of the same name, from which the ancestors of the inhabitants of the present republic originally emigrated. A glance at the map on Page 509, accompanying my article on Armenia in the same issue, will show that all the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan lies to the north of the Russian-Turkish-Persian frontier, entirely on the territory of the former Russian Empire, while the province of Azerbaijan—as your reviewer correctly states—lies on Persian soil; but the republic has at no time since its existence controlled any part of the Persian province, nor has it ever made any serious claims to any parts of it. On the other hand, the Kurds occupy territory only in the Persian province; therefore Kurdistan and the Republic of Azerbaijan recognized by the Entente are not "geographically superimposed" as stated, and the "blunder" of the Allies (for I agree with your reviewer that it was a serious one) was such for reasons other than the geographical one stated incorrectly. Also, the Tartars who are attacking the Armenians did not start from the Persian province, but are, on the contrary, "Baku," that is to say "republican," Tartars, so that they cannot in any sense be said to have absorbed any part of Kurdistan, where there are only Persian Azerbaijanese.

BENJAMIN BURGESS MOORE.

East Islip, L. I., N. Y., June 6, 1920.



# Venice During and After the War

## How the City of the Sea Preserved Its Treasures of Art—A World Exposition Planned

HOW Venice preserved her beauty and showed her patriotism during the war was told in interesting detail by Gertrude Slaughter in the *Unpartizan Review* for April. Since the close of the great conflict Venice has been gradually coming again into her own and peculiar heritage. The immortal canvases of the Doges' palace, of all the Venetian churches and museums, are being brought back from their exile; the banked up and fortified façades of churches and palaces are again revealed; the scars of Austrian bombs are being, as far as possible, effaced, and Venice is preparing for a great exposition to which the whole world will be invited, to celebrate Italy's share in the victory and her own spiritual triumph over the forces of barbarism.

Long before Italy entered the war Venice was under no illusion as to what the Austrians—the inveterate foes of all that Italy represented—would attempt. For the Austrians, like their allies, the Germans, in the case of Rheims, knew very well that no blow more mortal could be delivered to their enemy's heart than that which destroyed the national heritage of hoary tradition and immortal art. Realizing this the Venetians, weeks and months before Italy took the fateful decision, by wise and concerted action removed the most precious paintings from their frames, rolled them on wooden cylinders, and transported them beyond the Appenines. The citizens of Venice raised violent protests against this "sacrilege," the confraternities decreed that their Tintoretto's and other great masters should not be touched. The grave risk of damage was emphasized, the confidence in the national defense was invoked. Venice would not be Venice if this were continued. To dismember Venice was not to save her. Gertrude Slaughter comments as follows:

It was a show of spirit easily to be condoned when one thinks of what was

happening. In the great council chamber of the Doges' Palace, which had glowed with the light and movement of historic victories—scenes of famous audiences of Emperors, Popes and Doges, tributes to Venice from the Occident and the Orient, imperial fleets conquered in the west and infidel armies in the east, the proud Barbarossa brought to his knees by the intercession of the Doge—Venice in history and Venice in symbolic legend depicted by the Tintoretto's and the Bassano's and Palma the Young and Paul the Veronese—suddenly the splendor has disappeared. Nothing is left but bare walls and empty frames—a lifeless body.

Despite the precedents of Rheims, Louvain, Ypres, only the actual rain of "Austrian manna" could convince the Venetians of the grim intentions of their enemy. In the early dawn of the first day of the war, even before the declaration had been published in Venice, an Austrian airplane dropped four bombs into the heart of the city. On the same day an Austrian squadron off Ancona turned seven large calibre guns on the Cathedral of St. Cyriacus, a twelfth-century monument of ancient Venice that dominates the sea. The Austrian warships plowed the Adriatic, unaware that a time would come when they would be forced by a tireless Italian fleet to hide in the deep harbors of the eastern shore. The danger, already a reality, became more threatening every day. The Venetians, remembering now the bombardment of 1849, when in three weeks 20,000 shells were dropped on Venice, set themselves to labor and endure. Aerial defense was organized; vast plans of protection from bombs and shrapnel were carried out despite the special difficulties of the sea-city's construction, which made the nicest calculations necessary, lest the weight that was needed to support and strengthen should crush the frail foundation of the walls.

On the third day of the war the bronze horses of St. Mark were removed. Under a clear May sky, after 12 hours of anxiety and labor, they were let down





(© Mirzaoff)

ANNUAL REGATTA OF VENETIAN GONDOLAS SWINGING DOWN THE GRAND CANAL FROM THE RIALTO FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE WAR

with ropes and derricks, and placed in wooden frames for transportation, those proud Greek horses whose journeys had chronicled the rise and fall of empires. The careful workers had no clear realization of the future, did not know that before those bronze horses should make their journey back from Rome, three powerful Emperors were to lose their thrones.

The famous Colleoni statue was protected by sandbags in a wooden frame; later, it also was taken down and removed to Rome. Brick supports were built between the carved columns of the Ducal Palace; the façade of St. Mark's and the Loggetta were hidden behind dull walls; places of refuge were built of sandbags under porticoes, inside courtyards, behind stairways; windowpanes were pasted with strips of paper that looked like prison bars. Piles of sandbags were pressed against arches, arcades, tombs, statues and doorways, marring with their bulk the graceful lines, and contrasting crudely with the patterns of the stones of Venice. "And so," says this writer, "the city of gold

put on her austere mantle of war. But the greatest test was yet to come."

This time came when refugees from the north were pouring in, and evacuation, partial or complete, was inevitable. "This is a story of hunger and thirst, of tears and laughter, of hope and terror, of threatened panic and triumphant courage." Any one who worked in Venice, with Venetians, in the last twelve months of their resistance, must have learned that the spirit of this great people is not dead. A poet has told in Venetian dialect how, when from the north a mighty wind of madness and plunder swept through the doors of Italy, a black storm of ancient enemies—Turks, Huns, Bulgars, Hungarians, Croats—till the earth trembled, and an arch of fire stretched from the mountains to the lagoon, the Italian soldiers, forced to retreat, found themselves at last with their backs against Venice. "Venice! Sacred, beloved Venice, bride of the sea!" And they turned—to fight for Venice.

The barbarians have seen their prey shining in the lagoon, and they rush on shouting: "Attack! We are on them!"

And a yell replies, "You shall not pass!" And they are hurled back in the mud, and the mud grows red. So today, tomorrow, and forever, "You shall not pass!"

So Venice rekindled faith in the soldiers' hearts, and they stood firm on the Piave, on the Sile, on the Grappa. Through the Winter and Spring the line held firm; by the sound of guns one could trace the battle front from far up in the mountains, over Montello and Montebelluna and the Grappa and the heights of Asiago. Then came the Austrian offensive, called the second battle of the Piave; called also the battle for Venice. Life in the Lagoon City, meanwhile, is described by the writer in the *Unpartizan Review* as follows:

Venice, 50,000 of whose population had remained at home—Venice, whose defenders we knew were to resist at any cost, went about her tasks as usual. There was a certain tension in the air, as the guns grew louder and louder, and crowds pressed closer around the daily bulletin. But the girls in the workrooms for unemployed went on refashioning twelfth century designs in lace and linen,

while in Government shops many more were making uniforms, or sewing in Red Cross *ouvroirs* for soldiers and their families. The small children were gathered into *asili* under the care of sisters whom the Patriarch had wisely ordered to remain in Venice. These children sang their songs and played their games, some of them in houses partly destroyed by bombs, and not one of them but learned to sing, before the day of the armistice, the "Star-Spangled Banner" translated into Italian. Women and old men standing in line before the soup kitchens were no less patient and smiling, or vociferous and Goldonian, than before. Most of the industries had been removed. But on the island of Burano, between Venice and the mouth of the river, the lacemakers of the Queen's School "put up their defense" by working on without a break. There were no interruptions anywhere, because Venice had long been ready, knowing the hour would come. The concerts in the Marcello Palace, under the auspices of the High Command, and the popular band concerts in the square were crowded with attentive hearers, and the church bells rang out across the water as if to defy the guns.

Under that first Summer moon air raids had become more frequent. There was an



ST. MARK'S CATHEDRAL, VENICE, AS IT APPEARED DURING THE WAR, WHEN THE WHOLE BEAUTIFUL MOSAIC AND MARBLE FACADE WAS PROTECTED FROM AUSTRIAN SHELLS AND BOMBS BY A THICK WALL OF SANDBAGS



almost constant rumbling overhead and the defense guns boomed and rattled, and the sky flashed, and one heard a bomb drop somewhere with a sullen roar. Searchlights of marvelous brilliance streamed across the sky. Sometimes they focused on an airplane, and one saw it suddenly, a gold insect caught in a web of light.

The broad canals were lined with gray destroyers and torpedo boats—all of them Italian; for no warships of the Allies entered the lagoons before the armistice. Night and morning the ships moved in

and out with perfect regularity, an equal number standing always at the moorings, an equal number putting out to sea. Dreadnoughts kept guard at the entrance of the port. On moonlight nights the swift little motorboats, topheavy with their huge torpedoes, slipped their moorings near the doorstep of the old Giudecca Palace where we lived and sped out to keep guard in open sea. In the dark of the moon they were bent on exploits. Some of these adventure boats had gone, never to return. But this time they returned next day. One of them, commanded by Rizzo, had sunk two dreadnoughts in open sea. He was hailed in the Piazza and feasted and fêted. \* \* \*

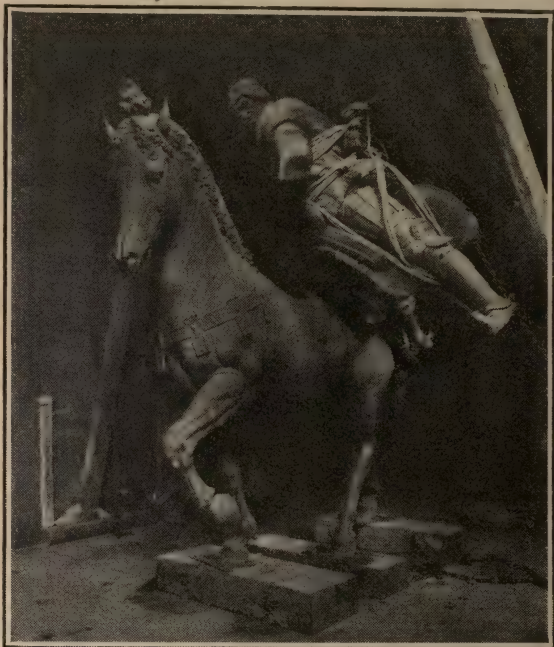
Meanwhile the Venice hospitals were filled with wounded, brought down in the Red Cross steamers through the lagoons. Many more were brought down in ambulances by the straight white road that led to the battle line and distributed in camp hospitals on the mainland. When we went up the road to meet them, carrying them food and drink as gifts from America, we saw something of the price that was being paid, and we came back humbled by their

patience and endurance. We saw also the racial gentleness toward suffering, which is of the same quality as their tenderness for children. "Shall I give your coffee to these Austrian prisoners?" asked a young Italian doctor. "But, yes," he answered his own question. "They are wounded, and a wounded man is never an enemy."

We were standing in the courtyard of a cream-colored villa shaded by eucalyptus trees. From the hot, white road the camions were driving in through the avenue under cool foliage and stopping by the garden entrance of the villa. The pavement of the broad hall that ran the

length of the house was crowded with stretchers, while from the walls, covered to the high ceilings with replicas of Greek and Roman sculpture, images of the helpless gods looked down upon them. All through the villa odors of blood and antiseptics hung heavy among the frescoes and carved arabesques.

To the hungry ears of the Venetians on the camion road came one day the news that the two wings of the Italian army had joined, hemming in the Aus-



THE FAMOUS GENERAL COLLEONI AGAIN MOUNTING HIS BRONZE HORSE IN VENICE AFTER HIS YEARS OF ABSENCE IN ROME. THIS IS REGARDED BY MANY AS THE FINEST EQUESTRIAN STATUE IN THE WORLD

trians and forcing them back. It was the culminating stroke. The victory was complete. "The black, two-faced eagle would never rend the lion of St. Mark, as in the design already published by the Austrian High Command." Now the sound of guns was fainter, and there was a new sense of security in Venice. Now was the time for public demonstrations, in the square, in the cathedral, in the Municipal Palace:

And when the five domes and the gold balls and pinnacles of St. Mark's rise



THE BRONZE HORSES BEING HOISTED BACK INTO THEIR OLD POSITION ON ST. MARK'S CATHEDRAL AT VENICE AFTER THEIR WARTIME RETIREMENT IN ROME

behind the scene above the Gothic palace and the Sansovino library; when the sun strikes the flags of all the Allies and the Gonfalone of San Marco, and turns the ivory of the palace to rose-tinted pearl and moves across the waters until their pale colors join the rich reds of San Giorgio's tower reflected in the Basin, there is magnificence enough for any hero of land or sea or air. Boats and hydroplanes were always in swift motion. At one celebration the whole fleet of little motor boats, crowned with flowers, circled about just off the Piazzetta, while gondolas stood on end in the high waves. Launches with officers in blue and gold speeded through the canals without pity for gondolas or foundation walls. And every one smiled approval, for the whole city was at war. At night when there was no moon, the Piazza was dead black and the silence of the streets lent weirdness to the cry of the guard, repeated like an echo from roof to roof.

Suddenly, after breathless days of waiting for the long-expected Italian offensive, which was to wipe out forever

the national shame of the defeat of Caporetto, the sound of the guns changed, turned into a constant stream of firing. It was the barrage to cover the Italian crossing of the Piave. The national enemy was defeated and Venice reopened the book of peace held in the claw of the winged lion of St. Mark, a book which, according to the tradition of the republic, is closed in time of war. It was opened quietly, without shouts, exultation, delirium. A procession carried the city's banners through the streets, wreaths were placed on the statues of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi and Manin. The great bell pealed out from the Campanile once more and chimed with all the other bells of the island; the *Te Deum* was chanted in St. Mark's. The angel on the peak of the Campanile, divested of its cloth covering, blazed like a golden sun. All



were smiling; all hearts were happy, too happy for noisy demonstration.

So the war ended for Venice, which found itself bruised but not destroyed. The city had been bombarded many times and many houses had been shattered; churches and palaces had been injured; the foundation walls showed huge breaches. Scarcely a glass window had been left whole. But the only irreparable loss the city had sustained was the Tiepolo fresco in the Scalzi, and on that memorable night when, for eight hours, no fewer than 300 bombs were rained on the island city, only one human life was taken. The Venetians, rejoicing at

their good fortune, have attributed it to the intercession of the Virgin Mary and have vowed to her a temple at the Lido. The life of Venice is beginning anew, the life of busy industry, of sweet, sunlit idleness, of slowly gliding gondolas—those gondolas which in a recent contest showed how swiftly, on occasion, they can sweep down the broad canal. The work of return and restoration of the priceless art treasures is busily proceeding. Some day, not far distant, Venice will stand forth again, arrayed in all her glory, the Mecca of lovers of beauty the world over, who will come to rejoice with her over the salvation of her immortal heritage.

## Panamanian-American Relations in Chiriqui

By ELBRIDGE COLBY\*

UNDER the Hay-Varilla Treaty of 1903 the United States was granted the right to use its land and naval forces for the protection of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone, and this authority has been by tacit assent extended to the fortification of the approaches, and to the maintenance of a considerable military establishment comprising all arms of the military service. Under the same treaty the United States was granted the right to the

occupation and control of any other lands and waters outside of the Canal Zone which may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said canal or of any auxiliary canals or other works necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the enterprise.

And under this authority the United States has acquired lands for plantations,

artillery batteries and radio stations outside of the precisely defined limits of the Canal Zone. In this way it has come about that American troops have frequently passed across the boundary into Panamanian territory. They have gone on long reconnoissance trips many miles from the canal; they have held extended manoeuvres at remote points; they have established outposts of infantry and artillery at strategic positions along the seacoast; they have mapped and developed for defense possible landing places for both Atlantic and Pacific enemies. The khaki uniform and the campaign hat have become familiar sights in Panamanian towns.

In addition to these purely military expeditions, however, there have been other movements of troops into the interior provinces on missions that were not military in character. The United States has guaranteed and promised to maintain the independence of Panama, and is naturally interested in maintaining the stability of that republic. But elections in Latin America are proverbially stormy affairs, and may end in bloodshed or even in revolution. Therefore, when both parties asked the United States to "supervise" their balloting, as they often

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\*The author was formerly Assistant Department Intelligence Officer of the Panama Canal Department, United States Army. He made a special investigation of some of the difficulties in the Province of Chiriqui in 1919, and has first-hand knowledge of the situation discussed in this article. He has been a student of American foreign policy in Central America, and has contributed to the public press several articles on Panamanian-American relations.

did, the Americans were only too glad to assist in the interest of law and order.

Under the treaty we have the right to maintain law and order in the Cities of Panama and Colon "and the territories and harbors adjacent thereto" in case we do not think the Republic of Panama able to maintain such order; but the Panamanian police force itself is expressly "charged with the preservation of public order outside of the zone." At election times, however, the Americans were invited to assist and to prevent trouble. This they did; sometimes by sending marines, sometimes by arming civilian employes of the canal, and more recently by sending details of troops. Without any real legal justification, then, there was gradually built up a precedent of American intervention at election time in the interests of law and order only, for the Americans did not conduct the elections, merely stood by to observe and to put down disturbances. This is the precedent, now well accepted in Panama as a tradition and a desirable custom.

In July, 1918, in accordance with this custom, officers and enlisted men were dispatched as usual to the remote voting places. Up and down the coast they went, to Bocas-del-Torro, Porto Bello, Santiago, Sona and one detail to David, capital of the distant Province of Chiriqui, next to Costa Rica on the Pacific side. The elections took place, and they all came back to their stations again—all except the detail at David, which remained.

#### THE CASE OF CHIRIQUI

Chiriqui Province, at the capital of which they remained, is a rich region, with many wealthy land owners, fine coffee plantations, an extensive cattle industry and a greater number of foreign residents than any other of the provinces not on the line of the canal. Irregularities in the registering of land, irregularities in the processes of law, a general increase in cattle stealing, inability of the police to bring murderers of two American citizens to justice, and generally flagrant violations of law had been observed for some time past by

these foreign residents. The French Consular Agent, the British Consular Agent and two large American land owners, Mr. Chase and Mr. Watson, made representations of the situation to Panama City, and the American Minister, William Jennings Price, and General Blatchford, commander of the zone, decided to have these American troops remain until the newly appointed Governor, Perrigault, and the newly appointed police chief, Juan Grimaldo, succeeded in establishing sufficient quiet to insure the protection of American interests. The troops, therefore, moved from their temporary quarters in the centre of town, and established a small post in an old hospital building on the line of the railroad. And after a year and a half they were still there.

During this year and a half they concerned themselves with investigating all reports of judicial injustice. They initiated and pressed some slight reforms. They assisted the police in locating and capturing many of the worst of the cattle thieves, with such good effect on the others that cattle stealing soon declined. They were on the best possible terms with the natives, with a few exceptions, and those exceptions were the men who were directly interested in the practices which they were trying to stop. The officers of the detachment were well received in David society; they belonged to the David Club; they attended the social functions; some of them even married locally. And there was an enlisted man in the detachment, Sergeant Abraham Solomon by name, who was so influential in Chiriqui affairs that he was familiarly called "the Mayor of David." He personally captured most of the cattle thieves apprehended, and turned them over to the Policia Nacional for Captain Grimaldo to take the credit.

#### ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING

In short, affairs progressed finely. The American occupation seemed to be doing a great deal of good, but the more good it did the less need there was for it, and at the end of the first year the Panamanians began to suggest that the troops be withdrawn, referring always to their



presence as a violation of Panamanian sovereignty. They said the troops were not there for the protection of the canal, which was 400 miles away, and that they had merely overstayed their election-time invitation. The American and French and British interests, however, insisted that they remain. And remain they did.

Considerable anti-American feeling had been stirred up in Panama City and in Colon on account of General Blatchford's much-discussed General Order 26, by which early in June, 1918, he temporarily restricted all soldiers from going to either of these cities—which are the only ones available for recreation—and the keeping of the restriction on for over a year. The soldiers were really restricted to camp for two reasons—as an attempt to boycott the Panamanians into certain concessions, and to keep the troops away from the red light districts of those towns. The Panamanians resented the loss of business, and they very much resented General Blatchford's Armistice Day declaration that Panama City and Colon were modern replicas of Sodom and Gomorrah. More anti-American feeling was also stirred up by attempts of the United States to acquire for military purposes the Island of Taboga, in Panama Bay, a charming week-end resort. These three factors, then, tended to make for strained relations—the Chiriqui intervention, General Order 26 and Taboga.

In July, 1919, the new American commander, Major Gen. Chase W. Kennedy, relieved the situation somewhat by a very friendly attitude toward the Panamanian officials and Panamanian society, in which Mrs. Kennedy soon became a conspicuous figure. He rescinded part of the obnoxious boycott order, permitted soldiers in town, permitted them to drink 4 per cent. beer in restaurants, but still kept them away from saloons and the red light district. The Taboga and the Chiriqui controversies were still open.

#### SERIOUS DISPUTE OVER LAND

In Chiriqui the situation became more and more acute on account of an approaching crisis in some land litigation in which an American, W. G. Chase, was

involved with a prominent Panamanian politician, Santiago y Sagel by name. The American position was explained in a handbill signed by Major H. E. Pace, which said in part:

On Jan. 19, 1920, José ed Santiago of San Felix telegraphed the Attorney General of David, giving him to understand that the Americans were defending their own property in the San Juan ranch. Mr. Santiago called this protection of the legitimate owners an abuse and a state of war. On the 27th of the same month he telegraphed the Governor of the province, telling him that the Americans continued protecting their property, and again called this protection an abuse.

The whole difficulty is based on the fact that the culpable, among whom are the Sagel and Santiago families, have been violating the property rights of the San Juan ranch owner for such a long time that they believe that this violation is sanctioned by the law. \* \* \* A commission went to San Juan and other places in that part of the province to investigate the matter about which Mr. Santiago has complained. When the culprits saw that legal authorities were determined to sustain the law and order, one of the said culprits assassinated the chief officer of the commission.

Some of the lands in the San Juan ranch are under controversy in court. The Americans have not yet entered these lands, because they are awaiting the decision of the court, which they will obey, but while this is going on they will defend themselves so long as the right which they have requires it. \* \* \*

The American troops will remain in this province until Messers. Sagel, Santiago and other culprits and the helps and accomplices of these recognize and obey the legal and constitutional authorities, be it a year or ten years, and, if more than that, permanently.

#### PRESIDENT LEFEVRE'S TELEGRAM

Upon the receipt of copies of Major Pace's handbill and complaints made by the David residents, President Lefevre, head of the Panama Government, summoned his Cabinet Ministers to conference, and dispatched a telegram to the Governor of Chiriqui Province, in which he said that Major Pace had no political standing and would have to withdraw whenever the American Government ordered him to go. President Lefevre added:

The Panama Government insists that the occupation of Chiriqui by American troops is not authorized either by acts or

by our treaty with the United States, by our Constitution or by international law, and continues unceasingly making representations through the regular channels to the Government of the United States against this abuse that has been inflicted on the sovereignty of a weak country, in which the American Nation, nevertheless, has its best friend. \* \* \* The National Government exhorts the authorities and public of Chiriqui to keep calm and await quietly the hour of justice, which will not be long in coming.

### FRIENDS URGE WITHDRAWAL

The Star and Herald, a daily newspaper of Panama City, usually friendly to the United States, said on March 2:

The danger of armed occupation in Chiriqui by the United States Government again raises its head.

The present Administration, previous Administrations and the Hay-Bunau-Varrilla treaty, with the Taft convention of 1908, safeguard now and have always safeguarded the interests of Americans owning property in the republic. In fact, the determination of the Panama Government to show itself the true friend of the American Nation has cost one prominent official of the republic his life.

Again, the Judge whose reported discrimination against Americans and foreigners brought about the sending of troops to Chiriqui has been removed and the Government has dispatched one of its leading legal lights, Judge Pinilla, to Chiriqui to guarantee that Americans shall be justly treated.

The telegraphic reply which President Lefevre and his Cabinet Ministers dispatched to the excited David residents

yesterday administered a just rebuke to Major Pace and gave further strength to the representations which the Government has made to the United States Government through diplomatic channels.

If Americans feel they cannot trust the courts trying the land cases in Chiriqui, and give ample evidence to substantiate their beliefs, they should apply to President Lefevre or to Secretary of Government and Justice Alfaro. \* \* \*

The relations between Panama and the United States are now better than at any time in the country's history. In Minister Price, in Governor Harding and in General Kennedy the Panama Government has faith, and believes they have faith in it. The withdrawal of the troops from Chiriqui should take place at once as a guarantee that the United States has confidence in Panama, the only true friend the American Commonwealth has south of the Rio Grande.

When General Pershing visited the Panama Canal on May 3 the Panamanians turned out in a torchlight parade in large numbers to protest against the taking of Taboga Island by the United States military authorities; they halted the automobile in which the General was going to a ball in his honor at the Union Club and forced it to return to his hotel. There was rioting during most of the evening. Two days later the Panamanian officials made amends for the demonstration, and also General Kennedy removed the last of the restrictions that had prevented American officers and men from mingling with Panamanians.





# Forced Labor in Russia

## How Military Compulsion in Industry Works Out in Practice Under the Communist System

**A**T the beginning of the present year Lenin and Trotzky, the absolute rulers of Soviet Russia, transformed at least four of the nation's fighting armies into militarized armies of labor. In other words, they began forcing men to work, just as, in wartimes, men in other countries are forced by the Government to fight for the national defense. This was the first time in the history of the world that the Communist idea of compulsory labor for the general good had been put into actual practice on anything like so large a scale.

In their first decrees the Bolshevik leaders emphasized the importance of building up Russia's demoralized economic structure—especially in respect to transportation, road and bridge building and agriculture—and justified the conversion of compulsory soldiers into compulsory laborers on the ground of patriotic duty to the State. As large and strictly disciplined Red armies had been necessary to overcome the Soviet Republic's enemies, they said, so now there was need of similar armies to fight the foe of economic chaos. The idea rapidly grew in favor—with the leaders. Within three months they had extended it to include forced labor of the whole working proletariat. Experience had shown that campaigns of persuasion, undertaken through the labor unions, were useless; men out of work simply wandered helplessly from village to village in search of food. They must cease to be free agents—they must be confined to one place and be made to do the task assigned them by the State.

### CURTAILMENT OF LIBERTIES

According to the Bolshevik system, every workman must be registered and must have his workbook always with him; he must do the work allotted to him by his masters and go where they

send him; becoming but a unit in a vast labor army, he gives up the right to strike or to organize any resistance to the powers that be for the purpose of bettering his own condition.

The adoption of this drastic measure in Russia sent a rather dubious thrill through labor circles in other countries, including those which had looked with more or less favor upon the Soviet scheme of "dictatorship of the proletariat." Even in Russia the change met with resistance from labor organizations. At a trade union congress held in Moscow in April, however, the opposition was voted down, and the co-operation of the labor leaders, at least, was assured. What these leaders will be able to accomplish against the "essential laziness of human nature," of which Trotzky so furiously complains, still remains to be seen. Walter Duranty, writing from Russia, reports that thus far the unwearying efforts of the Bolshevik leaders to work up enthusiasm for hard work have come up against a dead wall of apathy. Meanwhile the British are enjoying the spectacle of Jerome Lansbury, the trade union leader—who recently returned from Russia a convert to the essential perfection of all Soviet institutions—endeavoring to justify this coercion of the Russian masses to large audiences of very dubious British workmen.

### THE FIRST LABOR ARMY

A decree signed by Lenin on Jan. 15, 1920, created the first labor army. By its provisions the Third Red Army from the Ural front was converted into the First Revolutionary Labor Army with Leon Trotzky as Commander in Chief. A Soviet of the Labor Army was created and all economic Soviets were made subject to its instructions. The decree aimed especially at the creation of administrative machinery. The scope of the new

institution was defined in an official order by Trotsky, which was published in the *Krasnaya Gazeta* (Red Journal) of Petrograd on Jan. 18, and which appeared recently in *The Nation* translated as follows:

(1) The First Army has finished its war task, but the enemy is not yet completely dispersed. The greedy imperialists are still menacing Siberia in the extreme Far East, where the mercenary armies of the Entente are still threatening Soviet Russia. The bands of the White Guards are still at Archangel. The Caucasus is not yet liberated. For these reasons the First Russian Army has not as yet been disbanded, but retains its inner unity and its warlike ardor in order that it may be ready in case the Socialist Fatherland should once more call it to new tasks.

(2) The First Russian Army, which is, however, desirous of doing its duty, does not wish to waste any time. During the coming weeks and months of rest it will have to apply its strength and its means toward the amelioration of the agricultural situation in the country.

(3) The Revolutionary War Council of the First Army will come to an agreement with the Labor Council. The representatives of the agricultural branches of the Soviet Republic will work side by side with the members of the Revolutionary Council.

(4) Food supplies are indispensable to the starving workingmen of the industrial centres. The First Labor Army should make it its prime task to gather systematically, in the regions under its occupation, such food supplies as are found there, as well as to make an exact inventory of what has been obtained, and rapidly and energetically to forward them to the various railway stations for loading and transportation.

(5) Our industries require wood. It shall be the important task of the Revolutionary Labor Army to cut and to saw the wood, and to transport it to the factories and railway stations.

(6) Spring is coming. This is the season of agricultural work. As the productive labor force of our factories has fallen off, the amount of new farm machinery which can be delivered has become insufficient. The peasants have, however, a fairly large amount of old machinery which is in need of repair. The Revolutionary Labor Army will employ its mechanics and lend its workshops for the repair of such tools and machinery as are necessary. When the season arrives for labor in the fields, the Red cavalry and infantry will prove that they know how to plow the earth.

(7) All members of the army should enter into fraternal relations with the

professional unions of the local Soviets, remembering that such organizations are those of the laboring people. All work should be done after having arrived at an agreement with them.

(8) Indefatigable energy should be shown in the performance of all labor, as much as if it were an engagement or a battle.

(9) The necessary labor outlays as well as the results obtained should be carefully calculated. Every pound of Soviet bread, every log of national wood should be registered. Everything should contribute to the foundation of socialist economy.

(10) The commandants and commissars should be responsible for the output of their men while work is going on, as much as if it were a fighting engagement. Discipline should not be relaxed. The Communist societies should be models of perseverance and patience.

(11) The revolutionary tribunals should punish the lazy, the parasites, and the thieves of national property.

(12) Conscientious soldiers, workmen and revolutionary peasants should be in the first rank. Their bravery and devotion should serve as an example and as an inspiration to others.

(13) The front should be contracted as much as possible. Superfluous soldiers should be sent to the first ranks of the workers.

(14) Start and finish your work if local conditions permit it to the sound of revolutionary hymns and songs. Your tasks are not the work of hired laborers but a great service to be rendered to our Socialist Fatherland.

(15) Soldiers of the Third Army, you are the First Revolutionary Army of Labor! Let your example prove a great one. All Russia will rise to your call. The radio has already spread throughout the world all that the Third Army hopes to do as the First Army of Labor. Soldier Workmen, do not lower the Red standard! (Signed)

*The President of the War Council of the Revolutionary Republic,*

TROTSKY.

A second proclamation, issued by Trotsky in the official Soviet paper, *Pravda*, on March 16, took cognizance of the changed conditions arising from the continued victories of the Red armies in the field and decreed their transformation into a Red militia, this transition to be effected only by degrees. This new labor militia, composed of men all trained in war, was subject to be called to arms at any time and to be sent against any enemy. Meantime it was to be spread out over all branches of





TYPICAL REGIMENT OF THE RED INFANTRY WHICH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS CHANGED INTO A "LABOR ARMY," EACH MAN BEING COMPELLED TO WORK IN A FACTORY, ON THE RAILROADS, OR WHEREVER HE IS SENT

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

industry by regiments, brigades and divisions, the organization to be based on the principle of universal labor service. Three grades of military instruction were provided for.

### HOW LENIN JUSTIFIES IT

Lenin, later in March, acting on behalf of the whole Central Committee, addressed a circular letter to all the branches of the Communist Party, which aroused considerable attention. The passages given below are those dealing directly with the new policy. The admission of trade-union resistance to labor-militarization will be noted in the concluding paragraph:

Dear Comrades—It will be clear to you that the entire agenda we recommend for the coming conference\* has been dictated by the needs of the present moment. All the items on the agenda, whether taken severally or as a body, are intended to put before the whole party, and in all their magnitude, the problems of economic life which now must take the first place in our work.

Just as hitherto the position taken by the party was mainly determined by the fact of a civil war, so now it is necessary that

the position of the whole of the party, from its top to its bottom, should be determined by the fact of a war with the economic disorganization, without overcoming which we shall be able to make no headway at all. It is necessary that all the members of the party without a single exception should recognize the importance of the economic problems which confront us, and, like one man, should set themselves to the work on which the future existence and fate of the Communist system in Russia will depend. \* \* \*

Our party must most definitely tell, and most convincingly prove to, the working class and the laboring peasantry of our country that without iron discipline, without compulsion, and without certain self-imposed limitations we shall never be able to master the economic chaos. Had our Red Army retained the multiplicity of command, had we not rejected from the beginning elected commanders, regimental committees and exaggerated collegiality, had we failed to understand the necessity of enlisting the services of military experts for our constructive work—we should not have been able to defeat our numerous enemies, or, at least, we should have obtained our victory at a much later date and at an extra cost of tens or even hundreds of thousands of lives. The same principle must be adopted on the other front—the front on which we have to fight the monster of economic disorganization now strangling our country. \* \* \*

If we hesitate for a single moment as to

\*The ninth conference of the Russian Communist Party, held in Moscow in the first week of April, 1920.

the necessity of establishing labor conscription, and of militarizing labor (in the beginning, at least, in the form of labor armies), of enlisting the experts, and of fighting against the formless and loose organization of our collegiate economic organs, the cause of Communist reconstruction will be gravely menaced. \* \* \*

Our party conference is also faced with the task of removing the ambiguities of organization and the multiplicity of authority which can be observed in the sphere of economic administration. The rights and duties of works committees should be strictly defined. The conference should confirm and strengthen the position which was taken up by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at its last session with regard to the organization of railway administration. The management of industrial undertakings should be reduced to the smallest number possible, the maximum being three persons. The workmen should be definitely told that we are gradually coming to the introduction of management by a single person with a workmen's commissary attached to the management, when the latter is in the hands of a non-Communist. \* \* \*

In connection with the creation of labor armies opinions are being voiced among the workers in the trade-union movement which the general committee of the party cannot possibly indorse. The objections to militarization of labor, the references to the principle of "freedom of labor," the vague opposition to the growing centralization in the sphere of industrial management—all these are points which the party of the proletariat cannot recognize as valid.

### NINTH COMMUNIST CONGRESS

At the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, which ended in Moscow on April 6, the project of militarizing labor was the main theme of discussion. Lenin's introductory report, after pointing out that it was still uncertain whether there would be peace or war, because their enemies themselves did not know what they wanted, continued:

We do not promise immediately a country free from hunger. We say that the struggle will be more difficult than on the field of battle, but the struggle interests us more closely, for it is a nearer approach to our actual fundamental tasks.

Karl Radek's report on the Third International outlined the problem which labor must solve in the first period in order to clear the ground for progress. The second period, his report stated, would

be devoted to building machines for further improvements in transport and in getting raw material and provisions. The third period would be that of building machinery for the production of articles in general demand, and the fourth period would be that of the production of those articles. His report added:

This gradation has great significance in explanation of our plans to the working masses. We must admit to ourselves that no industrial mobilization will be possible unless we capture all that is favorable and thoughtful in the peasant and industrial masses in explaining our plan.

Marked differences of opinion were visible among the trade unionists regarding the rôle of the unions. Bucharin on this point declared that no immediate "stratification" of the unions was considered imperative by the Central Committee, but that it believed the whole development of the trade unions was in this direction. The alternative of collegiate, as opposed to individual, control aroused bitter discussion; Lenin, supported by others, opposed collegiate control on the ground of inefficiency; experience, he said, had shown that good work could be gained only by individual administration. Sapronov, the main speaker on the other side, alienated sympathy by a personal attack, and found the general attitude of the conference favorable to individual control.

### TROTSKY'S FRANK DEFINITION

Trotsky defined the militarization of labor as follows:

[It is] a régime under which each workman will feel himself a soldier of labor who cannot freely dispose of himself. If an order is given him to move to another position, he must obey it. Labor service means that the skilled workman, when he leaves the ranks of the army, must take his workbook in hand and go where his services are required. If he disobeys, he will be a deserter who will be punished. The masses of workmen should be moved about, ordered and sent from place to place like soldiers. Such a régime must be created by the labor unions. That is the militarization of labor.

Compulsion, declared Trotsky, had always existed in some form or other; it had been necessary, "man being by nature a rather lazy animal"; under capitalistic forms of government he had been driven by the blows of economic



necessity and the urge of hunger; under the Communistic labor régime he would simply be sent from factory to factory, not by his own will, but in obedience to a single economic plan. The whole success of the plan, said Trotzky, depended on the ability of the Soviet leaders and the trades union heads to make the workers and peasants understand it; it could not be based on force from above; the workman "should be drawn into the process of labor psychologically from within, and not compulsorily from without."

Trotzky defended his scheme of the substitution of a military labor militia for a standing army at the session of April 6. Such a militia, he declared, would combine most satisfactorily national defense and labor. The backbone of this militia must be the industrial working class, and for that reason the trade unions were destined to play a most important part in its organization. For this organization the country must be divided into economic districts, the centre of each of which should be an industrial nucleus.

#### TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

The resolutions formally adopted at the close of this Communist Congress did not reach the American public until May 30, when they were obtained officially from an intercepted Moscow wireless and given out at Washington by the State Department. The text of the most important passages is as follows:

Having approved the principles laid down by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party in regard to the mobilization of the industrial proletariat, labor conscription, economic militarization and the utilization of troops for economic requirements, the Congress decided the following:

The organizations of the party must assist in every way the trade unions and labor departments in registering skilled workers, for the purpose of employing them in productive labor, on the same principles and with the same severity as are adopted with regard to officers mobilized for the requirements of the army. Every skilled worker must return to his special work. Skilled workers may remain at other Soviet posts only with the permission of central and local authorities.

Mass mobilization for labor conscription

must from the very beginning be placed on a correct footing. In every case of mobilization the number of mobilized persons must be in accordance with the number of implements required, the amount of work to be done and the place of concentration.

It is also of the utmost importance that labor detachments formed of mobilized persons should be provided with technically competent and politically reliable instructors. Also, every labor detachment must include a nucleus of Communist workers, mobilized during the party mobilization. In other words, in forming these detachments we must adopt the same policy as when forming the Red army.

One of the most important tasks of the party is to render assistance in the greatest possible degree to the union of railway men, as the transport can be reorganized only by means of their efforts. At the same time it is necessary to adopt extraordinary measures toward [words missed] which are absolutely indispensable owing to the complete ruin of the transport. No effort should be spared to arrest the process of disorganization and thus to prevent the peril of the Soviet Republic.

Therefore the congress considers that the chief political department attached to the railways should be regarded as a temporary organization of the Communist Party and Soviet authority, and should pursue the two following aims:

1. By means of employing experienced Communists and the best representatives of the working classes to improve transport immediately, and at the same time to strengthen the union of railway men by means of drawing into it the best workmen, who will be dispatched by the Chief Political Department attached to the railway to various railway lines.

2. To assist the trade union in establishing severe discipline in its organization and thus enable the trade union of railway men to work independently for the improvement of railway transport. After the completion of this task the Chief Political Department and its district organizations must be included within the shortest time possible. \* \* \*

The Third All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions met in Moscow only two days after the close of the Communist Conference. There were 1,300 delegates representing many trades and crafts; at least 1,000 of these were Communists. The whole Congress represented over 4,000,000 organized workers. The sentiment animating all the discussions was that just as the trade unions had backed the Government in the struggle against

Kolchak, Yudenitch and Denikin (it was recalled that when Yudenitch was at the gates of Petrograd the members of the Trade Unions Council went to work with rifles on their backs), so now the workers, once they were made to understand that economic ruin was a no less tangible and terrible foe, would rally to the workers' Government in this new struggle. In a long speech Lenin warned his hearers that the task before them was not one that could be quickly accomplished. "To create new forms of social systems," he said, "that is work for tens of years. It took even capitalism thirty years to change over from an old organization to a new."

### A DESPERATE SITUATION

The seriousness of the economic crisis facing Russia is realized fully by the Bolshevik leaders. Despite all their efforts to prevent the delegates sent to Moscow by the London branch of the Russian Co-operatives from ascertaining the true state of affairs, these delegates were able to glean many facts which, as set forth in the account of their trials published in *The London Times* of April 23, paint a lamentable picture of the Soviet country's economic distress. All industry and trade, they found, was socialized and nationalized, and was under the control of special central bodies under the direction of the Supreme Soviet People's Economic Council. At the mills and factories there were no raw materials, fuel, or organized labor. The majority of skilled workmen were engaged in Government duties. Those of them who had not yet broken their connection with the villages had gone back there. The workmen who remained were bound by an iron discipline and every breach of regulation, even of such as were practically impossible of observance, was punished by fine or arrest. Strikes occurring on these grounds, or because of food conditions, were pitilessly suppressed. The output in all branches of national industry was continuously declining.

### REPORT OF SOVIET LEADERS

Captured Bolshevik documents received in Washington shortly prior to

May 9 gave confirmation of these statements. The documents included reports on economic conditions made before the Congress of Trade Unions—referred to above—by Leon Trotzky, M. Tomsky, Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and A. Rykov, Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy. The reports all dealt with the steady decline of industrial productivity since the rise of Bolshevik power and on the phenomenon of a labor shortage in industry when the demand for labor was at a low mark. All these documents, not intended for the outside world, came into possession of Gregory Alexinsky, a former Moderate Socialist member of the Russian Duma, a well-known writer on Russia under the Czar's régime, and one of the foremost Russian opposers of the Bolshevik rule and were sent by him to the Washington Government from Helsingfors.

The report of Trotzky put the number of workers employed in Bolshevik nationalized industry at 850,000, as opposed to Rykov's estimate of 1,000,000. The lack of skilled labor was so great, Trotzky declared, that even supplies and equipment for the Red Army could not be produced in adequate quantities. The industrial crisis, he believed, was caused by this and by the destruction of technical equipment. This scarcity of skilled labor he attributed to what he termed the "dissipation of the working classes," which he commented on as follows:

Hunger, the unsettled dwelling problem, and the cold are driving the workers from industrial centres to the country and not only to the country but also into the ranks of profiteering, into the ranks of parasites.

Tomsky also commented sadly on this labor shortage, which he attributed to intolerable living conditions in the industrial centres. The workmen scattered to labor communes, Soviet farms, producers' associations, or constantly migrated from place to place, seeking to better their condition while another very considerable part served in the army. Many of the proletariat, he admitted regretfully, also leaked away to join the ranks of petty profiteers and barter-traders—a fact which, he said, there was



no use in attempting to conceal or deny.

### ALARMING LABOR SHORTAGE

Rykov characterized this labor shortage as one of the most dangerous features of Russian economic life. "It has attained such proportions," he declared, "that we are unable to utilize certain establishments, even though they are provided with raw material, only because of the lack of skilled labor." Only 3,000 of the 4,000 factories nationalized were working. Manufacturing industry was declared by him to be in a state of crisis. The equipment on hand could not be utilized in many cases because of the lack of operators. Of raw material supplied in 1919 to metallurgical factories representing 30 per cent. of the country's requirements, they had been able to utilize only 15 per cent. Russia was producing only from 30 to 40 per cent. of the former output in the main branches of industry. According to Rykov, Soviet Russia has been living on the supplies left over from pre-war Russia. "But these supplies," he adds, "are becoming exhausted. We are daily and hourly approaching the final crisis in these branches of industry."

### HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS

The alarming food scarcity, to which all these reports attribute the industrial crisis, was explained by the Moscow correspondent of the Paris paper, *Excelsior*, shortly prior to May 14, as due to the policy of Lenin toward the peasants. When Lenin gave the peasants land he demanded that the State should receive its products. The peasants, to avoid this, produced only enough for their own needs. No plows or implements can be pur-

chased, even by those who wish to produce, and no repairs can be executed. Another main cause, this correspondent said, was the obstinate refusal of the Russian proletariat to work, despite the frenzied attempts of the Bolshevik leaders to stimulate an enthusiasm which does not exist. Petrograd placards declared that the Moscow workers were laboring day and night; Moscow placards said the same of Petrograd, and appealed to the Moscovites not to allow themselves to be outdone. The examples of feverish energy given by official demonstrationists in factories, railroads and shops throughout the country were watched with mild detachment by the workers, who returned to their reposeful ways after the demonstrationists' departure. Voluntary Sunday morning labor was organized in Moscow by the Intellectuals, including the Soviet chiefs. The Minister of Public Works overdid it, injured himself while unloading wagons, and died. The Russian workmen merely murmured "Nitchewo" (what's the use) and worked no harder than before.

Thus far the drastic cure adopted by the Soviet dictators has shown no marked results. The official organ of the Moscow Government reports an estimated deficit for 1920 on the operations of nationalized industries of 23,756,700,000 rubles, according to a Berlin dispatch of May 31 to the Exchange Telegraph Company. The total includes 5,650,000,000 rubles spent on official salaries and on organization of the industries, 14,393,000,000 rubles lost owing to production cost exceeding sale prices and 1,210,000,000 rubles spent on political measures which were found necessary to keep the workmen quiet.



## British Memorials to the Fallen

**A**GREEMENT was reached by the House of Commons on May 4, 1920, regarding the recommendations of the War Graves Commission. After a three hours' debate the House voted £991,000 for carrying out the work on the graves of the fallen. Opposition to a uniform memorial to be erected by the commission was answered by Burdett Coutts in a moving appeal for recognition of the uniformity of sacrifice by a similar uniformity of memorial. Lord Robert Cecil, who was among the opposers of this policy, made a plea for diversity of choice, saying that each memorial should symbolize the dead soldier's faith. Mr.

Churchill, in this atmosphere of controlled grief and proud tributes to the dead, stated that the project was under consideration by the Government.

According to the commission's plans, laid down in the House on April 27, each grave will have its enduring headstone carved with the symbol of the dead man's faith; his name, rank and regimental badge, and whatever text or inscription his relatives wish. All essential data will be kept in an official register in the cemetery. Each cemetery will have in addition a large Cross of Sacrifice and a stone of remembrance. The cross con-



*Designs to be used on gravestones in 1,000 cemeteries in France and Belgium where British soldiers rest. Each stone bears the badge of the soldier's regiment, his name and rank, the insignia of his faith, and an inscription chosen by his relatives. No difference is made between officers and men.*

Asquith and other members, speaking in a strain of repressed sorrow that was shared visibly by all the members of the House, advocated that those who had paid the supreme sacrifice, alike officers and men of the rank and file, should have their names and their services perpetuated in the same memorial. Mr.

tains the emblem of a sword, while the stone bears the inscription (suggested by Mr. Kipling), "Their Name Liveth Forevermore."

The number of properly registered graves in France and Belgium is over 350,000, and there are more than 1,000 British cemeteries in those countries.



# The Socialist International

## Many Swinging Away From Both Second and Third Organizations and Planning a New One

**L**ABOR union and Socialist leaders in all countries at the present time are giving anxious attention to the possibility of reconstructing in some form the Second Socialist International, which lapsed during the war. The last six years have brought a drift toward radicalism in Socialist circles, and Russian Communism or Bolshevism has sought to gain the leadership of the movement by means of the Third International, created by Lenin and Trotzky in 1919, with headquarters in Moscow. Only the extremists in other countries, however, have thus far voted to join the Moscow group, which stands for violent methods and a "dictatorship of the proletariat." The trend of the labor parties has been rather toward the organization of a new International that could be modeled on the moribund Second, but be brought abreast of the new conditions.

The First International was founded by Karl Marx and his followers in 1862. Its rallying cry, "Workmen of all countries, unite!" is now the slogan of the Moscow group, and is inscribed on the banners of the Soviet Republic. Marx's organization was broken up and finally destroyed soon after the Franco-Prussian war by irreconcilable dissensions over its aims and functions. In all present-day discussions of worldwide co-operation of labor the issue has been sharply drawn between the Second and Third Internationals, the former standing for revolution by constitutional methods the latter for revolution by armed violence if necessary.

The Second International was created in 1889, and though the World War split it into fragments it still maintains headquarters at Brussels. The bodies affiliated with it found themselves riven in twain by the war, divided sharply into patriots and anti-patriots; thus the resolutions pledging the members to a general strike in case of a European war proved to be

utterly useless when the war came. Nationalism triumphed over internationalism.

Among the more important national groups to leave the Second International were the Socialist Parties of Italy, France, Norway and the United States. The Independent Socialist Party of Germany, which was organized during the World War by Socialists who could not endure the pro-Government stand of the old "Majority" Social Democratic Party, decided at its Leipzig convention, held last December, to negotiate with revolutionary Socialist groups of Western Europe for the purpose of lining them up for a conference with the Third International; it still hopes to organize a new International that will embrace the best parts of both the Second and the Third. If this plan fails, the Independents will join the Third International anyway.

### THE MOSCOW ORGANIZATION

Before the Second International could be reconstructed by the more moderate leaders—men of the type of Arthur Henderson and Ramsay Macdonald in England, of Jean Longuet in France, of Karl Kautsky in Germany—Lenin and Trotzky seized the opportunity to create an International of their own, which they formally called the "Third International." This organization, established in Moscow in March, 1919, was based definitely on the principle of class warfare, and has been used ever since to promote Lenin's scheme of worldwide Bolshevik propaganda. Affiliation is strictly limited to societies which accept the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the Soviet form of government. Socialist "war patriots," Socialists who advocate constitutional methods, or who represent "bourgeois ideology," are resolutely excluded. The executive board is composed of the chiefs of the Bolshevik Govern-

ment, and its policy is decided by Lenin and Trotzky.

Nearly every country in the world possesses societies officially connected with this Moscow International. It has been joined outright by the Socialists of Italy, Norway, Serbia, Rumania, as well as by various sections in Sweden, Den-



G. ZINOVIEV

*President of Third International at Moscow,  
organ of revolutionary propaganda  
(Photo Underwood & Underwood)*

mark, Bulgaria, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Spain, Switzerland, England and America.

In the United States both the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party immediately proclaimed their allegiance to the Moscow International, and the Socialist Party, by a referendum vote, the result of which was made public last Winter in connection with the ejection of the five Socialist Assemblymen from the New York Legislature, decided three to one to support it. The Socialist Party, however, expressly stated in the resolution adopted by the referendum that it supported Moscow not so much on account of its tactics as because of the fact that it was really doing something to destroy worldwide capital-

ism and therefore should be backed up. Socialist Party leaders aver that when an international conference of the Third International becomes possible, the American Socialists will insist upon being allowed to use their own judgment as to the best methods of establishing a Socialist régime here. This stand was definitely affirmed at the National Socialist Party convention held in New York in May.

The Third International is the instrument through which revolutionary propaganda is actively carried on in all the "capitalistic" countries. According to a correspondent of The London Morning Post it has established at least six official organizations and two press agencies in Great Britain alone.\* The great obstacle to the reconstruction of the old Second International has been the steady drift of Laborites and Socialists toward this Bolshevik organization.

#### PLANNING A NEW INTERNATIONAL

The French Socialist Congress held at Strasbourg, Feb. 25-28, 1920, decided by a vote of 4,330 to 337 to withdraw from the Second International, and by a vote of 3,031 to 1,621 it accepted the resolution of the Centre (led by Longuet and Cachin), to create a new organization, at the same time rejecting the proposal to join the Bolshevik International of Moscow.

The Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, at a conference held in Glasgow on April 6, facing the alternative of affiliating with the Moscow International immediately or of proceeding by way of a preliminary inquiry and consultation, took the latter course by 472 votes to 206, and decided to invite the Swiss Socialists to collaborate in discussing the possibility of creating a new International better adapted than that of Moscow to the ideals of Socialists in other countries. The Swiss Socialist Party, at a congress held last August, had voted to join the Third International; but in a referendum held in Oc-

\*For official text of the revolutionary program of the Third International see CURRENT HISTORY for February, 1920, Page 308.



tober it decided against such action by a vote of 14,612 to 8,722. On April 17 the Central Committee of the Swiss Socialist Party voted 20 to 18 for joining the Third International, which doubtless means another referendum on the question.

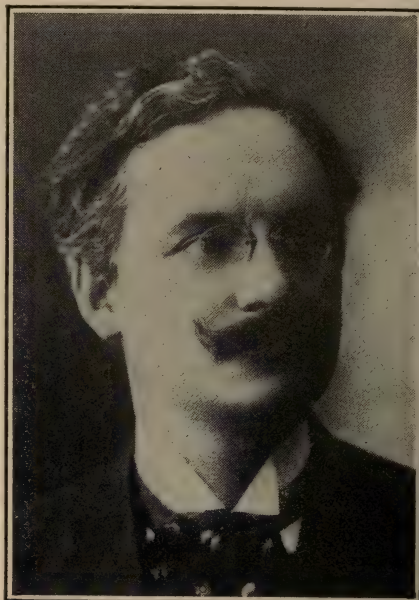
British moderate opinion as represented by Arthur Henderson (British Labor Party) and by Ramsay MacDonald (Independent Labor Party) is wholly opposed to joining the Moscow Bolsheviks. Mr. Henderson, advocating the creation of a new International by a general congress, declared on March 17 that the British Labor Party did not desire to compromise by using the terms Soviet, revolution, dictatorship. Mr. MacDonald, in a published article, stated that he objected to the domineering methods of the Moscow organization, at least three of whose cardinal doctrines he rejected. George Lansbury, however, representing the radical, revolutionary element, said he feared no violence from the Moscow program and had no apprehensions concerning Soviets, supreme councils, or "the disciplined labor armies now being established in Russia." The British Socialist Party, a small group of theorists, has voiced its allegiance to the Moscow International.

### THE CONGRESS AT GENEVA

In what may, perhaps, be characterized as a final attempt to save the Second International and make it the basis of the new International, likely, in the opinion of many Socialist publicists, to be born out of the present strife, Camille Huysmans, secretary of the Second International, sent out an invitation from Brussels on April 10 to the Socialist and Labor parties, or organizations, of the world to be represented at the Tenth International Socialist and Labor Congress, which is to meet in Geneva on July 31, 1920. In order to bring as many delegates as possible to the congress and to try to heal the breach in the revolutionary ranks, M. Huysmans, in the name of the Permanent Commission of the Second International, invites "not only the affiliated sections, but also all other organizations animated with this will to unity." The non-affiliated sections may

take part in the debate in a consultative capacity, if they so desire, thus reserving their liberty of final decision. The only prerequisite for sending delegates is subscription to the following program:

1. The political and economic organization of the working class for the pur-



JEAN LONGUET

*Leader of Minority Socialists in France*  
(© Underwood & Underwood)

pose of abolishing the capitalist form of society and achieving complete freedom for humanity through the conquest of political power and the socialization of the means of production and exchange; that is to say, by the transformation of capitalist society into a collectivist, or communist, society.

2. The international union and action of the workers in the struggle against jingoism and imperialism and for the simultaneous suppression of militarism and armaments, with the object of bringing about a real league of nations, including all peoples master of their own destiny, and maintaining world peace.

3. The representation and defense of the interests of oppressed peoples and subject races.

### VOTING POWER BY COUNTRIES

Although at present about the only important parties left in the Second International are the Majority Social

Democratic Party of Germany, the British Labor Party, the Belgian Labor Party, the Social Democratic Labor Party of Holland, the Austrian Social Democratic Party, the Majority Socialist Parties of Sweden and Denmark, the Polish Socialist Party, and the Finnish Social Democratic Party, M. Huysmans

sent an open letter to M. Huysmans refusing to send delegates to the Geneva meeting on the ground that the present divisions in the ranks of the various Socialist bodies made the prospects of fruitful work very remote.

On May 20 the German Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia also voted to send delegates to the German conference.

The agenda of the July congress will include questions of international unity, the matter of the responsibility for the outbreak of the World War, the League of Nations, democracy vs. dictatorship, socialization, political system of socialism, labor legislation, colonial policy, emigration, high cost of living, and the organization of the Socialist and Labor press.

The principal moves of the Second International since the armistice are summarized by M. Huysmans as follows:

Following upon the armistice and as soon as the material possibilities of reunion were recovered, the parties of the International which, even during the war, felt the need of reconstitution, met at Berne (Feb. 2-10, 1919). They intrusted the task of the preparation of that reconstitution to a "permanent commission" appointed with the approval of all the parties represented at that conference. The commission began its labors with a single-minded desire to serve the interests of the international labor movement. It has endeavored to fulfill the obligations of its task by bringing together the sections in two conferences which were held at Amsterdam (April 20-29, 1919) and at Lucerne (Aug. 1-10, 1919). At Lucerne the convocation to Geneva of a general congress was decided upon with the consent of all sections, including those which have since detached themselves from our organization. The congress was to have been held in February, 1920. On the suggestion of the Austrian Social Democratic Party and in the interests of the object sought, the date was changed to July 31. This date was definitely approved at the Rotterdam meeting of March 23, 1920.

The new alignment of the various groups now in progress has a direct bearing upon the nature of the revolutionary activities of international socialism in the immediate future.



ARTHUR HENDERSON  
*British Labor Leader*  
(Photo by P. S. Rogers)

announces that the voting power of the various countries in the coming congress will be as follows:

Germany, United States, France, Great Britain and Russia, 30 votes each; Italy, 24 votes; Australia, Austria, Belgium, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine, 15 each; Argentina, 12; Denmark, Holland, Hungary, Poland and Switzerland, 10 each; Finland, Norway and Yugoslavia, 8 each; South Africa, Bulgaria and Spain, 5 each; Armenia, Canada, Georgia, Lithuania and Palestine, 4 each; Greece, 3; Bolivia, Chile, Estonia, Ireland, Latvia, Peru, Portugal and Rumania, 2 each; Luxemburg, 1.

On May 7 the Executive Committee of the Austrian Social Democratic Party





ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, WHERE 80 PER CENT. OF ALL EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS FIRST SET FOOT ON AMERICAN SOIL AND WHENCE THE DEPORTED "REDS" ARE SHIPPED BACK HOME

(© International)

## Dealing With "Red" Agitators

Why the Deportation of Alien Revolutionists Ceased for a Time  
—A More Stringent Law Enacted

THE activities of revolutionary agitators, mostly Communists of alien birth, have given the Washington Government a rather difficult problem, which it decided some months ago to solve by deporting the chief offenders to their own countries. The nation-wide arrests of radicals last January netted approximately 3,000 aliens, of whom fully three-fourths were Russians, and most of whom became "perfect cases" for deportation, as a result of Secretary of Labor Wilson's decision that the Communist and Communist Labor Parties were revolutionary within the meaning of the deportation law. The mere fact of membership in both of these parties was at that time accepted as sufficient ground for deportation.

The Department of Labor and the Department of Justice planned that the deportation of convicted radicals should be pushed rapidly. In a letter sent to Francis Fisher Kane, attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, whose resignation on Jan. 12 had been accompanied by a strong condemnation of the drastic methods of Attorney General Palmer, Mr. Palmer quoted the official manifesto of the Communist Party to prove that its members

planned the overthrow of the Government by force, that they were in alliance with the Moscow International, and sought to establish proletarian rule by armed power in the United States. In answer to Mr. Kane's criticisms of the deportations already made\* and those then contemplated, Mr. Palmer stated that after careful study he had failed to discover a single instance where injustice had been done to any alien. A hearing had been given in every case, and the accused granted every opportunity to justify himself. The problem of the families of the men deported, he said, was one which every Judge must face when confronted with transgression of the law.

### MANY RADICALS INDICTED

In accordance with the Government view, all Communist leaders seized were indicted on the ground of anarchistic conspiracy. W. B. Lloyd, a wealthy radical, and thirty-seven other alleged members of the Communist Labor Party,

\*The Buford, dubbed the "Soviet Ark," sailed from New York to Finland at the end of December, 1919. It carried 249 Red deportees, including Emma Goldman, whose disillusionment with Bolshevik Russia, the Red Paradise, has since become a matter of record.

were so indicted in Chicago on Jan. 21. One of those listed, John Reed, had escaped to Copenhagen several months previously by shipping as a coal passer. He was recently arrested as a stowaway and Bolshevik messenger by the authorities of Finland in the hold of a ship about to sail for Soviet Russia. Many State and local organizers were also listed.

The name of one prominent member of the Communist Party—Rose Pastor Stokes—led a list of eighty-five major and minor leaders of the organization against whom indictments were returned on Jan. 23 by the Grand Jury of the Cook County (Illinois) Criminal Court. Her arrest was delayed by illness, but on Feb. 4 she was arrested just after testifying in the case of Benjamin Gitlow, a fellow Communist, who was being tried in New York on similar charges. Mrs. Stokes had already been sentenced, on June 1, 1918, to serve ten years in the Missouri State Penitentiary for violation of the Espionage act by alleged disloyal and subversive attacks upon the Government of the United States. She had been released on \$10,000 bail pending an appeal of her case. At the hearing given her she declined to answer questions regarding her affiliation with the Left Wing of the Communist Party, on the ground that it would tend to incriminate her. She was released on \$5,000 bail, which was furnished by her husband, J. Phelps Stokes. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals on March 9 reversed the 1918 verdict on the ground that the charge of the Judge presiding at this trial had been biased and unduly influenced the jury, and remanded the case for a new trial.

#### BENJAMIN GITLOW'S CASE

The case of Gitlow, on whose behalf Mrs. Stokes had testified, aroused much public interest. Gitlow is a native American and was educated in the public schools. He resided in Brooklyn and at the time of his arrest was 29 years old. A clothing cutter by trade, he had left a salary of \$41 weekly to become business manager of a radical paper called *The Revolutionary Age* at a much smaller

wage. An active member of the Socialist Party, he had been elected to the Assembly of New York State several years previously. In 1918 and 1919, according to the indictment, he had openly associated himself with a group of anarchists who taught by spoken and written word that the United States treated its workmen with injustice and brutality, and that there was no hope for bettering their condition by constitutional means. A fluent Socialist orator, he had spoken publicly against America's entering the war.

Gitlow was convicted of conspiring to publish in his magazine the manifesto of the Communist Party advocating overthrow of the Government. He was the first of twenty-three men to be tried, all of whom had been arrested as the result of investigations and raids by the Lusk Committee. At his trial he refused to testify, but shortly before the end of the case he addressed a long speech to the jury seeking to defend publication of the Communist manifesto. He was convicted of criminal anarchy in the Criminal Branch of the New York Supreme Court on Feb. 6, and on Feb. 11 received from Justice Weeks the maximum sentence of from five to ten years on the ground that no extenuation of his conduct could be found. Gitlow was simultaneously under indictment in Chicago for conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States; the New York sentence superseded Federal action.

Many penitentiary and jail sentences were imposed in other parts of the country. In Cincinnati thirteen Socialists convicted of conspiracy to defeat the military draft received sentences of from three to fifteen months. Seven of the ten Industrial Workers of the World charged with the murder of Warren O. Grimm, one of the four former soldiers shot down during an Armistice Day parade, were found guilty of second degree murder at Montesano, Wash., on March 13. These men were sentenced to from twenty-five to forty years each in the State Penitentiary on April 5.

The efforts of the Government to strengthen the sedition laws and to curb anti-governmental activities by addi-



tional legislation met with sturdy resistance on the part of Samuel Gompers, who appeared before the House Rules Committee in Washington on Jan. 22 and denounced not only the Graham and Sterling sedition bills but also the less drastic proposals of the Attorney General. Mr. Gompers objected to the proposal to inflict the death penalty, to the attack on free speech and individual rights and, above all, to the possible use of the proposed laws for placing a "despotic embargo" on all attempted strikes. Other prominent people also voiced protests, and the pending bills were denounced and defended by members of both parties.

Mr. Palmer appeared before the House Judiciary Committee on Feb. 4. After asserting his belief in free speech, he declared that there was a dead-line beyond which the Reds should not be allowed to go. He thought, however, that the Graham and Sterling bills were too drastic and would defeat their own purpose. He asked for simpler legislation.

#### DEPORTATIONS HALTED

The great anti-Red activity shown at the beginning of the year by the Departments of Labor, Justice and Immigration gradually died down for reasons which, at first, were something of a mystery. It developed later that among the main causes for this slackening of energy were the decision of Secretary Wilson that membership in the Communist Labor Party was not a deportable offense and the policy adopted by Louis F. Post, the Acting Secretary, in canceling deportation orders and in reducing the amount of bail from \$10,000 to \$1,000. Secretary Wilson's decision on Jan. 21 that membership in the Communist Party justified deportation had applied likewise to the Communist Labor Party. The new decision was given out on May 5, just in time to prevent new nation-wide raids by the Federal agents under Attorney General Palmer on members of this party. Two hundred warrants were canceled.

The decision was vigorously attacked by Francis P. Garvan, Assistant Attorney General, who declared that all Red radicals would now be able to join the

Communist Labor Party without renouncing a single one of their principles, and that the power of the Department of Justice to repress the radical movement would be greatly curtailed.

The ground taken by Secretary Wilson was that the official utterances of the party, though advocating a revolution, called for the use of parliamentary methods, in which respect it differed from the Communist Party. It was estimated that there were some 50,000 to 60,000 members of the exempted party.

#### DEPARTMENT OF LABOR ATTACKED

A campaign against the Department of Labor, and especially against the Assistant Secretary, was initiated late in March by Senator King of Utah, who offered a resolution asking investigation of the administration and enforcement of the immigration laws, as well as an inquiry into the administration of Frederick C. Howe, former Immigration Commissioner of New York.\* Mr. King gave out a list of eighty aliens, whose deportation had been shown to be justified, but who had been kept here by the ruling of the Labor Department in defiance of the recommendations of the immigration heads. At the beginning of April evidence in the cases of a number of aliens ordered deported and subsequently released by Mr. Post was taken from the custody of Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, by the House Immigration Committee and delivered for examination to a sub-committee. Mr. Post denied that similar action had been taken in respect to his own office, but stated that he had offered the committee every opportunity for investigation. A general inquiry into the deportation policy of the department was urged, with Assistant Secretary Post the main object of attack.

#### IMPEACHMENT ASKED FOR POST

The strength of the feeling against Mr. Post was seen in a resolution of-

\*Mr. Howe resigned in September, 1919, ostensibly to further the publicity campaign of the Plumb railway plan. He had been previously the target of much criticism for his alleged radical sympathies as expressed in both his private and his official acts.

ferred in the House on April 15 by Representative Hoich, Republican, of Kansas, asking the Judiciary Committee to investigate the charges against the Assistant Secretary made by Chairman Johnson, head of the House Immigration Committee, and many others, and recommending that, in case the evidence warranted it, a resolution be reported impeaching him for disloyal favoring of the Reds.

A series of hearings resulting from Representative Hoich's resolution was begun on April 27. At one session it was stated that the charges were made largely on the basis of the Immigration Committee's report. Many hundreds of aliens taken under the law for deportation had been released, in many cases without investigation and over the head of the Immigration Commissioner. Representative Rodenburg of Illinois blamed Secretary Wilson severely for not removing Mr. Post from office. At another session the counsel for the Assistant Secretary countered with the charge that Mr. Post had merely exercised humanity, while the "justice officers used worse than Russian methods." Chairman Johnson testified that the action of Mr. Post had greatly hampered the work of the Department of Justice, and had brought about a state of indescribable confusion, by which only the Red agitators would be the gainers.

It was stated on May 1 that the House Rules Committee would abandon the impeachment proceedings and would substitute a resolution condemning Mr. Post for his alleged activities in behalf of the enemies of the United States.

#### MR. POST'S TESTIMONY

Both Secretary Wilson and Mr. Post were attacked at a special meeting of the Senate Immigration Committee on May 6. Mr. Post appeared on his own behalf on May 7 and 8. He declared that the evidence presented against him was insufficient to prove the case. Statistics presented by him showed that, exclusive of those deported on the Buford, only twenty-two aliens had been deported since Nov. 1, 1919. From Nov. 1 to April 24 some 6,350 warrants had

been issued. Approximately 5,000 had been arrested; 3,000 of these had been released almost immediately. Deportation orders for 61 Russian workers and 1,322 members of the Communist and Communist Labor Parties had been canceled by himself. Deportation warrants had been issued for 307 Russian workers and 455 Communists; some 263 had been deported; other deportations had been delayed because of the inaccessibility of Russian ports.

Of all those arrested by the Department of Justice, said Mr. Post, he had found that only forty or fifty actually favored violence against the United States. He had supported, however, the ruling of Secretary Wilson that membership in the Communist Party justified deportation. On the following day he denied sympathy for the Reds, and justified the receipt of a letter from Emma Goldman on behalf of those accused—in which she addressed him as "our friend"—on the ground that she wrote to him merely as a constituent writing to a Member of Congress. His reduction of bail to \$1,000, he declared, followed the constitutional prohibition of excessive bond, and was sufficient to insure the appearance of the accused without keeping him locked up.

#### MR. PALMER'S REJOINDER

The Attorney General replied to Mr. Post's criticism of his department in testimony given before the House Rules Committee on June 1. He declared that Mr. Post had set himself above Congress and the law in his handling of the deportation cases. The labor official practically encouraged Red activities, he asserted; believing that the deportation law was wrong, he deliberately disregarded it in releasing dangerous radicals. He named a dozen cities where the department raids had revealed preparations to employ both guns and bombs. The charge made by Mr. Post through his counsel, Jackson P. Ralston, that the Department of Justice had *agents provocateurs* in its service engaged in forming new Communist local organizations against which raids could be conducted, was denounced by the Attorney General



as a "deliberate and unwarranted falsehood." Some of these agents, he said, in order to get inside information, had joined some of the outlaw organizations, but had never organized or helped to execute their policies.



LOUIS F. POST  
*Assistant Secretary of Labor*

Attack on the policy of the Department of Justice was not confined to Mr. Post. The National Popular Government League on May 27 issued a manifesto denouncing "the illegal practices of the United States Department of Justice." The document was signed by twelve prominent attorneys, including Zachariah Chafee, Jr., Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter of Cambridge, and Jackson P. Ralston of Washington. Charges of cruelty and theft were supported by hundreds of affidavits and other exhibits. The treatment of radicals in the steel and coal strikes in Hartford, Buffalo, Detroit and New York City was declared to have been "shocking" and brutal. The raid on the Russian People's House in New York last November was denounced at length. One passage read as follows:

American institutions have not, in fact, been protected by the Attorney General's ruthless suppressions. On the contrary, those institutions have been seriously undermined and revolutionary unrest vastly intensified. No organization of radicals acting through propaganda over the last six months could have created as much revolutionary sentiment in America as has been created by the acts of the Department of Justice itself.

The American Woman's Committee announced on May 31 that it would send representatives to Washington to appeal for a Congressional investigation of the Department of Justice. The committee criticised particularly the separation of the arrested aliens from their wives and children, reiterated the charges of cruelty and indorsed the attitude of the Assistant Secretary.

#### THE MAY DAY PLOTS

May Day passed peacefully. According to Attorney General Palmer, the failure of a widespread anarchist plot to mature on this day—a plot of which he said he had documentary evidence—was caused only by the nation-wide publicity given to these underground conspiracies by the Federal authorities and by the energetic measures taken to forestall their execution. He had seized tons of inflammatory literature advocating May Day disturbances to compel peace with Soviet Russia, to protest against the arrests of radicals by the Government and to emphasize the class war. A blacklist on which many prominent officials had been marked for death had been found. Hundreds of suspects had been arrested. Every public building was strongly guarded by Federal agents and police, and the homes of the officials whose assassination was plotted were given full protection. Owing to these measures, the Department of Justice declared, the plottings of the Red agitators had come to naught.

Frederick A. Wallis, Fourth Deputy Police Commissioner of New York, was nominated by President Wilson on April 29 to be Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island in place of Frederic C. Howe. The work of the island, since the latter's resignation, had been carried on by Acting Commissioner Byron H. Uhl.

Mr. Uhl stated on April 22 that there were 130 radicals awaiting deportation from Ellis Island and between 200 and 300 in jails in other cities. No ships to transport these men back to Russia were available, and orders for transport were being awaited from the Department of Labor.

### STRINGENT LAW PASSED

A subcommittee of the Republican National Committee, of which former Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana is Chairman, brought in a report in May which set forth the unwisdom of enacting further legislation against sedition. The ground taken was that the present criminal code is adequate to punish all treasonable acts in time of peace.

The Government attitude, however, remained firm, and on May 31 the Senate Immigration Committee, in ordering the House bill favorably reported, made certain modifications broadening the Government's powers to deport alien anarchists and to prevent their admission to the country. As amended the bill was finally passed on June 5 and was signed the same day by the President.

The new law, which embodies the Sterling and Johnson bills, provides for the exclusion or deportation of all aliens who belong to organizations that advocate sabotage, revolution, or destruction of property. This means that all foreigners who are members of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party are subject to deportation on the mere evidence that they are active members of such organizations. The law also provides that no persons belonging to these revolutionary parties shall be allowed to land here as immigrants. It excludes likewise all aliens who write, publish, or distribute any written or printed matter advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by violence, the assaulting or killing of officials, the injury of property, or other acts of sabotage.

Representative Johnson of Washing-

ton, Chairman of the House Immigration Committee, who had sponsored the bill in the House, said after its passage:

The act means that these foreign revolutionists shall not preach their doctrines, circulate their literature or contribute their money for these purposes. It is



FREDERICK A. WALLIS  
*Commissioner of Immigration*

aimed at aliens in such revolutionary organizations as the I. W. W., the Communist and Communist Labor Parties. Deprive these organizations of their aliens and they will either become American or fade away. The United States is not going to be run by aliens who do not vote, and if officers in charge of the deportation of these aliens will not carry out the intent of Congress, expressed in previous laws, perhaps they will do better under more explicit legislation.

Mr. Wallis, the new Commissioner of Immigration at New York, stated on June 6 that he would be glad to take up the task of arranging for the sailing of the necessary ships to get rid of revolutionists. There were only 58 persons of the anarchist class at Ellis Island at that time, he said, but there were 600 or 800 in Federal prisons, so that at least two ships of the size of the Buford would be required for their deportation.





EXAMINING THE EYES OF INCOMING STEERAGE PASSENGERS BEFORE ALLOWING THEM TO LAND IN THE UNITED STATES  
(© International)

## The New Tide of Immigration

### Influx of Aliens Again on the Increase

THE great annual stream of immigrants—mostly of the alien labor class—which formerly taxed all the resources of the United States Immigration Department to handle, ceased abruptly with the outbreak of the war. Figures prepared by A. Caminetti, Commissioner of the Bureau of Immigration, and more recent statistics given by Byron S. Uhl, Assistant Commissioner, show the abnormal conditions created by the war and the armistice period, and indicate that the phenomenal exodus of aliens from this country during the past year is now being succeeded by a rush of new immigration which bids fair to be equally phenomenal.

The situation in figures may be briefly summed up as follows: Six years ago, five times as many aliens arrived in the United States as those who left. During the war all immigration ceased. In the

six months' period beginning in July, 1919, and ending on Jan. 1, 1920, there was a net loss of alien population of 4,000, the figures prepared by Mr. Caminetti showing an influx of 162,883 as against the departure of 166,212. Figures on the numbers of those returning to their home lands since January have not yet become available, but the immigration authorities stated that the exodus, an alarming one from the viewpoint of American industries, which found themselves crippled by labor shortage, still continued.

The reasons assigned for this exodus were various. Chief among them was the desire of the aliens to return to the old country after five years of enforced expatriation to hunt up their families and renew old ties. Another cause lay in the fact that the immigrants had saved up a good deal of money from the



A GROUP OF METICULOUSLY CLEAN DUTCH CHILDREN ARRIVING IN NEW YORK FROM ROTTERDAM WITH THEIR PARENTS, BEING PART OF ONE SHIPLOAD OF 1,000 IMMIGRANTS FROM HOLLAND

(© Underwood & Underwood)

high wages prevailing during the war, totaling in many cases as much as \$3,000, and undiminished by the remittances which in normal conditions they would have sent to Europe; finding the rate of exchange so low that they could exchange their American dollars for large sums of their home currency, they saw their opportunity to return home with greatly improved fortunes. Other causes assigned were the abundance of labor to be found in Europe following the devastation of the war, the growing cost of living in the United States, and dissatisfaction with the new edict of prohibition, which interfered with the habits of a lifetime.

Whichever cause predominated, or whether they all combined, the departure of thousands from our shores was an established fact, and a fact which the large industrial employers of alien labor throughout the country found a matter of serious concern. Confronted by the desertion of hundreds of workmen, these industries were compelled to expend thousands of dollars for advertisements in foreign papers inviting new labor.

It was not until nearly the end of

May that the immigration tide turned definitely. A gradual increase, according to figures supplied by Mr. Uhl, had become perceptible since the beginning of the year, and the advance had taken a decided jump in the last two months listed. According to these figures the progress at New York was as follows:

January .....	25,051
February .....	22,086
March .....	29,098
April .....	36,958
*May .....	40,000

\*These figures are for the Port of New York, which represents about 80 per cent. of the total.

These figures for New York indicated a total of about 180,000 immigrants at all ports. Of these the Italians were in the majority, being estimated at about 50 per cent. of all arrivals. A large proportion of the newcomers were widows and children, and the bulk of the others Italian reservists who had lived in the United States before Italy declared war on the Central Powers. The week ending May 30 saw an influx at Ellis Island, which handles about 80 per cent of all immigration to this country, of 8,275 expatriates, and large numbers were scheduled





A TYPICAL SHIPLOAD OF NEW IMMIGRANTS FROM EUROPE PASSING THE STATUE OF LIBERTY, EACH FACE FULL OF ANIMATION AND HOPE ON THE EVE OF LANDING AT ELLIS ISLAND

(© International)

to arrive in the near future on French, Swedish, Dutch and Italian steamships. The immigration authorities were hard pressed to handle the new situation, which, in their opinion, would be much more serious were it not for the still existing lack of ships to bring across the throngs in Europe awaiting transportation.

The statistics given out by Ellis Island called forth a statement from the Inter-Racial Council which showed that the new influx would be extremely welcome to American industry. According to estimates made after a thorough study of the labor situation in the United States, the large industries are short from 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 immigrant workers. These industries had reported that it was almost impossible for them to get men, and that there was a continuous drop in production. That the situation is still far from being solved is indicated, according to this statement, in the fact that a considerable propor-

tion of the new immigration was made up of women and children who could bring no industrial aid to remedy this condition of acute labor shortage.

The appointment of Frederick A. Wallis of New York as Commissioner of Immigration marked the beginning of a change of attitude at Ellis Island. (See Page 703). As a guest of the Woman's Democratic League on May 24 Mr. Wallis defined his contemplated policy as follows:

When I enter on my duties as Commissioner of Immigration, the doors of Ellis Island will swing both in and out—in for the oppressed of other lands who have come here with the firm purpose of becoming loyal American citizens, and equally out and impassable for the Reds, anarchists and Bolsheviks. What the United States needs is more immigration, and immigration of the right kind.

Mr. Wallis later said he was as fully in favor of the deportation of alien revolutionists as he was of welcoming loyal immigrants from all lands.

# Veto of the Knox Peace Resolution

## President's Message Rejecting the Congressional Plan of Peace With Germany—Attempt to Repeal War Laws

THE House of Representatives on May 21, by a vote of 228 to 139, adopted the Knox resolution declaring the war with Germany at an end—the text of which was printed in the June issue of CURRENT HISTORY. Nineteen Democrats supported the resolution, and all the Republicans except two. President Wilson vetoed the measure six days later, with the following message:

*To the House of Representatives:*

I return herewith, without my signature, House Joint Resolution 327, intended to repeal the Joint Resolution of April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany, and the Joint Resolution of Dec. 7, 1917,

declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Government, and to declare a state of peace. I have not felt at liberty to sign this resolution because I cannot bring myself to become party to an action which would place inefaceable stain upon the gallantry and honor of the United States.

The resolution seems to establish peace with the German Empire without exacting from the German Government any action by way of setting right the infinite wrongs which it did to the peoples whom it attacked and whom we professed it our purpose to assist when we entered the war. Have we sacrificed the lives of more than 100,000 Americans and ruined the lives of thousands of others and brought upon thousands of American families an unhap-

[A AMERICAN CARTOON]



—New York Times

### THE PORTRAIT PAINTER

PEACE: "Is that the best you could do after all these months?"



pinness that can never end for purposes which we do not now care to state or take further steps to attain?

The attainment of these purposes is provided for in the Treaty of Versailles by terms deemed adequate by the leading statesmen and experts of all the great peoples who were associated in the war against Germany. Do we now not care

### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Dayton Daily News

### "THE MOUNTAIN LABORED AND BROUGHT FORTH A MOUSE"

to join in the effort to secure them?

We entered the war most reluctantly. Our people were profoundly disinclined to take part in a European war, and at last did so only because they became convinced that it could not in truth be regarded as only a European war, but must be regarded as a war in which civilization itself was involved and human rights of every kind as against a belligerent Government. Moreover, when we entered the war we set forth very definitely the purposes for which we entered, partly because we did not wish to be considered as merely taking part in a European contest. This Joint Resolution which I return does not seek to accomplish any of these objects, but in effect makes a complete surrender of the rights of the United States so far as the German Government is concerned.

A treaty of peace was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth of June last which did seek to accomplish the objects which we had declared to be in our minds, because all the great Governments and peoples which united against Germany had adopted our declarations of purpose as their own and had in solemn form embodied them in communications to the German Government preliminary to the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918. But the treaty as signed at Versailles has been rejected by the Senate of the United States, though it has been ratified by Germany. By that rejection and by its methods we had in effect declared that we wish to draw apart and pursue objects and interests of

### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—New York World

### "SOMETHING JUST AS GOOD!"

our own, unhampered by any connections of interest or of purpose with other Governments and peoples.

Notwithstanding the fact that upon our entrance into the war we professed to be seeking to assist in the maintenance of common interests, nothing is said in this resolution about the freedom of navigation upon the seas, or the reduction of armaments, or the vindication of the rights of Belgium, or the rectification of wrongs done to France, or the release of the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire from the intolerable subjugation which they have had for so many generations to endure, or the establishment of an independent Polish State, or the continued maintenance of any kind of understanding among the great powers of the world which would be calculated to prevent in

the future such outrages as Germany attempted and in part consummated.

We have now, in effect, declared that we do not care to take any further risks or to assume any further responsibilities with regard to the freedom of nations or the sacredness of international obligations or the safety of independent peoples. Such a peace with Germany—a peace in which none of the essential interests which we had at heart when we entered the war is safeguarded—is, or ought to be, inconceivable, as inconsistent with the dignity of the United States, with the rights and liberties of her citizens, and with the very fundamental conditions of civilization.

I hope that in these statements I have sufficiently set forth the reasons why I have felt it incumbent upon me to withhold my signature.

WOODROW WILSON.

The White House, May 27, 1920.

The day following a motion to override the veto was lost by a vote of 219 yeas to 152 nays, 29 less than the necessary two-thirds; 17 Democrats voted yea, 2 Republicans nay.

This action definitely ended all chances of final action on the Peace Treaty and League of Nations at that session of Congress, as it adjourned sine die on June 5; moreover it had the effect of making the question squarely a dominant political issue in the Presidential campaign.

#### RESOLUTION INTENDED TO REPEAL WAR LAWS

In consequence of the deadlock between the President and Congress with respect to a Peace Treaty with Germany, the House of Representatives on June 3, by a vote of 343 to 3, passed a

resolution repealing all the war laws excepting the Lever Food and Fuel Control act and the Trading with the Enemy act. The resolution was as follows:

That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the present war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress, joint resolutions or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, or of the existence of a state of war, the date when this resolution becomes effective shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

Excepting, however, from the operation and effect of this resolution the following acts and proclamations, to wit, the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved Aug. 10, 1917, the amendment thereto entitled "The Food Control and District of Columbia Rents act," approved Oct. 22, 1919, and the act known as the "Trading with the Enemy act," approved Oct. 6, 1917; also the proclamation issued under the authority conferred by the acts herein excepted from the effect and operation of this resolution.

The Senate on June 4 passed the resolution by viva voce vote, and it was sent to the President, but he failed to attach his signature and the resolution in consequence became inoperative.





# No American Mandate for Armenia

## Text of the President's Request and Record of the Vote by Which Congress Rejected It

A COLLATERAL issue on the controversy between President Wilson and the Congress over the League of Nations covenant arose when President Wilson sent a special message to Congress on May 24 urging that it grant to the Executive power to accept for the United States a mandate over Armenia.

The President's message follows:

*Gentlemen of the Congress:*

On the 14th of May an official communication was received at the executive office from the Secretary of the Senate of the United States conveying the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, The testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered; and

"Whereas, The people of the United States are deeply impressed by the deplorable conditions of insecurity, starvation and misery now prevalent in Armenia; and

"Whereas, The independence of the Republic of Armenia has been duly recognized by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference and by the Government of the United States of America; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the sincere congratulations of the Senate of the United States are hereby extended to the people of Armenia on the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Armenia, without prejudice respecting the territorial boundaries involved; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby expresses the hope that a stable Government, proper protection of individual liberties and rights, and the full realization of nationalistic aspirations may soon be attained by the Armenian people; and be it further

"Resolved, That in order to afford necessary protection for the lives and property of citizens of the United States at the port of Batum and along the line of the railroad leading to Baku, the President is hereby requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to cause a United States warship and a force of marines to be dispatched to such port with instructions to such marines to disembark and to protect American lives and property."

I received and read this document with great interest and with genuine gratification, not only because it embodied my own convictions and feelings

with regard to Armenia and its people, but also, and more particularly, because it seemed to me the voice of the American people expressing their genuine convictions and deep Christian sympathies and intimating the line of duty which seemed to them to lie clearly before us.

I cannot but regard it as providential and not as a mere casual coincidence that almost at the same time I received information that the conference of statesmen now sitting at San Remo for the purpose of working out the details of peace with the Central Powers, which it was not feasible to work out in the conference at Paris, had formally resolved to address a definite appeal to this Government to accept a mandate for Armenia.

They were at pains to add that they did this "not for the smallest desire to evade any obligations which they might be expected to undertake, but because the responsibilities which they are already obliged to bear in connection with the disposition of the former Ottoman Empire will strain their capacities to the uttermost, and because they believe that the appearance on the scene of a power emancipated from the prepossessions of the Old World will inspire a wider confidence and afford a firmer guarantee for stability in the future than would the selection of any European power."

Early in the conference at Paris it was agreed that to those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be afforded.

It was recognized that certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.

It is in pursuance of this principle, and with a desire of affording Armenia such advice and assistance, that the

statesmen conferring at San Remo have formally requested this Government to assume the duties of mandatariness in Armenia.

I may add, for the information of the Congress, that at the same sitting it was resolved to request the President of the United States to undertake to arbitrate the difficult question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and it was agreed to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulation he may prescribe as to access to the sea for the independent State of Armenia.

In pursuance of this action it was resolved to embody in the treaty with Turkey, now under final consideration, a provision that "Turkey and Armenia and the other high contracting parties agree to refer to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access to the sea for the independent State of Armenia"; pending that decision, the boundaries of Turkey and Armenia to remain as at present.

I have thought it my duty to accept this difficult and delicate task.

In response to the invitation of the Council at San Remo, I urgently advise and request that the Congress grant the executive power to accept for the United States a mandate over Armenia. I make this suggestion in the earnest belief that it will be the wish of the people of the United States that this should be done.

The sympathy with Armenia has proceeded from no single portion of our people, but has come with extraordinary spontaneity and sincerity from the whole of the great body of Christian men and women in this country, by whose free-will offerings Armenia has practically been saved at the most critical juncture of its existence. At their hearts, this great and generous people have made the cause of Armenia their own.

It is to this people and to their Government that the hopes and earnest expectations of the struggling people of Armenia turn as they now emerge from a period of indescribable suffering and peril, and I hope that the Congress will think it wise to meet this hope and expectation with the utmost liberality. I know from unmistakable evidence, given by responsible representatives of many peoples struggling toward independence and peaceful life again, that the Government of the United States is looked to with extraordinary trust and confidence, and I believe that it would do nothing less than arrest the hopeful processes of civilization if we were to refuse the request to become the

helpful friends and advisers of such of these people as we may be authoritatively and formally requested to guide and assist.

I am conscious that I am urging upon the Congress a very critical choice, but I make the suggestion in the confidence that I am speaking in the spirit and in accordance with the wishes of the greatest of the Christian peoples. The sympathy for Armenia among our people has sprung from untainted consciences, pure Christian faith and an earnest desire to see Christian people everywhere succored in their time of suffering and lifted from their abject subjection and distress and enabled to stand upon their feet and take their place among the free nations of the world. Our recognition of the independence of Armenia will mean genuine liberty and assured happiness for her people, if we fearlessly undertake the duties of guidance and assistance involved in the functions of a mandatariness.

It is therefore with the most earnest hopefulness and with the feeling that I am giving advice from which the Congress will not willingly turn away that I urge the acceptance of the invitation now formally and solemnly extended to us by the Council at San Remo, into whose hands has passed the difficult task of composing the many complexities and difficulties of government in the one-time Ottoman Empire, and the maintenance of order and tolerable conditions of life in those portions of that empire which it is no longer possible in the interest of civilization to leave under the government of the Turkish authorities themselves.

### PROTEST OF ARMENIANS

The American Committee for Armenian Independence, following the publication of the message, issued a statement as follows:

President Wilson, in his message to Congress recommending the advisability of America assuming a mandate for Armenia, states that he will arbitrate the question of the boundaries between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis. This means that Armenia is to be despoiled of her most fertile provinces of Harport, Diarbekr, Sivas and Cilicia.

Characterizing Cilicia as the Armenian California, able alone to sustain 15,000,000 people, the statement asserted that it explained why "a certain power is ready to sell its soul to the devil and the Turk in order to get possession of the richest province, not only of Armenia, but of the entire world." The statement continued:



Senator Borah is right in saying that the Allies should restore to Armenia the portions they have allocated to themselves by the secret Sykes-Picot pact. Armenia helped win the war to make the world safe for democracy. It is not democracy, however, Great Britain and France want to save in Armenia, but the cotton fields of Cilicia and the rich wheat lands, the mineral wealth, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, coal, petroleum, marble, saltpetre, quicksilver, sulphur and salt of Harpoot, Diarbekr and the other southwestern provinces.

It is these richest provinces—really the heart and backbone of Armenia—that the Allies are hypocritically representing as poor and barren lands.

If the full rights of Armenia are not recognized an American mandate will simply mean that American soldiers will join the French and their protégés, the Turks, the British and their protégés, the Kurds, to prevent Armenians from coming into their own heritage.

Let it be known also that the Armenians can defend themselves if the Turkish soldiery is compelled to evacuate Armenia. The recent massacres in Cilicia would not have occurred had not the Armenians been disarmed by the French. The most salient proof of the Armenian national valor is that General Antranik at the head of his Armenian revolutionary bands fought against the Turks and the Turkish Government for thirty years and was never vanquished; it was the British who prevailed upon him to cease fighting after the armistice.

Whatever money America advances for the rehabilitation of an Armenia that includes all her territories can and will be repaid by the Armenians. The required expenditure for such assistance will not amount to more than the loss which America will otherwise sustain on account of future wars that will certainly happen if Armenia is left a prey to Turkish persecution and allied rapacity.

### SENATE REJECTS THE MANDATE

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 27, by a vote of 11 to 4, voted to reject the President's recommendation for the mandate and reported the following resolution to the Senate:

*Resolved*, By the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring) that the Congress hereby respectfully declines to grant to the Executive the power to accept a mandate over Armenia as requested in the message of the President dated May 24, 1920.

The only opposition to the course adopted was voiced by Senator Hitchcock, who did not, however, counsel ac-

ceding to the Presidential recommendation. Mr. Hitchcock was opposed to the acceptance of an Armenian mandate, but he did not wish the committee to adopt the resolution which was voted, as he thought that it constituted too summary a treatment of the President's proposal.

The resolution was acted on by the Senate on May 31. It was adopted by a vote of 52 to 23. Every effort to modify the resolution was defeated by a decisive vote. Several Democrats among the twenty-three who voted in the negative were opposed in principle to the mandate, but voted against the resolution because they objected to its phraseology.

Senator Lodge, in the debate on the resolution, stated:

I do not desire to have this country give the world the impression that it does not sympathize with the Armenian people. They are a gallant people. I think they deserve aid, but there are many ways to give them aid without involving the United States.

The motion to amend the resolution so that the President would be authorized to accept the mandate was made by Senator Brandegee, Republican, Connecticut, who said he did not expect to vote for it, but offered it merely to put the Democrats on record on the straight-out proposition of acceptance. The twelve who voted for the amendment were Senators Ashurst, Beckham, King, McKellar, Phelan, Ransdell, Robinson, Sheppard, Simmons, Smith of Arizona, Smith of South Carolina, and Williams. Democratic Leader Underwood was among those voting in the negative.

By a vote of 28 to 46 the Senate rejected a substitute resolution by Senator King, Democrat, Utah, authorizing international negotiations with a view to "proper protection" of Armenia by the great powers. Another substitute by Senator Pittman, Democrat, Nevada, empowering the President to give "Administrative advice" to Armenia without emplacement of armed force was voted down without a roll call.

### ACTION OF THE HOUSE

The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives by a decisive vote recommended the adoption of the Senate resolution rejecting the Presi-

dent's request. A minority report was submitted, signed by Representatives Flood of Virginia, Linthicum of Maryland and Stedman of North Carolina, urging that no action be taken until the Peace Treaty had been disposed of. The report defended the request for the mandate. Attention was called to the fact that the mandate would apply to a territory of 56,000 square miles instead of 343,000 square miles, which was the original designated Armenian territory as reported upon by General Harbord, much of the opposition growing out of this report. It was published in full in the May issue of this magazine. The General estimated the cost to our Government for the mandate for three years at \$756,014,000, which would include an American army of 59,000. The minority report in discussing the mandate for the restricted Armenia (20,000

square miles in Transcaucasia and 36,000 square miles in the four vilayets of Van, Erzerum, Bitlis and Trebizond) explained that the estimated population was 3,000,000 and the military help to be extended would not be formidable, and the presence of the American flag there would have a restraining effect on hostile neighbors. The report called attention to the fact that there is an Armenian army capable of defending the territory, that the adjacent territory would be demilitarized, that the maximum Turkish army under the treaty would be 50,000, and that as the United States would control the Armenian finances it would be in a position to reimburse itself for any sums spent by it under the mandate.

The House took no further action, the vote in the Senate having determined the matter so far as this session of Congress was concerned.

## The Conspiracy Against Armenia

### How the Turkish Nationalists Plan a Pan-Turanian Union After Exterminating the Whole Armenian People

THE Ottoman Empire has found, and still is finding, its special pleaders in Great Britain and France, as well as in other countries in Europe, who protest against stern treatment of Turkey on the ground that the atrocities described by Lord Bryce's Blue Book, as well as all others, since 1908 are to be blamed alone on the Young Turkish oligarchic régime. The Turks, a kindly, good-hearted people, they hold, are as little responsible for the crimes of Talaat, Enver and Djemal as for those of "Red" Sultan Abdul Hamid II. The true spirit of the Turkish people, these defenders declare, is expressed by Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the great patriot who has raised the first really national standard in the eastern half of Asiatic Turkey. It is through him, they say, that the long-misunderstood soul of Turkey has at last become articulate.

This theory is attacked by an article which appeared in *The New Europe* on April 22. Its author—André Mandel-

stam, for many years dragoman in the Russian Embassy in Constantinople and an expert on Turkish affairs—traces the development of the "old Turk" spirit from 1453 to 1908, from 1908 to 1914, and from the beginning of the war to the present time. He shows how the haughty and despotic spirit of the Turks toward their subject populations remained unchanged through the long centuries of persecution and massacre: how the policy of the great powers, affected by the doctrine of the rights of man laid down by the French Revolution, led during the nineteenth century to a long series of interventions on behalf of the subject peoples whom the Turks were exterminating, none of which produced any effect except in cases such as Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, where a given people were completely emancipated from the Turkish yoke.

When the Young Turk revolution broke out in 1908 Europe wondered whether the assertions of the members



of this party were not true and whether the crimes of Turkey were not to be attributed mainly to the despotic rule of the Sultans. So, wondering and doubting, she stood off and gave the Young Turks full opportunity of proving their superior worth.

What was the record that these Young Turks made from 1908 to 1914? In their home affairs, as well as in foreign policy, says Mr. Mandelstam, they have most certainly surpassed Abdul Hamid in evildoing and proved themselves to be worse fanatics, chauvinists and despots than the Red Sultan himself. They introduced no reforms; they aggravated the Hamidian reign of terror in the non-Turkish provinces, allowed Armenians to be massacred at Adana, terrorized Macedonia, ravaged Albania with fire and sword, devastated the coasts of Greek Asia Minor. Pan-Islamism was joined to Pan-Turanianism: Constantinople finally joined hands with Berlin. The results are well known—more than a million Armenians and Greeks massacred, a great portion of the Assyro-Chaldean and Lebanese races wiped out, the flower of Arab patriotism executed. The state of anarchy, misery and disease which the Young Turks brought on was unknown even in the chronicles of the Sultan's empire.

What of the pure Nationalist, Mustapha Kemal? At the Nationalist Congresses held in August and September, 1919, at Erzerum and Sivas, the new party defined its program as one of complete territorial unity of the Turkish Empire as it existed before the war and the armistice. The Nationalists also guaranteed full equality of rights to all citizens of the empire, without distinction of race or religion. How have they kept this guarantee? The massacre of some 15,000 Armenians so recently perpetrated in Cilicia with the tacit consent of Mustapha Kemal himself, says Mr. Manderstam, proves that the Turkish Nationalist spirit yields nothing in cruelty to the Young Turk spirit, but surpasses it in cynicism and contempt for the rest of Europe.

Meanwhile Pan-Islamism and Pan-

Turanianism work hand in hand with Unionism, supported mainly by Bolshevik Russia and by enfeebled Germany's cautious and clandestine collaboration. The Turkish Nationalists are members of the active Moscow League for the Liberation of Islam, which has branches at Sivas, Tashkend and Berlin. Turko-Bolshevist propaganda is being spread through Central Asia, especially in Turkestan and Afghanistan. Future military action is being carefully planned and based on the co-operation of Russian Mohammedan elements with the Turkish Nationalist troops. Enver Pasha and other well-known leaders of the "Party of Union and Progress" constantly gravitate between the headquarters of Mustapha Kemal in Asia Minor, the now Bolshevized Azerbaijan, and Turkestan. Djemal Pasha and Talaat Pasha are working feverishly in Europe, above all in Germany, for a great Pan-Islamic agitation directed against the Allies, and this agitation finds much concealed German support. A whole Pan-Islamic literature is arising on German soil.

All these observations, says Mr. Mandelstam, spell the coming extinction of Armenia, the only obstacle to Turanian union. The unfortunate result of the armistice concluded by Admiral Calthorpe on Oct. 30, 1918, has been to make Turkish Armenia, which had lost almost the whole of its Armenian population and was under the control of the Allies, the very spot where Turkish nationalism is thriving today. But the Armenian republic of Erivan has been constituted and all the Pan-Turanian hatred is concentrated against it. At the Congress of Berlin in December it was denounced as the principal obstacle in the way of Turanian unity. The Azerbaijan delegation to Paris wished to reduce Armenia to the two districts of Novo-Bajazet and Alexandropol. If the Turkish Nationalist, Pan-Islamic, Pan-Turanian movement even partly succeeds, there will be neither Armenia nor Armenians left to tell the story.

The Nationalist offensive then contemplates the seizure of Anatolia, the linking of Persian with Russian Azerbaijan, the occupation of Russian

Turkestan and the establishment of direct contact with the Arabs and with the Mohammedan populations of Afghanistan and India. Such a Pan-Islam union, which would englobe 25,000,000 Turanians, united by strong racial and religious ties, would remain a permanent menace to the peace of the world. But Armenia would no longer be a Turkish problem.

Apart from the possibilities of checking this dangerous growth by means of

the Turkish Treaty, says this writer, one may fight it by fighting Bolshevism, which, in his opinion, is doomed to fall. It is because the Bolsheviki realize this, he says, that they are now trying to prolong their life by blowing up the Turkish embers and kindling a flame in the world of Islam. By killing Bolshevism Europe may still the growth of the Turkish spirit—"that torrid breath which blows from the desert and attacks the very soul of all our civilization."

## An American Woman Wins High Office

MRS. ANNETTE ADAMS of San Francisco was nominated by President Wilson on May 29 to be an Assistant Attorney General for the United States, to aid Attorney General Palmer. At that time Mrs. Adams was the United States Attorney for the northern district of California. The office which she now fills is the most important and lucrative to which a woman has ever been appointed in the Federal service. Sixteen years ago Mrs. Adams was Principal of a high school in Plumas County, Cal. She decided to study law, entered the University of California in 1904, took her bachelor's degree, and in 1912 received her degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence. She was appointed Assistant United States Attorney—the first woman in the United States to receive such an appointment—in 1913. She won many laurels in her prosecution of neutrality cases during the war, especially in the famous case of Franz Bopp, former German Consul General in San Francisco, and also in the Hindu conspiracy cases. Her indictments won the reputation of being "demurrer-proof." Her work as United States Attorney won the attention of Attorney General Palmer,



MRS. ANNETTE ABBOTT ADAMS  
Assistant Attorney General of the United States  
(© International)

who summoned her to attend a Washington conference of District Attorneys from all over the country. The official notice of her appointment to the position of Assistant Attorney General came to her as a complete surprise.







TURKISH PEACE DELEGATION AT VERSAILLES: THE MAN WITH HIS HANDS  
 IN FRONT OF HIM IS RECHID PASHA, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. NEXT TO THE  
 RIGHT IS TEWFIK PASHA, PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, AND TO THE RIGHT OF  
 HIM IS M. ROUMBEOGHLEN, MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

*(Photo Underwood & Underwood)*

## The Turkish Peace Treaty

### Complete Summary of the Document That Reduces Turkey to the Status of a Minor Power

**T**HE Turkish Peace Treaty, of which an official summary is printed below, was handed to the Turkish delegates in the Clock Room of the French Foreign Office on May 11, 1920, and one month was allowed in which to formulate an answer. It compels Turkey to cede Thrace to Greece, with the exception of the Sanjak of Chatalja and the water supply area of Constantinople; Greece also gets Smyrna and a considerable region around it, indicated in the map on Page 718. Turkey recognizes the independence of Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and the Hedjaz, and confers autonomy upon Kurdistan. The boundary between Armenia and Turkey is to

run somewhere through the vilayets of Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and is to be fixed in detail by President Wilson. The Dardanelles and Bosphorus are placed under a "Commission of the Straits," which will also control a considerable zone on both sides of the water.

The treaty sanctions the British protectorate in Egypt and the Sudan, the French protectorate in Tunis and French Morocco, and Italian sovereignty in Libya; with certain reservations it prescribes the rights and some of the duties of the new States in Asia which have arisen from the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. These are among its more direct and obvious consequences; in-

directly it must exercise a potent influence extending deep into the remoter regions of the Asiatic Continent.

### PREAMBLE

The preamble recites shortly the origin of the war and enumerates the high contracting parties, represented by the four principal allied powers, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and the other allied powers, Belgium, Greece, the Hedjaz, Armenia, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and Czechoslovakia on the one hand and Turkey on the other.

### PART I.—LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Here follows the text of the covenant as embodied in the treaty of peace with Germany.

### PART II.—THE BOUNDARIES OF TURKEY

The boundaries of Turkey are described in two articles, one dealing with Turkey in Europe and the other with Turkey in Asia. The frontier of Turkey in Europe is approximately that of the Chatalja lines, the northern half of these lines being, however, advanced in a northwesterly direction so as to include within the boundaries of Turkey the whole area of Lake Derkos, which is a reservoir for the supply of water to Constantinople.

The boundaries of Turkey in Asia remain the same except as regards the southern frontier, which together with the new frontier in Europe and the boundary of the Greek administrative zone around Smyrna (see section dealing with Smyrna below), are shown approximately on the attached map. The above boundaries are described in detail in the treaty in so far as they are not to be settled by boundary commissions on the spot. Provision is also made in the treaty for a possible modification of the present frontier between Turkey and the independent State of Armenia—viz., the former Russo-Turkish frontier in this region—by reference to the arbitration of the President of the United States regarding a new boundary for Armenia in the vilayets of Trebizond, Erzerum, Van and Bitlis.

### PART III.—POLITICAL CLAUSES

#### CONSTANTINOPLE

Subject to the provisions of the treaty, the parties agree to the maintenance of Turkish sovereignty over Constantinople, but a reservation is made that, if Turkey fails to observe the provisions of the treaty or of supplementary treaties or conventions, particularly as regards the protection of minorities, the allied powers may modify the above provisions, and Turkey agrees to accept any dispositions which may be made in this connection.

### THE STRAITS

The navigation of the Straits, including the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus, is to be open in future both in peace and war to every vessel of commerce or of war and to military and commercial aircraft without distinction of flag. These waters are not to be subject to blockade, and no belligerent right is to be exercised nor any act of hostility committed within them unless in pursuance of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations.

A "Commission of the Straits" is established with control over these waters, to which both the Turkish and Greek Governments delegate the necessary powers. The commission is composed of representatives appointed respectively by the United States of America (if and when that Government is willing to participate), the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Russia (if and when Russia becomes a member of the League of Nations), Greece, Rumania and Bulgaria (if and when Bulgaria becomes a member of the League of Nations). Each power is to appoint one representative, but the representatives of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan and Russia have two votes each, and the representatives of the other three powers one vote each.

The commission exercises its authority in complete independence of the local authority, with its own flag, budget and separate organization. The commission is charged with the execution of any works necessary for the improvement of the channels or the approaches to harbors, lighting and buoying, the control of pilotage and towage, the control of anchorages, the control necessary to assure the execution in the ports of Constantinople and Haidar Pasha of the régime laid down in that part of the treaty relating to ports, waterways and railways and the control of all matters relating to wrecks and salvage and lighterage.

In the case of threats to the freedom of passage of the Straits, special provision is made for appeal by the commission to the representatives at Constantinople of Great Britain, France and Italy, which powers, under the military provisions of the treaty, provide forces for the occupation of the zone of the Straits. These representatives will concert with the naval and military commanders of the allied forces the necessary measures, whether the threat comes from within or without the zone of the Straits.

Provision is also made for the acquisition of property or permanent works by the commission, the raising of loans, the levying of dues on shipping in the Straits, the transfer to the commission of the functions exercised within the waters of the Straits by the Constantinople Superior Council of Health, the Turkish Sanitary Administration and the National Life Boat Service of the Bosphorus, and the relations of the commission with persons or companies now holding con-





MAP OF ASIA MINOR SHOWING THE MAIN RESULTS OF THE TURKISH PEACE TREATY, SO FAR AS THESE ARE DEFINITELY DECIDED. THE SOUTHWESTERN BOUNDARY OF ARMENIA IS GIVEN HERE TENTATIVELY ALONG THE GENERAL LINES WHICH PRESIDENT WILSON IS EXPECTED TO FOLLOW AS ARBITRATOR. ALL THAT REMAINS OF TURKEY IN EUROPE IS THE LITTLE CORNER FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO CHATALJA

cessions relating to lighthouses, docks, quays or similar matters are laid down.

The commission is empowered to raise a special police force, and provision is made for dealing with infringements of the regulations and by-laws of the commission by the appropriate local courts, whether Consular, Turkish or Greek.

A special article lays down that all dues, and charges imposed by the commission shall be levied without any discrimination and on a footing of absolute equality between all vessels, whatever their port of origin or destination or departure, their flag or ownership, or the nationality or the ownership of their cargoes.

Articles analogous to the relevant provisions of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888 deal with the transit of warships, prizes, the passage of belligerent warships, and their stay within the waters under the control of the commission as well as their repair or replenishment with supplies or the completion of their crews, but the freedom of action of belligerents acting in pursuance of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations is specially reserved. Further regulations are to be laid down by the League of Nations regarding the passage of war material and contraband destined for the enemies of Turkey and other kindred matters.

#### KURDISTAN

Turkey accepts in advance a scheme of local autonomy for the predominantly Kurdish areas east of the Euphrates, south of the southern frontier of Armenia, as eventually fixed, and north of the southern frontier of Turkey, to be drafted by a commission com-

posed of British, French and Italian representatives sitting at Constantinople. This scheme is to protect the rights of Assyro-Chaldeans and other racial or religious minorities within the above area, and with this object provision is also made for a possible rectification of the Turkish frontier, where that frontier coincides with that of Persia.

Secondly, the treaty provides for an appeal for complete independence within a stated time to the Council of the League of Nations by the Kurdish peoples within the above area, and for the grant of such independence by Turkey, if recommended by the council. In that event the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul vilayet are to be allowed, if they so desire, to adhere to the independent Kurdish State.

#### SMYRNA

The Turkish Government agrees to transfer to the Greek Government the exercise of its rights of sovereignty over a special area around the City of Smyrna. In witness of Turkish sovereignty the Turkish flag is to be flown on one of the forts outside Smyrna. The Greek Government is to be responsible for the administration of the area, may keep troops there to maintain order, may include the area in the Greek customs system, and is to establish a local Parliament on the basis of a scheme of proportional representation of minorities, which is to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations, and only to come into force after approval by a majority of the council. The elections may be postponed for a limited period to allow the

return of inhabitants banished or deported by the Turkish authorities.

Special provisions are included regarding the protection of minorities, the nationality of the inhabitants in the area and their protection abroad, the suspension of compulsory military service, freedom of commerce and transit, the use of the Port of Smyrna by Turkey, the currency of the area, financial obligations and the salt mines of Phocoea.

Finally, after five years the local Parliament may ask the Council of the League of Nations for the incorporation of the area in the Kingdom of Greece, and the council may impose a plebiscite, but if such incorporation is granted Turkey agrees in advance to renounce all her rights to the territory in favor of Greece.

#### GREECE

Turkey renounces in favor of Greece her rights and titles over Turkish territory in Europe outside the frontier shown on the attached map, as well as over Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos, Samothrace, Mytilene, Samos, Nikaia and Chios, and certain other islands in the Aegean. In the zone of the Straits the Greek Government accepts practically the same obligations as are imposed in Turkey. Provision is made for a separate treaty to be signed by Greece, protecting racial, linguistic and religious minorities in her new territories, particularly at Adrianople, and safeguarding freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations. Greece also assumes certain financial obligations.

#### ARMENIA

Turkey recognizes Armenia as a free and independent State, and agrees to accept the arbitration of the President of the United States of America upon the question of the frontier between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and upon Armenia's access to the sea. Provision is made for the obligations and rights which may pass to Armenia as the result of the award of the President giving former Turkish territory to her for the eventual delimitation of the Armenian frontiers in Turkey as a result of the arbitration and of the Armenian frontiers with Georgia and Azerbaijan, failing direct agreement on the subject by the three States, and for a separate treaty to be signed by Armenia protecting racial, linguistic and religious minorities, and safeguarding freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

#### SYRIA AND MESOPOTAMIA

Syria and Mesopotamia are provisionally recognized by the high contracting parties as independent States in accordance with Article 22 of the covenant of the League of Nations, subject to the tendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until they are able to stand alone. The

boundaries of the States and the selection of mandatories will be fixed by the principal allied powers.

#### PALESTINE

By the application of the provisions of Article 22 of the covenant, the administration of Palestine is also intrusted to a mandatory. The selection of the mandatory and the determination of the frontiers of Palestine will be made by the principal allied powers. The declaration originally made on Nov. 2, 1917, by the British Government, and adopted by the other allied Governments, in favor of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, is reaffirmed and its terms cited in the treaty. Provision is also made for a special commission, with a Chairman appointed by the League of Nations, to study and regulate all questions and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine.

The terms of the mandates will be drafted by the principal allied powers and submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval.

#### HEDJAZ

Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the allied powers, recognizes the Hedjaz as a free and independent State, and transfers to the Hedjaz her sovereign rights over territory outside the boundaries of the former Turkish Empire and within the boundaries of the Hedjaz as these shall ultimately be fixed.

In view of the sacred character of the cities and Holy Places of Mecca and Medina in the eyes of all Moslems, the King of the Hedjaz undertakes to insure free and easy access thereto of Moslems of every country, desiring to go there on pilgrimages and for other religious objects, and respect for pious foundations. Provision is also made for complete commercial equality in the territory of the Hedjaz as regards the new States in Turkey and all States members of the League of Nations.

#### EGYPT, SUDAN AND CYPRUS

Turkey renounces all rights and titles over Egypt as from Nov. 5, 1914, and recognizes the protectorate proclaimed by Great Britain over Egypt on Dec. 18, 1914. Special clauses provide for the acquisition of Egyptian nationality by Turkish subjects, and their right to opt for Turkish nationality, for the treatment of Egypt and Egyptian nationals, their goods and vessels, on the same footing as the allied powers and their nationals, for the protection of Egyptian nationals abroad by Great Britain, for the renunciation in favor of Great Britain of the powers conferred upon the Sultan of Turkey by the convention signed at Constantinople on Oct. 29, 1888, regarding the Suez Canal, for the treatment of property belonging to the Turkish Government and Turkish nationals in Egypt, for the renunciation by Turkey of all



claim to the tribute formerly paid by Egypt, and for the acceptance by Great Britain of Turkey's liability for Turkish loans secured on the Egyptian tribute.

The high contracting parties take note of the convention between the British and Egyptian Governments of Jan. 19, 1899, and the supplementary convention of July 10, 1899, regarding the status and administration of the Sudan.

The high contracting parties also recognize the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by the British Government on Nov. 5, 1914. Turkey renounces all rights over the island, including the right to tribute formerly paid by that island to the Sultan, and provision is made for the acquisition of British nationality by Turkish nationals born or habitually resident in Cyprus.

#### MOROCCO, TUNIS

Turkey recognizes the French protectorate in Morocco as from March 30, 1912, and the French protectorate over Tunis as from May 12, 1881. Moroccan and Tunisian goods entering Turkey shall be subject to the same treatment as French goods.

#### LIBYA, AEGEAN ISLANDS

Turkey renounces all rights and privileges left to the Sultan in Libya under the Treaty of Lausanne of Oct. 12, 1912. Turkey also renounces in favor of Italy all rights and titles over the Dodecanese, now in the occupation of Italy, and also over the Island of Castellorizzo.

#### NATIONALITY

Detailed provisions are inserted in the treaty for regulating the status of Turkish subjects habitually resident in territory detached by the treaty from Turkey. These follow generally the lines of analogous provisions inserted in the treaty with Austria.

#### GENERAL PROVISION

Under this heading Turkey recognizes and accepts all other treaties and supplementary conventions with other enemy States, and with States now existing or coming into existence in future in the whole or part of the former Russian Empire, as well as the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaties, and of all treaties, conventions and agreements made by Turkey with the Bolshevik Government in Russia. Special provision is made for Turkey's acceptance of a scheme of judicial reform (on the lines either of a mixed or unified system) to be drafted by the principal allied powers with the assistance of technical experts of the other capitulatory powers, allied or neutral. This scheme shall replace the present capitulatory system in judicial matters in Turkey. Clauses also provide for an amnesty by Turkey to Turkish subjects assisting the Allies during the war, and for the renunciation by Turkey of all rights of suzerainty or jurisdiction

over Moslems who are subject to the sovereignty or protectorate of any other State.

#### PART IV.—PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Turkey is to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion. Special provision is made for the annulment of forcible conversions to Islam during the war and for the search and delivery, under the aegis of mixed commissions appointed by the League of Nations, of all persons in Turkey of whatever race or religion carried off, interned, or placed in captivity during the war, and for future agreements with Turkey and other States regarding reciprocal or voluntary emigration of persons belonging to racial minorities.

The law of abandoned properties, 1915, is to be repealed, and Turkey agrees to certain measures of restitution and reparation, controlled by mixed arbitral commissions appointed by the League of Nations, in favor of subjects of non-Turkish race who have suffered during the war. These commissions will have power generally to arrange for carrying out works of reconstruction, the removal of undesirable persons from different localities, the disposal of property belonging to members of a community who have died or disappeared during the war without leaving heirs, and for the cancellation of forced sales of property during the war.

This chapter further safeguards by special provisions the civil and political rights of minorities, the free use of their language, their right to establish, without interference by the Turkish authorities, educational, religious, and charitable institutions, and their ecclesiastical and scholastic autonomy. The measures necessary to guarantee the execution of this chapter of the treaty are to be decided upon by the principal allied powers in consultation with the Council of the League of Nations, and Turkey accepts in advance any decisions that may be taken on the subject.

#### PART V.—MILITARY CLAUSES

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Turkey undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow.

The military terms provide for the demobilization of the Turkish armies and the imposition of other military restrictions within three months of the signing of the treaty.

Recruiting on a voluntary and non-racial, non-religious basis is to be established, providing for the enlistment of non-commissioned officers and men for a period of not less than twelve consecutive years, and stipulating that officers shall serve for 25 years, and shall not be retired until the age of 45. No reserve of officers with war service is

to be permitted, and the annual replacement of either officers or men who leave before the expiration of their term is not to exceed 5 per cent. of the total effectives of commissioned and other ranks respectively.

Turkey will be allowed to maintain an armed land force to serve the following purposes: The maintenance of internal order and security; the protection of minorities; the control of Turkish frontiers.

This force will comprise:

- (1) Gendarmerie, 35,000 men.
- (2) Special elements intended for the reinforcement of the gendarmerie in case of serious trouble, 15,000 men.
- (3) The Sultan's bodyguard, 700 men.

The gendarmerie is to be distributed over Turkish territory, which will be divided for this purpose into a number of territorial areas to be delimited by the interallied commission which will be responsible for the control and organization of the Turkish armed force. In each territorial area there will be one gendarmerie legion, the maximum strength of which is not to exceed one-quarter of the total strength of the gendarmerie. Neither artillery nor technical troops will be included in the gendarmerie legions. Provision is made for the collaboration of officers from allied and neutral powers in the command and training of the gendarmerie.

The special elements referred to above may include mountain artillery and technical services, in addition to infantry, cavalry, and general administrative services. Not more than one-third of the total strength of the special elements may be allotted to any one territorial area.

It will be seen from the above that the total number of Turkish effectives—excluding the Sultan's bodyguard—is fixed at 50,000, which figure includes not more than 2,500 officers. Any increase in the number of customs and forestry officials or urban police, or the military training of these, or of railway employes is prohibited, and no formations are to include supplementary cadres.

Military schools are to be reduced to one for officers and one per territorial area for non-commissioned officers.

The armament, munitions and material of war at the disposal of Turkey are limited to a schedule based on the amount considered necessary for the new armed force. No reserves may be formed, and all existing armaments, munitions and stores in excess of the limit fixed must be handed to the Allies for disposal. No flame throwers, poison gases, tanks, nor armored cars are to be manufactured or imported. The manufacture of arms and war material of any sort shall take place only in factories authorized by the Interallied Commission of Control. Turkey is prohibited from manufacturing armaments and munitions for foreign countries, and from importing them from abroad.

## FORTIFICATIONS TO BE DISMANTLED

For the purpose of guaranteeing the freedom of the Straits all works, fortifications and batteries are to be demolished within a zone extending 20 kilometers inland from the coasts of the Sea of Marmora and of the Straits and comprising the islands of the Sea of Marmora, also the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Tenedos and Mitylene.

The construction of similar works or of roads or railways suitable for the rapid transport of mobile batteries is forbidden; France, Great Britain and Italy have the right to prepare for demolition any existing roads and railways which might be utilized to this end, and to maintain such military forces within the zone as they may consider necessary; otherwise the zone is not to be used for military purposes. This provision does not exclude the employment of forces of Greek and Turkish gendarmerie which will be under the interallied command of the forces of occupation, nor the presence of the Sultan's bodyguard.

## NAVAL PROVISIONS

The naval clauses provide for the surrender of all Turkish warships with the exception of a few small lightly armed vessels which may be retained for police and fishery duties.

Turkey is forbidden to construct or acquire any surface warships other than those required to replace the units allowed for police and fishery duties, and is also forbidden to construct or acquire any submarine, even for commercial purposes. Vessels which have been in use as transports and fleet auxiliaries and which can be converted to commercial use are to be disarmed and treated as other merchant vessels.

Warships under construction, including submarines, are to be broken up, except such surface warships as can be completed for commercial purposes, and the material arising from the breaking up is only to be used for purely industrial purposes. All naval war material and munitions, except such as are allowed for the use of the police and fishery vessels, are to be surrendered, and their manufacture in Turkish territory is forbidden.

A certain number of the officers and men from the late Turkish Navy may be retained for providing the personnel of the police, fishery and signal services; the remainder is to be demobilized, and no other naval forces are to be organized in Turkey.

The personnel for the police and fishery services is to be recruited on a voluntary and long service basis.

The W/T stations in the zone of the Straits are to be surrendered, and neither Turkey nor Greece will be permitted to build W/T stations in the zone.

A naval commission, composed of representatives of the principal allied powers, will be appointed to exercise supervision as long



as may be necessary to insure the above conditions being complied with.

#### AIR CLAUSES

The air clauses provide that no military or naval air forces are to be maintained by Turkey; that the entire Turkish air force personnel is to be demobilized within two months, and that the aircraft of the allied powers are to have freedom of passage over and transit and landing throughout Turkish territory until the complete evacuation of Turkey by the Allies.

The manufacture, importation and exportation of aircraft or their component parts in Turkish territory during six months following the coming into force of the treaty is forbidden. All military and naval aircraft (including dirigibles) either complete or in process of manufacture, assembling or repair, all aeronautical material, armament, munitions and instruments are to be delivered to the principal allied powers within three months from the signing of the treaty. The air navigation clauses follow the lines of those in the other peace treaties.

#### INTERALLIED COMMISSIONS

These clauses provide that the military, naval and air clauses of the treaty are to be executed under the control of military, naval and aeronautical interallied commissions, of which the upkeep and expenditure are to be borne by Turkey.

With the exception of the special section of the Military Interallied Commission of Control and Organization, which is to supervise the control, organization and distribution of the new Turkish armed force, these commissions will cease to operate when their work is completed. This section is to operate for a period of five years from the signing of the treaty. At the end of this period the principal allied powers are to decide whether the activities of the commission shall continue.

Representatives from each of the three commissions will be appointed to control jointly the measures to be taken with regard to safeguarding the zone of the Straits.

#### GENERAL ARTICLES

General articles provide for certain portions of the armistice of Oct. 30, 1918, to remain in force.

No part is to be taken by Turkey, nor by any individual Turk, in the military, naval and aeronautical concerns of any foreign nation, and the allied powers undertake that they will not employ any Turkish national in this connection. A special provision is made allowing France the right to recruit for the Foreign Legion in accordance with French military law.

#### PART VI.—PRISONERS OF WAR

Turkish prisoners of war and interned civilians are to be repatriated without delay at the cost of the Turkish Government.

Those under sentence for offenses against discipline committed before Jan. 1, 1920, are to be repatriated, without regard to their sentence, but this provision does not apply in the case of offenses other than those against discipline.

The Allies have the right to deal at their own discretion with Turkish nationals who do not desire to be repatriated, and all repatriation is conditional upon the immediate release of any allied subjects still in Turkey. The Turkish Government is to afford facilities to commissions of inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war, in imposing penalties on Turkish officials who have concealed allied nationals, and in establishing criminal acts committed by Turks against allied nationals. The Turkish Government is to restore all property belonging to allied prisoners.

#### GRAVES

These clauses provide that the Turkish Government is to transfer to the British, French and Italian Governments respectively rights of ownership over the ground in Turkey in which are situated the graves of their soldiers and sailors and over the land required for cemeteries, or for providing access to cemeteries. The Greek Government undertakes to fulfill the same obligation so far as concerns the portion of the zone of the Straits placed under its sovereignty.

Within six months from the coming into force of the treaty the British, French and Italian Governments will respectively notify to the Turkish and Greek Governments the land which is to be transferred to them. The said land will include, in particular, certain areas in the Gallipoli Peninsula. The Government in whose favor the transfer is made will not allow the land to be employed for any purpose other than that to which it is dedicated, and the shore is not to be employed for any military, marine or commercial purpose.

If compulsory acquisition of the land is necessary it is to be effected by and at the cost of the Turkish or Greek Government, who will not subject the land to any form of taxation. They will undertake to maintain all roads leading to the land, give free access to all persons desirous of visiting the graves and afford facilities for the requirements of the staff engaged in duties in connection with the cemeteries. The provisions do not affect the Turkish or Greek sovereignty over the transferred land, and these Governments are to take the necessary measures to punish any act of desecration of cemeteries or graves.

The Allies and the Turkish Government are to respect and maintain the graves of soldiers and sailors buried in their territory, and to recognize and assist any commissions appointed by the Allies in connection with them. There is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to dead prisoners and their graves.

## PART VII.—PENALTIES

Military tribunals are to be set up by the Allies to try persons accused of acts of violation of the laws and customs of war, and the Turkish Government is to hand over all persons so accused. The Governments of States to which former Turkish territory is assigned by the treaty are to act similarly in the case of persons accused of acts against the laws and customs of war who are in the territory or at the disposal of such States. The accused are to be entitled to name their own counsel, and the Turkish Government is to undertake to furnish all documents and information the production of which may be necessary.

The Turkish Government undertakes to surrender to the Allies persons responsible for the massacres committed during the war on the territory of the former Turkish Empire, the Allies reserving the right to designate the tribunal to try such persons or to bring the accused before a tribunal of the League of Nations competent to deal with the said massacres if such a tribunal has been created by the League in sufficient time.

## PART VIII.—FINANCIAL CLAUSES

This part of the treaty begins by a declaration reproduced from the treaties already signed by Germany, Austria and Bulgaria. Turkey thereby recognizes that in associating in the war of aggression waged against the allied powers she has caused them losses for which she ought to make complete reparation; nevertheless in view of her loss of territory the powers will be satisfied with obtaining payment of the claims enumerated later in the chapter.

All the resources of Turkey, except revenues ceded or hypothecated to the service of the Ottoman Public Debt, are to be employed as need arises for effecting the following payments set forth in order of priority:

1. Ordinary expenses of the allied forces of occupation after the entry into force of the treaty.

2. Expenses of the allied forces of occupation since Oct. 30 in the territories remaining Turkish and expenses of occupation in the territories detached from Turkey to the advantage of a power other than that which has supported such expenses of occupation.

The expenses covered by the preceding paragraph will be discharged by annuities calculated in a manner to enable Turkey to meet any deficiency that may arise in the sums required to pay that part of the interest on the Ottoman Public Debt for which Turkey remains responsible.

3. Indemnities due on account of claims of the allied powers for reparation for damages suffered by their nationals.

The Turkish Government agrees to the financial indemnification of all the losses or damages suffered by the civilian nationals of

the allied powers during the war and up to the entry into force of the treaty.

The powers in favor of whom territories are detached from Turkey acquire without payment all properties and possessions situated therein and registered in the name of the Turkish Empire or the Sultan's civil list.

The powers in favor of whom territories are detached from the Turkish Empire shall participate in the annual charge for the service of the Ottoman Public Debt.

The Governments of the States of the Balkan Peninsula and the newly created States in Asia shall give adequate guarantees for the payment of the share which falls to them. The distribution of these annual charges is to be made in proportion to the average revenue of the transferred territory in relation to the total revenues of Turkey during the three years preceding the Balkan war.

The same methods are to be applied for the calculation of the charges affected to the service of the Ottoman Public Debt, allotted to the powers who have acquired Turkish territory as a result of the Balkan wars.

## FINANCIAL CONTROL

A Financial Commission composed of a representative of each of the interested allied powers, France, Great Britain and Italy, to whom is added a Turkish representative in a consultative capacity, is created in Turkey with a view to take such measures as the commission may judge most suitable for restoring Turkish finances. Its principal functions are the following:

Preliminary examination of Turkish budgets, which may not be applied without its approval;

Supervision over the execution of the budgets and financial laws and regulations of Turkey;

The termination of the measures to be taken with a view to improving the Turkish currency.

Further, the Turkish Government may not establish any new form of taxation, modify its customs system or contract any internal or external loan without the consent of the Financial Commission.

The consent of the commission is equally required for the grant of new concessions in Turkey by the Turkish Government.

A clause provides that ultimately the Financial Commission may be substituted for the Council of Debt as regards the administration of the conceded revenues. This substitution shall be decided by the Governments of France, Great Britain and Italy by a majority and after consulting the bondholders, and this decision shall be taken at least six months before the expiration of the powers of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt.

In particular, as regards the execution of the present treaty, it shall be the duty of the Financial Commission to fix the annuities to be paid by the Turkish Government for the



reimbursement of the expenses of occupation and the settlement of the claims for reparation due to the nationals of the allied powers, to determine the amount of the annuities for the service of the Ottoman Public Debt to be placed to the charge of those powers in whose favor territories are detached from Turkey, and to arrange for the disposal of the sums in gold transferred by Germany and Austria in execution of Article 259 (1), (2), (4), (7) of the treaty of peace with Germany and of Article 210 (1) of the treaty of peace with Austria.

### PART IX.—ECONOMIC CLAUSES

Commercial relations between the Allies and Turkey will be regulated, generally speaking, by the capitulatory régime, which is re-established in favor of the Allies who enjoyed it before the war and extended to the other allies. The rate of customs duty is to be that fixed in 1907, i. e., 11 per cent. ad valorem. Wide powers are, however, given to the Financial Commission set up under the treaty to authorize modifications of import duties, the imposition of consumption duties, the application to allied subjects and their property of taxes imposed on Turkish subjects and their property, and the imposition of prohibitions on importation and exportation. Such action can only be taken after six months' notice in each case to all the Allies.

The provisions with regard to the recognition of shipping documents and of the flags of new States, with regard to unfair trade competition, and with regard to pre-war multilateral and bilateral treaties, and with regard to the protection of industrial, literary and artistic property, follow the general lines of the corresponding articles in former treaties of peace.

As in the case of previous treaties of peace the Allies reserve the right to liquidate Turkish property in their territories, and to hold the proceeds as a pledge for the payment by Turkey of compensation for damage to allied property in Turkey during the war and the settlement of pre-war private debts. So far as the claims against the Turkish Government are not satisfied from this source they are to be met in accordance with the financial clauses from any surplus available of Turkish revenues from time to time. It should be mentioned that in the case of territory detached from Turkey by the treaty the right to liquidate is limited to the property of Turkish companies, and does not extend to the property of Turkish individuals.

The treaty contains provisions for enabling the Allies, if they think fit, to eliminate German, Austrian, Hungarian or Bulgarian economic penetration in Turkey by requiring the Turkish Government to liquidate the property of the nationals of those countries in Turkish territory and by themselves liquidating it in territory detached from Turkey. In both cases the general principle is that the proceeds of the liquidation shall be paid to the owners, except where the property was

Government property, in which case they will be paid to the Reparation Commissions set up under former treaties of peace.

Special provisions are included in order to enable the acquisition of the property of railway companies under German control. In detached territories the disposal of such property will rest with the Government controlling such territories. In Turkey itself the Financial Commission will have the disposal of it, the price being fixed by arbitration. In both cases the proceeds of sale will be distributed by the Financial Commission to such neutrals as are entitled to a share thereof, the share of Germans, Austrians, &c., being paid over to the respective Reparation Commissions.

The complicated provisions of former treaties for the settlement of pre-war debts through clearing houses have not been repeated, the only provision with regard to the settlement of such debts being one which fixes the pre-war rate of exchange for the purpose of the settlement of all debts between Turkish subjects in Turkey and allies not resident or carrying on business in Turkey.

As regards pre-war contracts between allies and Turks the general principle is to maintain or dissolve them, and to decide any question relative thereto according to the law of the particular allied country concerned in each case. The detailed provisions relative to particular descriptions of contracts follow those in the preceding treaties.

Provisions are included in the treaty for safeguarding the interests in Turkey of allies who hold pre-war concessions from the Turkish Government. Concessions granted by the Turkish Government during the war need not be recognized by the Allies in detached territories, while other provisions enable new States placed under a mandate to put an end to pre-war concessions if thought desirable in the public interest on payment of equitable compensation to be fixed by arbitration. For this purpose and for the purpose of all other economic clauses Turkish companies which were actually under allied control before the war are treated as allied nationals.

### PART X.—AERIAL NAVIGATION

Turkey agrees to accord the aircraft of the allied powers full liberty of passage and landing over and in the territory and territorial waters of Turkey, freedom of transit, the use of all aerodromes in Turkey open to national public traffic and equal treatment generally in these matters with Turkish aircraft and most-favored-nation treatment as regards internal commercial air traffic. Turkey also undertakes to establish aerodromes in localities designated by the allied powers, and the Allies reserve the right in certain eventualities to take measures to insure international aerial navigation over the territory and territorial waters of Turkey.

States who fought on Turkey's side in the late war are debarred from these privileges and from the grant, without allied consent, of concessions for civil aerial navigation, unless and until they become members of the League of Nations or are permitted to adhere to the Convention of Oct. 13, 1919, regarding aerial navigation. Turkey agrees to enforce the compliance by Turkish aircraft with the rules and regulations resulting from the latter convention. The obligations imposed by this chapter remain in force until Turkey is admitted to the League of Nations or permitted to adhere to the above-mentioned convention.

## PART XI.—PORTS, WATERWAYS AND RAILWAYS

Turkey is required to grant freedom of transit and national treatment to persons, goods, vessels, rolling stock, &c., coming from or going to any allied State and passing in transit through Turkish territories. Goods in transit are to be free of all customs or other similar duties. Rates of transport are to be reasonable, and no charges or facilities are to depend directly or indirectly on the ownership or nationality of the vessel or other means of transport. Provision is made against discrimination by control of transigrant traffic and indirect discrimination of any kind is prohibited.

International transport is to be expedited, particularly for perishable traffic. Discrimination in transport charges or facilities against allied ports is prohibited.

The following Eastern ports are declared to be of international interest, but, subject to any provisions to the contrary, the régime laid down does not prejudice the territorial sovereignty:

Constantinople, from St. Stefano to Dolma Bagtchi, Haida-Pasha, Smyrna, Alexandretta, Haifa, Basra, Trebizond and Batum.

The nationals, goods and flags of all States members of the League of Nations are to enjoy complete freedom in the use of these ports, and they are to be accorded absolute equality of treatment, particularly as regards all charges and facilities.

Provision is made for "free" zones in the above-mentioned ports, and adequate facilities are to be provided for trade requirements without distinction of nationality. With the exception of a small statistical duty, no customs duties or analogous charges are to be levied in the "free" zones.

In order to insure to Turkey free access to the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas, she is accorded freedom of transit over the territories and in the ports severed from the former Ottoman Empire. Turkey is also granted a lease in perpetuity, subject to determination by the League of Nations, of an area in the Port of Smyrna, which is to be placed under the general régime of "free" zones.

Free access to the Black Sea by the Port of

Batum is accorded to Georgia, Azerbaijan, Persia and Armenia; and Armenia is granted similar facilities in respect of the Port of Trebizond, in which port she obtains a lease of an area on similar conditions to those which apply to Turkey in the case of Smyrna.

## RAILWAYS

The railway clauses provide that, subject to the rights of concessionaire companies, goods consigned from or to allied States to or from Turkey, or in transit through Turkey, are entitled generally to the most favorable conditions available.

Certain railway tariff questions are dealt with.

When a new Railway Convention has replaced the Berne Convention, it will be binding on Turkey; in the meantime she is to follow the Berne Convention.

Turkey is to co-operate in the establishment of passenger and luggage services, with direct booking between allied States over her territory, under favorable conditions, as well as emigrant train services.

Turkey is required to fit her rolling stock with apparatus allowing of its being incorporated in allied goods trains, and vice versa, without interfering with the brake system. Provision is made for the handing over of the installations of lines in transferred territory, and of an equitable proportion of rolling stock for use therein.

As regards lines the administration of which will, in virtue of the present treaty, be divided, allocation of the rolling stock is to be made by agreement between the administrations taking over the several parts thereof. Failing agreement, the points in dispute are to be settled by an arbitrator designated by the League of Nations.

A standing conference of technical representatives nominated by the Governments concerned is to be constituted to agree upon the necessary joint arrangements for through traffic working, wagon exchange, through rates and tariffs, and other similar matters affecting railways situated on territory forming part of the Turkish Empire on Aug. 1, 1914.

As a temporary arrangement Turkey is to execute instructions given in the name of the Allies as to transport of troops, material, munitions, &c., transport for re-arming of certain regions, and re-establishment of normal transport.

Turkey is required to subscribe to any general convention regarding the international régime of transit, waterways, ports, or railways, which may be concluded with the approval of the League of Nations, within five years.

## TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE LINES

Turkey is to grant facilities for the erection and maintenance of trunk telegraph and telephone lines across her territories, and is to accord freedom of transit for telegraphic correspondence and telephonic communica-



tions coming from or going to any one of the allied powers. This correspondence and these communications are to enjoy national treatment in every respect.

Turkey is to transfer the landing rights at Constantinople for the Constantinople-Constantanza cable to any administration or company designated by the Allies, and renounces in favor of the principal allied powers all her rights over the Jeddah-Suakin and Cyprus-Latakia cables.

#### GENERAL

Differences are to be settled by the League of Nations. Certain specified articles—e. g., those providing for equal treatment in matters of transit and transport—are subject to revision by the League of Nations after three years. Failing revision, they will only continue in force in relation to any allied State which grants reciprocal treatment.

It is provided that, unless otherwise expressly laid down in the treaty, nothing shall prejudice more extensive rights conferred on the nationals of the allied States by the capitulations, or by any arrangements which may be substituted therefor.

#### PART XII.—LABOR CONVENTION

Here follows the text of the convention as embodied in the treaty with Germany.

#### PART XIII.—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Turkey recognizes conventions made or to be made by the Allies as to the traffic in arms and in spirituous liquors and as to other subjects dealt with in the general acts of Berlin of Feb. 26, 1885, and of Brussels of July 2, 1890, and the conventions completing or modifying these.

The high contracting parties take note of the treaty of July, 1918, between France and the principality of Monaco.

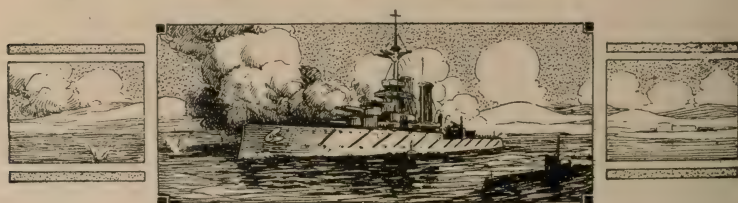
In a barrier clause Turkey undertakes not to put forward any pecuniary claim against any allied power signing the present treaty, based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

Turkey accepts all decrees, &c., as to Turkish ships by any allied prize court, and the Allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of Turkish prize courts. Turkey

agrees to supply the Allies with all necessary information regarding vessels sunk or damaged by Turkish forces during the war and to restore trophies, archives, historical souvenirs and works of art taken from the allied Governments and their nationals, including companies.

Special provisions are also inserted regarding a reform of the Turkish law of antiquities and the future treatment of archaeological research in Turkey, the restoration of all objects of religious, archaeological, historical, or artistic interest removed by Turkey during the war from territories detached from her, the surrender by Turkey of all archives, plans, land registers, &c., belonging to the civil, military, financial, judicial, or other forms of administration in transferred territories, the grant of access by Turkey, subject to reciprocity, to documents, &c., relating to the administration of wakfs in which the Governments of transferred territories are interested, the recognition by Turkey of allied judicial decisions since the date of the armistice, the acceptance by Turkey of special measures to be formulated later by the allied powers, acting, if necessary, with third powers, regarding the sanitary régime in Turkey and in the territories detached from Turkey and the sanitary control of the Hedjaz Pilgrimage, the enactment of the necessary legislation by Turkey to execute the treaty, the obligation of Turkey to facilitate any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations may consider necessary in any matters relating directly or indirectly to the application of the treaty and the accession of Russia to the treaty on certain conditions after she has become a member of the League of Nations.

The treaty, of which the French text is authentic except as regards Parts I. and XII., when the English and French texts are of equal force, shall be ratified and the deposit of ratifications made at Paris as soon as possible. Various diplomatic provisions as to ratification follow. The treaty is to enter into force as soon as it has been ratified by Turkey on the one hand and by three of the principal allied powers on the other, so far as concerns those powers who have then ratified it.



# The Constitution of Czechoslovakia

## Full Text of the Most Modern and Complete Instrument of Democratic Self-Government

THE first election of Deputies and Senators under the new Constitution of Czechoslovakia was held on April 18, 1920, and the first session of the newly created Parliament known as the National Assembly, met in Prague on May 29 and elected Thomas C. Masaryk as Constitutional President by a vote of 284 to 61.

The Constitution thus put into operation is one of the most democratic in the world. It was formally adopted by the Constituent Assembly at Prague on Feb. 29, 1920, and was approved by Provisional President Masaryk on March 5. This document—a new landmark in the history of free government—is herewith published in its entirety in the translation given by the Czechoslovak Review, the official organ of the Czechoslovak National Council of America. It embodies the efforts of some of the most enlightened men in Europe to choose the best features of all the earlier republics, from that of Athens to those of our own time, and to exclude all features which experience has proved to be undesirable.

Though the preamble has a familiar sound to American ears, the main features of the Czech Constitution follow more closely the French model. The President can hold office through two seven-year terms, no more, consecutively—with the exception of President Masaryk, who may be elected for a third consecutive term if he lives long enough—but a majority vote of the Chamber of Deputies can at any time overrule the President's veto. The two-chamber system was adopted after a tough struggle; the legislative body, called the National Assembly, consists of the House of Deputies and the Senate, but the latter's powers are very limited; the Chamber of Deputies is as completely predominant as the British House of Commons, and its vote of lack of confidence can at any

time overthrow the Ministry and compel the President to take the necessary steps to organize a new Government.

A restricted form of the referendum also is provided for. The Constitution secures to minorities all their rights, but protects the National Assembly both from a coup d'état of any official group and from obstruction by any minority. Every man and woman 21 years old can vote—nay, must vote—in the elections for the Chamber of Deputies; thus, when the first election of this kind was held on April 18 the surprising total of nearly 8,000,000 voters cast their ballots, though the total population of Czechoslovakia is not quite 13,000,000, of whom 3,000,000 are Germans. Persons who vote for Senators must be 26 years old. These and many other novel features will be found in the following remarkable Constitution, which is well worthy of study:

### PREAMBLE

We, the Czechoslovak Nation, in order to form a more perfect union of the nation, establish justice and order in the republic, insure tranquil development of the Czechoslovak homeland, promote the general welfare of all the citizens of this State and secure the blessings of liberty to future generations, have adopted in our National Assembly on the 29th day of February, 1920, a Constitution for the Czechoslovak Republic, the text of which follows. On this occasion, we, the Czechoslovak Nation, declare that we shall endeavor to have this Constitution and all laws of our land carried out in the spirit of our history and also in the spirit of modern principles contained in the word self-determination; for we desire to join the society of nations as an enlightened, peaceful, democratic and progressive member.

### ENABLING PROVISIONS

I. Laws in conflict with the Constitution, the fundamental laws which are a part of it, and laws which may supplement or amend it are void.

The Constitution and the fundamental laws which are a part of it may be changed or



supplemented only by laws designated as constitutional laws.

II. The Constitutional Court decides whether laws of the Czechoslovak Republic and laws of the Diet of Carpathian Russia comply with Article I.

III. The Constitutional Court consists of seven members. The Supreme Administrative Court and the Supreme Court each designate two members. The remaining two members, together with the President of the court, are appointed by the President of the republic.

Regulation of the manner in which the two above-mentioned courts select members of the Constitutional Court, its functioning, rules of procedure and effects of its judgments is determined by law.

IV. The existing National Assembly shall remain in session until the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate are constituted.

Laws adopted by this National Assembly, but not proclaimed on the day when the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate are constituted, may not go into effect if returned by the President of the republic to the National Assembly.

As to the term set by the Provisional Constitution for the exercise of the right of the President of the republic according to Section II and for the duty to proclaim the adopted law, the laws passed by the existing National Assembly shall be governed by the Provisional Constitution.

V. The present President remains in office until a new election has taken place. From the day on which this Constitution goes into effect he shall possess the rights herein granted.

VI. Until there is elected the full number of members of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate provided for in the Constitution the number of members actually elected shall be applied to determine the quorum of Deputies and Senators required by the Constitution.

VII. Provisions of Articles I., II. and III. (Paragraph 1) form a part of the Constitution in accordance with Section 33 of this instrument.

Enabling laws referred to in the Constitution are not a part of this instrument within the scope of Section 1 unless otherwise expressly stated by the Constitution.

VIII. The Constitution hereto attached goes into effect on the day of its proclamation.

Section 20 of the Constitution does not apply to members of the existing National Assembly.

IX. On the day stated in Paragraph 1 of Section 8 all ordinances in conflict with the Constitution and the republican form of government, as well as all former constitutional laws, even though some of their provisions may not be in conflict with the fundamental laws of the Czechoslovak Republic, become void.

X. This law goes into effect simultaneously with the Constitution, and the Government

is charged with carrying out this law and the Constitution.

## I. GENERAL PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION

1. The people are the only source of all State authority in the Czechoslovak Republic.

The Constitution determines through what organs the sovereign people adopt laws, carry them out and find justice. The Constitution also sets the limits which these organs may not exceed, so that the constitutionally guaranteed rights of citizens may be protected.

2. The Czechoslovak State is a democratic republic, at the head of which is an elected President.

3. The territory of the Czechoslovak Republic forms a unitary and indivisible whole, the frontiers of which may be changed only by fundamental law.

An indivisible part of this whole, on the basis of voluntary union in accordance with the treaty between the allied and associated powers and the Czechoslovak Republic in Saint-Germain-en-Laye Sept. 10, 1919, is the autonomous territory of Carpathian Russia, which will receive the widest autonomy compatible with the unity of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Carpathian Russia has its own Diet, which elects its own officers.

The Diet of Carpathian Russia is competent to make laws in matters of language, instruction, religion, local administration, as well as in other matters which may be assigned to it by the laws of the Czechoslovak Republic. Laws adopted by the Diet of Carpathian Russia and signed by the President of the Republic are proclaimed in a separate series and shall also be signed by the Governor.

Carpathian Russia shall be represented in the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic by the proper number of Deputies and Senators in accordance with Czechoslovak election laws.

At the head of Carpathian Russia stands a Governor appointed by the President of the Czechoslovak Republic upon nomination by the Government; he shall be responsible also to the Diet of Carpathian Russia.

Public servants of Carpathian Russia shall as far as possible be taken from its own population.

Details, especially the right to vote and to be elected to the Diet, are regulated by special enactments.

The law of the National Assembly, determining the boundaries of Carpathian Russia, shall form a part of the Constitution.

4. Citizenship of the Czechoslovak Republic is one and unitary.

Rules governing the acquiring of citizenship, its effects and its loss are determined by law.

A citizen or subject of a foreign State may

not at the same time be a citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic.

5. Prague is the capital of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The colors of the republic are white, red and blue.

Coat of arms and flags are prescribed by laws.

## II. LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

6. Legislative authority for the entire territory of the Czechoslovak Republic is exercised by the National Assembly, which consists of two houses: Chamber of Deputies and Senate.

Both houses meet regularly in Prague. In cases of absolute necessity they may be called to meet temporarily in some other place in the Czechoslovak Republic.

7. Legislative and administrative power of land Diets is abolished.

Unless a law adopted by the National Assembly provides otherwise, it applies to the entire territory of the Czechoslovak Republic.

8. The Chamber of Deputies consists of 300 members, elected by general, equal, direct and secret franchise in accordance with the principle of proportionate representation. Elections take place on Sundays.

9. The right to vote for members of the Chamber of Deputies belongs to all citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic without distinction of sex who are 21 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law governing elections to the Chamber of Deputies.

10. All citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic, without distinction of sex, who are 30 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law, are eligible to election to the Chamber of Deputies.

12. Details of the exercise of right to vote and election rules are contained in the law governing elections to Chamber of Deputies.

13. The Senate consists of 150 members, elected by general, equal, direct and secret franchise in accordance with the principle of proportionate representation. Elections take place on Sundays.

14. The right to vote for members of the Senate belongs to all citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic without distinction of sex who are 26 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law as to the composition and jurisdiction of the Senate.

15. Eligible are those citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic, without distinction of sex, who have reached 45 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law as to the composition and jurisdiction of the Senate.

16. The term for which Senators are elected is eight years.

17. Details of the exercise of right to vote and election rules are contained in the law

as to the composition and jurisdiction of the Senate.

18. No one may be a member of both houses.

19. Contested elections to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate are passed upon by the electoral court. Details are regulated by law.

20. An employee of the State who is elected to the National Assembly and qualifies as member receives a leave of absence for the duration of his term and is entitled to his regular salary, not including therein local or active supplement of the same, as well as to seniority promotion. University professors are entitled to leave of absence; if they make use of this right, the same provisions apply to them as to other State servants.

Other public servants are entitled to leave of absence while they are members of the National Assembly.

Members of the National Assembly may receive a salaried State appointment only after the expiration of one year from the time they cease to be members of the National Assembly.

This provision does not apply to Ministers. The time limit of one year, contained in the previous paragraph, does not apply to Deputies and Senators who were in the service of the State before their election to the National Assembly, if they remain in the same department of service.

Members of county assemblies and county and district chiefs may not be members of the National Assembly. Judges of the Constitutional Court and associate Judges of the Electoral Court may not at the same time sit in the National Assembly.

21. Members of either house may resign at any time.

22. Members of the National Assembly carry out their mandates in person; they may not receive orders from any one.

They may not intervene with public authorities in party interests. This prohibition does not apply to members of the National Assembly in so far as intervention with authorities is a part of their regular duties.

In the first meeting of the House which they attend they shall make the following pledge: "I promise that I will be faithful to the Czechoslovak Republic, that I will observe the laws and execute my trust according to my best knowledge and conscience." Refusal of the pledge or pledge with reservation carries with it automatic loss of mandate.

23. Members of the National Assembly cannot be molested by reason of their vote in the House or committees. For anything they may say in the exercise of their mandate they are subject only to the disciplinary power of the House.

24. Before a member of the National Assembly may be prosecuted or disciplined for other acts or omissions, the consent of the proper House must be obtained. If the House refuses its consent, prosecution is dropped permanently.



These provisions do not apply to criminal liability which a member of the National Assembly may incur as responsible editor.

25. If a member of either House is arrested in the commission of a criminal offense, the court or other proper authority shall inform the President of the House at once of the arrest. Unless the House, or during the adjournment of the National Assembly the commission elected in accordance with Section 54, signifies within fourteen days its consent to further imprisonment, imprisonment ceases. Should the commission give its consent, the House itself shall decide the question of further imprisonment within fourteen days of its convening.

26. Members of both houses may refuse to testify as to matters which were confided to them as members of the House, even after they have ceased to be members. This does not apply to charges of seducing a member of either House to abuse his trust.

27. Members of both houses shall receive compensation provided by law.

28. The President of the republic shall call both houses into two regular sessions annually, in Spring and Fall. The Spring session commences in March, the Fall session in October.

He may also call the houses into special sessions according to need. If a majority of either House makes a demand for special session on the President of the Government, stating the nature of special business, the President shall cause the houses to meet within fourteen days from the date of demand. In case of his failure to act the houses shall convene simultaneously within the following fourteen days at the call of their Presidents.

When more than four months have elapsed since the last regular session, the President of the republic shall at the request of at least two-fifths of either House call the houses to meet within fourteen days of the date of the request. In case of his failure to act the houses shall meet within the following fourteen days at the call of their Presidents.

29. Sessions of both houses open and close at the same time.

30. The President of the republic declares the session closed.

He may prorogue the houses for no longer than one month and not oftener than once a year.

31. The President of the republic may dissolve the houses. He may not exercise this right within the last six months of his term of office. At the expiration of the term of either House or at the dissolution of either House new elections shall take place within sixty days.

Dissolution of the Senate does not stay criminal proceedings that may be pending before the Senate in accordance with Sections 67 and 79.

32. The quorum of either House, except where otherwise provided for herein, is one-

third of entire membership; all acts to be valid must receive a majority vote of those present.

33. Declaration of war, amendment of the Constitution and the fundamental laws which are a part thereof may be done only by affirmative vote of three-fifths of all members of both houses.

34. The Chamber of Deputies may impeach the President of the republic, the President of the Government and members of Government by a two-thirds majority in the presence of two-thirds of the membership.

Proceedings before the Senate as a high court are regulated by law.

35. Each House elects its own President, officers and functionaries.

36. Sessions of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate are public. Executive sessions may be held only in cases enumerated in the rules of proceeding.

37. The fundamental principles of the relations of both houses to each other, to the Government and to all outside them are regulated by special law within the limits set by constitutional provisions. For the transaction of its business each House adopts its own rules.

Until the House of Deputies and the Senate adopt their own rules, the rules of the existing National Assembly shall apply.

38. When both houses meet as National Assembly the rules of the House of Deputies apply.

Such a joint session is called by the President of the Government and presided over by the President of the Chamber of Deputies.

His alternate is President of the Senate.

39. Ministers may participate at any time in the meetings of either House and of all committees. They shall be given the floor whenever they desire to speak.

40. At the request of either House or its committee the Minister shall attend its meeting.

Otherwise the Minister may be represented by officials of his department.

41. Bills may be submitted either by the Government or by either House.

A bill submitted by members of either House shall be accompanied by a statement of expenses involved in the bill and by a recommendation as to how they shall be defrayed.

Government proposals for financial and army bills shall be laid first before the Chamber of Deputies.

42. Changes in fundamental laws shall be concurred in by both houses. This applies also to other laws, except as otherwise provided in Sections 43, 44 and 48.

43. The Senate shall take action on a bill passed by the House of Deputies within six weeks; on financial and army bills within one month. The House of Deputies shall take action on bill adopted by the Senate within three months.

These time limits run from the day when the printed act of one House is delivered to

the other House; by consent of both houses these time limits may be extended or shortened. The limit of one month within which the Senate shall take action on financial and army bills cannot be extended.

If during the limit the term of the House which is to take action on the bill of the other expires or the House is dissolved, prorogued or its session closed, the limit begins to run anew from its next meeting.

If the second House takes no action within the above time limits, the failure is considered equivalent to approval of the decision of the first House.

44. A measure passed by the Chamber of Deputies shall become law in spite of the dissent of the Senate if the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of the majority of the entire membership reaffirms its original vote. If the Senate rejects by a three-fourths majority of the entire membership a bill which was passed by the Chamber of Deputies the bill becomes law only if repassed by the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of three-fifths of the entire membership.

Proposals of the Senate are submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. If the latter rejects the Senate bill and the Senate reaffirms its original vote by a majority vote of the entire membership, the bill is submitted once more to the Chamber of Deputies. If the Chamber of Deputies rejects the Senate bill by a majority vote of the entire membership the bill fails.

Bills which thus fail cannot be resubmitted in either House before the expiration of one year.

Amendment of a bill passed by one House in the other House is equivalent to rejection.

45. If either House has to consider for the second time a bill which it once voted or consider again a bill passed by the other House, and should the House be dissolved or its term expire before reconsideration, the action of the new House on the matter shall be considered to be its second action in the sense of Section 44.

46. If the National Assembly rejects a Government bill, the Government may order a popular vote to be taken on the question, whether the bill shall become law. Such a decision of the Government must be unanimous.

The right of vote belongs to all who are entitled to vote for members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Details are regulated by law.

Popular vote does not apply to governmental proposals changing or amending the Constitution and the fundamental laws which are a part of it.

47. The President of the republic may return with his objections a law passed by the National Assembly within one month from the day on which it was delivered to the Government.

48. If both houses in a roll call reaffirm their vote by a majority of the entire mem-

bership, the measure shall be proclaimed law.

If such a concurrent majority of both houses is not reached, the measure will nevertheless become law, if in a new roll call the Chamber of Deputies votes for it by three-fifths of the entire membership.

If the measure in question is one which requires the larger quorum and higher majority, the returned measure must be adopted in the presence of this quorum by the specified majority.

The provisions of Section 45 apply here also.

49. A law does not go into effect until it is proclaimed in the manner prescribed by law.

Laws are proclaimed by this clause: "The National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic adopted the following law."

Laws shall be proclaimed within eight days, not including Sundays, from the limit set in Section 47. If the President of the republic makes use of his right there referred to, the law shall be proclaimed within eight days, not including Sundays, from the day when re-enactment by the National Assembly is communicated to the Government.

50. Every law must state which member of the Government is charged with its execution.

51. The law shall be signed by the President of the republic, the President of the Government and the Minister charged to execute the law. If the President is disabled or ill and has no Deputy, the President of the Government signs on his behalf.

The President of the Government may be represented in the signing of laws in the manner provided for in Section 71.

52. Each House has the right to interpellate the President and members of the Government on all matters within their jurisdiction, inquire into administrative acts of the Government, appoint committees to which the Ministers shall submit information, adopt addresses and resolutions.

The President and members of the Government shall answer the interpellations of the members of the houses.

53. The manner in which State financial economy and State debt is controlled is regulated by law.

54. (1) In the period between the dissolution of either House or the expiration of its term and the next convening of both houses, and also during the time when the session of the two houses is prorogued or closed, a commission of twenty-four members may enact urgent measures which have the force of law. The Chamber of Deputies elects sixteen members with sixteen alternates, and the Senate elects eight members and eight alternates for the term of one year. Each alternate takes the place of a definite member.

(2) First elections take place as soon as the two houses are organized. Presidents



and Vice Presidents of both houses take part in voting. When a new House has been elected it selects new members of the commission, even though the one-year term of sitting members has not expired.

(3) The principle of proportionate representation shall be applied in these elections. Parties may combine. If all parties agree, members of the commission may be selected from the body of the House. This may be done if objectors do not exceed twenty Deputies or ten Senators.

(4) Members of the commission remain in office until their successors are elected. Alternates take the place of members who permanently or temporarily are unable to perform their duties. If there is a vacancy in the office of either member or alternate, supplementary election is had for the balance of the term. A newly elected member must belong to the same group as the former member unless the group in question should fail to nominate a candidate or refuse to participate in electing.

(5) A member of the Government may not be a member of commission or his alternate.

(6) As soon as the commission is elected it shall organize itself by electing a President and Second Vice President out of members of the House of Deputies, and First Vice President out of Senate members.

(7) Sections 23 to 27 of the Constitution apply to members of the commission.

(8) The commission may act in all matters that come within the legislative and administrative jurisdiction of the National Assembly, but it cannot

(a) elect the President of the republic or his Deputy;

(b) amend fundamental laws or change jurisdiction of public authorities, except that it may add new duties to existing authorities;

(c) impose by its measures upon citizens new and lasting financial duties, increase military obligation, burden permanently the State finances or alienate State property;

(d) give its consent to declaration of war.

(9) A measure which is to have the effect of law or which authorizes expenditures not provided for in the budget must be approved by a majority of the entire membership.

(10) In all other cases the commission may act in the presence of one-half of its membership by a majority vote of those present. The President votes only to break the tie.

(11) Emergency measures which are in the nature of law may be adopted only upon recommendation of the Government approved by the President of the republic.

(12) Acts of the commission referred to in the preceding section have temporarily the effect of law; they are proclaimed, with a reference to Section 54, in the series of laws and ordinances, and they are signed by the President of the republic, President of the Government or his Deputy, and at least one-half of the Ministers. Acts which are not

signed by the President of the republic may not be proclaimed.

(13) The jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court extends to measures which are in the nature of law; they shall be submitted to the court by the Government at the time of their proclamation in the series of laws and ordinances. The Constitutional Court decides whether measures submitted to it comply with Paragraph 8 b.

(14) President of the commission and Vice President submit a report of the actions of the commission in the first sessions of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, even though they may have ceased to be members.

(15) Measures which are not approved by both houses within two months of their convening are thereafter void.

### III. GOVERNING AND EXECUTIVE POWER

55. Ordinances may be issued only for the purpose of carrying out a definite law and within its terms.

56. The President of the republic is elected by the National Assembly.

He shall be a citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic, qualified to be member of the Chamber of Deputies and 35 years of age.

57. Election is held in the presence of the majority of the total membership of both houses, and a vote of three-fifths of those present is necessary.

If two ballots result in no choice, the next balloting is limited to the highest candidates; he who receives a plurality of votes is elected. In case of tie the decision is made by lot.

Details are governed by law.

58. The term of office commences on the day when the newly elected President makes the promise, as provided in Section 65.

The term of office is seven years.

Election is held within the last four weeks of an expiring term.

No one may be elected for more than two successive terms. A person who has served as President for two successive terms cannot be elected again until seven years shall have elapsed from the expiration of his last term. This provision does not apply to the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The former President continues in office until the new President is elected.

59. Should the President die or resign during his term of office, a new election is held in accordance with provisions of Sections 56 and 57 for a term of seven years. The National Assembly shall be convened for that purpose within fourteen days.

60. Until the new President is elected (Section 59), or if the President is prevented by ill-health or other cause from performing his office, his authority is exercised by the Government, which may entrust definite functions to its own President.

61. If the President is incapacitated or ill for more than six months (Section 60), and

if the Government so decides in the presence of three-quarters of its members, the National Assembly will elect an acting President who will serve as such, until the impediment is removed.

During the period for which a person is not eligible to be President in accordance with Section 58 he cannot be acting President.

62. The election of acting President is governed by rules applying to the election of President.

63. The President of the republic may not be at the same time member of the National Assembly. If a member of the National Assembly is elected acting President, he cannot execute his mandate in the National Assembly while he is exercising the office of President.

64. The President of the republic:

(1) Represents the State in its foreign relations. He negotiates and ratifies international treaties, commercial treaties, treaties which impose upon the State or the citizens burdens of a financial or personal nature, especially military, and treaties which change the boundaries of the State, need the consent of the National Assembly. In the case of changes of boundaries the consent of the National Assembly must take the form of a constitutional law (Article I. of the enabling laws);

(2) Receives and accredits diplomatic representatives;

(3) Proclaims state of war to exist, declares war after first obtaining the consent of the National Assembly, and lays before it the negotiated treaty of peace for its approval;

(4) Convenes, prorogues and dissolves the National Assembly (Sections 28 to 31) and declares the session of the houses closed;

(5) May return bills with his objections (Section 47) and signs laws of the National Assembly (Section 51), of the Diet of Carpathian Russia (Section 3), and ordinances of the commission (Section 54);

(6) Gives to the National Assembly oral or written information of the state of the republic and recommends to their consideration such measures as he may deem necessary and expedient;

(7) Appoints and dismisses Ministers and determines their number;

(8) Appoints all professors of universities, and all Judges, civil officials and army officers of the sixth or higher rank;

(9) Grants gifts and pensions in special cases upon motion of the Government;

(10) Is Commander in Chief of all armed forces;

(11) Grants pardons in accordance with Section 103.

All governing and executive power, in so far as the Constitution and laws of the Czechoslovak Republic, adopted after Nov. 15, 1918, do not expressly reserve it to the President of the republic, shall be exercised by the Government (Section 70).

65. The President of the republic promises

before the National Assembly (Section 58) upon his honor and conscience that he will study the welfare of the republic and the people and that he will observe constitutional and other laws.

66. The President of the republic is not responsible for the execution of his office. For his utterances, connected with the office of the President, the Government is responsible.

67. He may be criminally prosecuted only for high treason before the Senate upon impeachment by the Chamber of Deputies (Section 34). The punishment may extend only to the loss of his office and disqualification ever to hold it again.

Details are determined by law.

68. Every act of the President in the exercise of his governing or executive power is valid only when countersigned by a responsible member of the Government.

69. Provisions applying to the President of the republic apply also to the acting President (Section 61).

70. The President and members of the Government (Ministers) are appointed and dismissed by the President of the republic.

The ordinary seat of the Government is Prague (Section 6).

71. The Government elects from its membership the President's Deputy, who may take his place. If the Deputy is unable to act, the oldest member of the Government in years acts as President.

72. The President of the republic decides over which department each Minister shall preside.

73. Members of the Government "promise to the President of the republic, upon their honor and conscience, that they will conscientiously and impartially perform their duties and observe constitutional and other laws.

74. No member of the Government may sit on the Board of Directors or act as representative of a stock company or a firm which is engaged in business for profit.

75. The Government is responsible to the Chamber of Deputies, which may declare its lack of confidence in the Government. This shall be done in the presence of the majority of the entire membership by a majority vote upon a roll call.

76. Motion to declare lack of a confidence shall be signed by at least one hundred Deputies and shall be referred to committee which will submit its report within eight days.

77. The Government may ask the Chamber of Deputies to vote its confidence. This motion shall be acted upon without reference to committee.

78. If the Chamber of Deputies declares lack of confidence in the Government or if it rejects the motion of Government for a vote of confidence, the Government shall hand its resignation to the President of the republic, who will select the persons who are to carry on the affairs of state until a new Government is formed.



If the Government resigns at a time when there is neither President nor acting President, the commission provided for in Section 54 accepts the resignation and takes steps to have the administration carried on.

79. If the President or members of the Government violate fundamental or other laws by their official acts either intentionally or from gross negligence, they are responsible criminally.

Right to impeach belongs to the Chamber of Deputies, and the trial is held before the Senate.

Details are regulated by law.

80. The Government acts as a college which is competent to take action only in the presence of the President or acting President and a majority of the Ministers.

81. The Government decides corporatively in particular:

(a) Government measures for the National Assembly, Government ordinances (Section 84) and recommendations to the President of the republic to make use of the power given him by Section 74;

(b) all matters of a political nature;

(c) appointment of Judges and civil officials of the eighth and higher ranks, as far as this appertains to the central authorities, and nominations of functionaries who are appointed by the President of the republic (Section 64, Paragraph 8).

82. The President of the republic may attend and preside over the meetings of the Government; he may require of the Government and its members written opinion of any matter relating to the duties of their office.

83. The President of the republic may invite the Government or its members for consultation.

84. Every Government ordinance shall be signed by the President of the Government or the acting President, and also by Ministers charged with its execution and in no case less than half the Ministers.

85. The jurisdiction of the Ministries is regulated by law.

86. In the lower State administrative offices the citizen element shall be, as far as possible, represented, and the protection of the rights and interests of the citizens (administrative judicature) shall be effectively provided.

87. No one may be at the same time an elected member of an inferior administrative organ and also of an organ that is superior or exercises supervision over the former.

Exceptions may be made by law.

88. Judicial protection against administrative organs shall be provided by the Supreme Administrative Court, composed of independent Judges, with jurisdiction over the territory of the entire republic.

Details are regulated by law.

89. The nature and authority of the inferior organs of State administration is settled in principle by law which may leave details to Government ordinances.

90. State organs which are entrusted with economic functions only, without exercising the sovereign authority of the State, are created and organized by ordinances.

91. The nature and authority of the autonomous organ are regulated by special law.

92. The law determines to what extent the State shall be responsible for illegal execution of governmental authority.

93. Public employees shall in their official acts observe fundamental and other laws. This applies also to citizen members of administrative colleges.

## IV. JUDICIAL POWER

94. The judicial power is exercised by State courts; the law prescribes their organization, their jurisdiction and their procedure.

No one may be sent before any other Judge but the one who has jurisdiction by law.

Only in criminal matters extraordinary courts may be introduced, and then in cases prescribed by law in advance and for a limited period.

95. Judicial power in civil cases belongs to civil courts, either regular or special and arbitration courts; judicial power in criminal matters belongs to regular criminal courts, in so far as it is not assigned to military criminal courts, and except as such matters may, in accordance with general ordinances, be dealt with by police or financial punitive procedure.

For the entire territory of the Czechoslovak Republic there shall be one Supreme Court.

The place of juries in judicial procedure is regulated by special laws.

Jury trials may be temporarily suspended in cases provided for by law.

The jurisdiction of court-martial may be extended to civil population in accordance with the provisions of law only in time of war and for acts done during the war.

96. Judicial power is in all instances separated from administration.

Conflicts of jurisdiction between courts and administrative organs are regulated by law.

97. Qualifications of professional Judges are determined by law.

Judges shall take an oath of office that they will observe the laws.

The status of Judges in the service of State is regulated by special law.

98. All Judges shall execute their office independently of all considerations except only the law.

99. Professional Judges are appointed permanently; they may not be transferred, demoted or pensioned against their will, except should there be a new organization of courts and then only during the period provided for by the law, or by virtue of a proper disciplinary finding; they may be pensioned also by a proper finding when they reach the legal retirement age. Details are regulated by law which also prescribes, under what conditions Judges may be suspended from office.

Judicial Senates in courts of first and sec-

ond instance are in session all year; exceptions are made by law.

100. Judgments are pronounced in the name of the republic.

Sessions of court are oral and public; judgments in criminal cases are declared in public; the public may be excluded from court sessions only in cases enumerated by law.

In trials of criminal cases the principle of accusation applies.

101. Professional Judges may not hold any other paid position, permanent or temporary, except as otherwise provided by law.

102. Judges in passing upon a legal question may examine the validity of an ordinance; as to law they may only inquire, whether it was properly promulgated (Section 51).

103. The President of the republic shall have power to declare amnesty, grant pardons or commute punishments, restore lost civil rights, in particular the right to vote for National Assembly and other elected bodies, and with the exception of criminal proceedings where an individual is complainant, suspend all criminal prosecution.

This power of the President of the republic does not apply to members of the Government, impeached or condemned in accordance with Section 79.

104. Liability of the State and Judges for damages caused by illegal execution of official authority is determined by law.

105. In all cases in which an administrative organ in accordance with particular laws passes upon claims for compensation the party affected may, after exhausting his remedies with higher authorities, apply for relief to courts.

Details are regulated by law.

## V. RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES, AS WELL AS DUTIES OF CITIZENS

106. Privileges due to sex, birth and calling are not recognized.

All inhabitants of the Czechoslovak Republic enjoy, equally with the citizens of the republic, in its territory full and complete protection of race or religion. Exceptions to this principle are admissible only as far as is compatible with international law.

Titles may be conferred only when they refer to office or occupation; this does not apply to academic degrees.

107. Personal liberty is guaranteed. Details are regulated by a law which is a part of this Constitution.

Personal liberty may be restricted or taken away only in conformity with law; likewise public authorities may compel a citizen to perform personal acts only in conformity with law.

108. Every Czechoslovak citizen may settle in any part of the Czechoslovak Republic, acquire real property there and engage in a gainful occupation, within the limits of general legal provisions.

This right may be restricted only in the public interest by law.

109. Private ownership may only be restricted by law.

Expropriation may be accomplished only in compliance with law and compensation shall be paid, except where the law specifically provides that compensation shall not be paid.

110. The right to emigrate may only be limited by law.

111. Taxes and public burdens may be imposed only in conformity with law.

Likewise threats and imposition of punishments shall be made only in conformity with law.

112. The rights of home shall not be violated.

Details are regulated by a law which is a part of this Constitution.

113. Liberty of press and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, and to form associations is guaranteed. It is therefore illegal as a matter of principle to subject the press to censoring before publication. The manner in which the right of assembly and association shall be exercised is determined by laws.

An association may be dissolved only when its activity violates the criminal law or public peace and order.

The law may impose restrictions upon assemblies in places serving public traffic, upon the establishment of associations for profit and upon the participation of foreigners in political societies. In the same manner restrictions may be imposed upon the preceding guarantees in time of war or of domestic disorders which may menace substantially the republican form of government, the Constitution or public peace and order.

114. The right to associate for the protection and improvement of conditions of employment and economic interests is guaranteed.

All acts of individuals or associations which seem to amount to intentional violation of this right are prohibited.

115. The right of petition is inherent; legal persons and associations may exercise it only within their scope of action.

116. Secrecy of mails is guaranteed.

Details are regulated by law.

117. Every person may, within the limits of law, express his opinions by word, writing, press, picture, &c.

This applies to legal persons within their scope of action.

The exercise of this right shall not prejudice any one in his relations as employee of another.

118. Scientific investigation and publication of its results, as well as art, is untrammelled as long as it does not violate criminal law.

119. Public instruction shall be so conducted as not to be in conflict with the results of scientific investigation.

120. Establishment of private schools is permitted only within the limits of laws.



The State administration shall have the supreme conduct and oversight of all instruction and education.

121. Liberty of conscience and profession is guaranteed.

122. No one may be compelled directly or indirectly to participate in any religious act; this does not apply to the authority of father or guardian.

All inhabitants of the Czechoslovak Republic have equally with citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic the right to practice in public or private any confession, religion or faith, as long as the practice is not in conflict with public order or good morals.

123. All religious confessions are equal before the law.

124. The performance of definite religious acts may be forbidden if they violate good order or public morality.

125. The marriage relation, family and motherhood, are under the special protection of the laws.

126. Every physically fit citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic shall submit to military training and obey the call to defend the State.

Details are regulated by law.

## VI. PROTECTION OF NATIONAL, RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL MINORITIES

127. All citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic are fully equal before the law and enjoy civil and political rights, regardless of race, language or religion.

Difference of religion, faith, confession and language shall not be a handicap to any citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic within the limits of general laws, in particular with reference to access to employment by the State, to offices and dignities, or the pursuit of any occupation or profession.

Citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic may, within the limits of general laws, freely employ any language in private or commercial

relations, in matters relating to religion, in press or any publications, or in public assemblies of the people.

This shall not affect rights which belong to the organs of the State in accordance with any present or future laws based on considerations of public order, safety of the State and efficient control.

128. The right to use a definite language in public offices is regulated by special law which forms a part of this Constitution.

129. In so far as citizens may, in compliance with general laws, establish, direct and administer at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and educational institutions, all citizens, regardless of nationality, language, religion and race, shall be equal and may in such institutions freely employ their own language and practice their religion.

130. In cities and districts in which there lives a considerable fraction of Czechoslovak citizens of other than Czechoslovak language, children of such Czechoslovak citizens shall receive in public schools, within the limits of the general law governing education, suitable opportunity to be taught in their own tongue; but instruction in the Czechoslovak language may be made obligatory.

131. Wherever in cities and districts in which there lives a considerable fraction of Czechoslovak citizens, belonging to religious, national and language minorities, definite sums are to be expended on education, religion or charity from public funds on the basis of State, municipal or other public budgets, such minorities are hereby guaranteed, within the limits of general regulations applicable to public administration, a proportionate share in the expenditure of such funds.

132. Principles set forth in Sections 130 and 131, especially the definition of the expression "considerable fraction," shall be carried out by special laws.

133. Every form of forcible denationalization is forbidden. Violation of this principle may be declared criminal by law.

## The New Rulers of the Sarre Basin

WITH the progress of the work of organizing the administration of the Sarre Basin for the next fifteen years under the provisions of the Peace Treaty the division of labor and authority among the five members of the governing commission appointed to represent the League of Nations has been apportioned as follows:

President Rault is in charge of internal administration and political affairs; foreign affairs, and matters concerning industry and commerce, including the head mining office and the customs, as

well as labor affairs; Herr von Boch looks after agriculture and welfare and sanitation; M. Lambert handles public works and the railroad, postal, telegraph and telephone systems; Count von Moltke-Huidfeld attends to affairs of the courts, instruction and cults, while Mayor Waugh cares for finance and the forestry service, as well as for supplies.

Herr Hillenbrandt, District Secretary of the Christian Trade Unions, has been made business manager of the Administrative Council of the Sarre Basin in place of Deputy Kossmann.

# CURRENT HISTORY

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
RUSSIA'S AGONY . . . By a Former Member of Kolchak's Staff	735
BRITISH LABOR'S REPORT ON RUSSIA . . . . .	746
SOVIET RUSSIA'S FIGHT FOR TRADE . . . . .	748
POLAND'S MILITARY DISASTER (Map) . . . . .	753
A MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES . . . . .	758
THE THIRD PARTY CONVENTION . . . . .	764
THE SPA CONFERENCE: SUMMARY OF ITS RESULTS . . . .	765
HIGH COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE . . . . .	772
GERMANY'S CONSERVATIVE REGIME . . . . .	793
RESTORING LAW AND ORDER IN MEXICO . . . . .	815
AMONG THE NATIONS: A WORLDWIDE SURVEY:	
Events in the British Empire . . . . .	775
The Latin Nations of Europe . . . . .	781
Belgium's Close Relations With France . . . . .	789
Developments in Scandinavian Countries . . . . .	790
Hungary and Her Neighbors . . . . .	797
States of the Balkan Peninsula . . . . .	800
Turkey and Her Lost Dominions . . . . .	804
Status of the Shantung Dispute . . . . .	812
Republics of Latin America . . . . .	818
THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION . . . . .	823
Text of the Democratic Platform . . . . .	829
THE HALL OF FAME OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY	
By Carson C. Hathaway	838

*Contents Continued on Next Page*

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## Table of Contents—Continued

### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NATIONS TREATED:

	PAGE		PAGE
ALBANIA .....	800	JAPAN .....	812
ARGENTINA .....	819	JUGOSLAVIA .....	803
AUSTRALIA .....	780	MEXICO .....	815
AUSTRIA .....	798	MESOPOTAMIA .....	810
BELGIUM .....	789	NEW ZEALAND .....	781
BOLIVIA .....	820	NICARAGUA .....	819
BULGARIA .....	801	NORWAY .....	792
CANADA .....	778	PALESTINE .....	808
CHILE .....	821	PARAGUAY .....	821
CHINA .....	813	PERSIA .....	811
CZECHOSLOVAKIA .....	799	PERU .....	821
DENMARK .....	792	PORTUGAL .....	788
EGYPT .....	781	RUMANIA .....	802
ENGLAND .....	775	SALVADOR .....	818
FRANCE .....	785	SPAIN AND MOROCCO .....	787
GERMANY .....	793	SWEDEN .....	780
GREECE .....	802	SWITZERLAND .....	789
GUATEMALA .....	819	SYRIA .....	810
HOLLAND .....	790	TURKEY .....	804
HUNGARY .....	797	UNITED STATES .....	758
IRELAND .....	776	URUGUAY .....	821
ITALY .....	781	THE VATICAN .....	784
ICELAND .....	793	WEST INDIES .....	822

VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR MARINES . . . . . 839

FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES . . . . . 840

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF . . . . . 843

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH FROM MANY NATIONS . . . . . 843

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS . . . . . 873

TOWARD A NEW WAR: THE HORTHY REGIME IN HUNGARY  
By Eugene S. Bagger 875

INTERNATIONAL LABOR BOYCOTT OF HUNGARY . . . . . 881

DENMARK'S NEW DUAL ELECTION SYSTEM . . . . . 884

ARMENIA (Poem) . . . . . By Talbot Mundy 886

#### THE MARCH OF SCIENCE:

Motion Pictures in Natural Colors . . . . .	887
A New Marvel in Aircraft . . . . .	891
A Fuel That Widens Cruising Radius . . . . .	892
Navigating Ships by Sound Waves . . . . .	892
Corncocks Yield a Base for Dyes . . . . .	893
An Instrument for Recording Tree Growth . . . . .	894

ANTI-TYPHOID VACCINATION IN THE AMERICAN ARMY  
By William H. Cole 895

ITALY'S GREATEST VICTORY IN THE WAR: Battle of Vittorio  
Veneto. (Official Report, With Map) . . . . . 902

WHY SARRAIL DELAYED SO LONG . By Captain G. Gordon-Smith 912

THE AMRITSAR RIOTS IN INDIA: Official Report . . . . . 914

# RUSSIA'S AGONY *Aug. 1920*

## Eyewitness Narrative of the Crisis in Which Kolchak Fell and Bolshevism Triumphed—Sufferings in the Tragic Flight Eastward

BY A FORMER MEMBER OF KOLCHAK'S STAFF

[FIRST INSTALLMENT]

*This is the first of three remarkable articles revealing the inside history of the events attending the fall of the Omsk Government and the retreat that ended in the tragic death of Admiral Kolchak, last hope of constitutional Government in Russia. CURRENT HISTORY has obtained these articles through the British Legation at Peking, whither the writer had made his way after the disaster. Though the author's name, for obvious reasons, is withheld, the authenticity of his story is as unquestionable as its extraordinary interest. The illustrations were made by a Red Cross official, an eyewitness of the horrors of the "death train," whose hundreds of typhus victims were part of the same tragedy.*

WHEN I first joined the newly formed All-Russian Government at Omsk in March, 1919, we had the highest hopes that this régime with Kolchak at its head was to prove a happy solution for our country's difficulties. All signs then seemed to indicate that the saner elements of the people were with us. Kolchak himself inspired confidence. None could doubt his honesty, devotion, loyalty and patriotism, or suspect him of private ambitions. Dominated by his heroic personality, our armies were successful on the front. Won over by his sterling qualities, a man like Roland Morris, United States Ambassador in Tokio, who went into Siberia quite an anti-Kolchak, reported to President Wilson after careful investigation that the "All-Russian Government should be recognized at once, also supported and upheld in every possible manner."

Though our prospects were rosy we had immense difficulties to contend against. The position in Omsk was not easy either from the point of view of personal comfort or of public activity. Our capital was nothing but a big Siberian village, partly encircled by the protecting arm of the River Irtysh and situated in the midst of an endless brown, wind-burned plain, empty save for occasional horseshoe-shaped clusters

of Tartar yurts. A lonelier, drearier stage setting for empire building could scarcely be imagined, cut off as it was from civilization, except for the thin steel ribbon of the Trans-Siberian Railway. Down our unpaved streets the primitive Mongols—Children of the Steppe—galloped their shaggy ponies. Their long caravans of led camels heightened the impression of the wilds. A hard climate, too, bitter cold in Winter, with freezing winds bearing clouds of suffocating dust, and scorching hot in Summer, when torrential rains turned roads into morasses and brought a torturing plague of midges and mosquitos, increased our sense of isolation. Such depressing natural conditions could not fail to affect painfully all those unaccustomed to them from childhood.

### LIVING UNDER DIFFICULTIES

In addition to these trials we suffered all the discomforts of overcrowding inevitable in a place whose normal population of 100,000 had suddenly swollen to 600,000. Most of the houses were one-storied wooden shacks like the log cabins of early days in America—very small and wretched from a civilized point of view, without a single modern convenience. The hotel was impossible, ill-kept, full of vermin, with scanty broken furniture and partitions so thin

*Vol XII  
No. 5*



that one could, as Mark Twain said, "hear the young lady next door change her mind."

I stayed there only one night and was thankful the following day to get lodgings with a private family, where I looked forward to a small but clean room to myself. Unfortunately I reckoned without the Committee for Housing Arrangements, who had a right to demand accommodation for any one needing it. One evening on my return home I found an officer lying asleep on my bed. When I inquired sternly what he meant, the man showed an official permit and remarked: "I have been ordered to stay with you. There is no other place." It was not pleasant to have a stranger settle down into closest intimacy with me, especially in a room a few feet square. But complaints were useless, since every one must have shelter. Besides, when whole families lived in a space no bigger than an American dress closet, and when even two strangers in a moderate-sized room often had a third billeted upon them, I had nothing to say. Kolchak himself had only a tiny house, where he lived quite unpretentiously, and not more than two or three of the most important Ministers of State boasted the luxury of a salon, which was really a necessity in their cases, as they were obliged to receive visitors on political business. Smaller functionaries, like the Minister of Agriculture, lived in the office where they worked, trunks jostling typewriters, and the bed sometimes serving as an impromptu desk.

#### AN OBLIGING SERVANT

If the lack of privacy was trying, the lack of a bathroom was no less so. True, the ordinary Turkish baths common to all Russian villages existed, but to bathe at home was practically impossible, and none of the houses had running water. When I insisted once on having a tub prepared for me in my room, the whole family shook their heads as if doubtful of my sanity. I overheard the mother whisper, "Poor fellow, the constant work and worries must have turned his

brain a little. Why, he will be wanting a window open next."

My request, however, put our single red-cheeked servant Anna on her mettle. "A bath you want," she exclaimed in a great state of excitement; "well, a bath you shall have!" And she set about preparing it much in the spirit of a General who stakes his reputation on carrying a difficult operation through successfully. I am bound to admit that she won a brilliant victory against tremendous odds, but the episode taught me a lesson. In future I washed bit by bit like a mosaic in my small tin basin rather than give this obliging servant extra trouble.

What a good soul she was, a veritable treasure of cheerfulness and willingness, as Russian servants often are, and a great rarity in Siberia, where help is so difficult to get. She did the work of the whole house, waited upon ten people, including a helpless old lady, and managed the marketing as well—no easy task under prevailing conditions. The peasants simply refused to bring in supplies. They had grown weary of exchanging their produce for paper money which could no longer buy anything. Besides, they had plenty of doubtful notes—already—were, in fact, money poor, if one may use the expression, instead of land poor. And they had grown to dislike and avoid the towns. "All the trouble is brewed in the cities," I have heard them argue. "So let the cities starve. We don't intend to carry them our corn, or even to harvest more than we need for ourselves." With hunger rampant in the world, I have seldom seen a more pathetic sight than our crops in Soviet Russia left to rot in the fields as a result of this selfish and dangerous philosophy.

#### HIGH COST OF LIVING

Anna therefore contrived our cooking with scanty materials. On Saturday nights she generally put her best foot forward and gave us the dish most favored by the majority—a compound of meat cut into small pieces and mixed with dried lentils, which she named "Every One Likes It," or else a "pirog"



TYPHUS SUFFERERS ON THE VERGE OF DEATH, WAITING FOR HELP  
(Photo American Red Cross)

or pie of minced meat. These were just two clever disguises for the inevitable beef. With forests full of game and rivers full of fish, neither appeared in the Siberian market; and vegetables, except cabbage for the savory schi soup, were rare.

Prices were very high. Sugar, for example, cost 35 rubles (normally \$17.50) a pound, and everything else was in proportion. For a single dish of eggs in a shabby restaurant one paid 60 rubles (\$30); a whole dinner might easily run to 1,000 rubles (\$500), and the *isvoschik* who drove one out to eat it demanded 100 rubles for his fare. As for clothing, I know of a lady who paid 12,000 rubles (\$6,000) for a sweater—or about five times as much as in Russia, owing to the expense of transport and the depreciation of the currency.

The fall of the ruble hit us Government officials hard. The salary of the Cabinet Minister, my direct chief, expressed in foreign coinage, was exactly what he paid his cook in America. The head of a department like myself got

the equivalent of \$25. Luckily most of us worked not for money but for an ideal—the welfare of our country—and we certainly worked hard. We were busy from early morning till afternoon, when, after an interval at 4 o'clock for dinner, the Council of Ministers would often meet again and discuss till 2 or 3 A. M. Let no man who has not tried to construct a Government for a huge country like Russia criticise our efforts too harshly. Let him remember, too, that we struggled under exceptionally hard conditions, having no archives and no precedents. It was like trying to build a house without solid material for the foundations.

Inevitably, as in all small, isolated communities, where people are forced to endure close and uninterrupted intercourse, cliques, quarrels and misrepresentations sometimes grew up among us. These were accentuated by our great Russian failing—a love of discussion—inordinately developed in the intelligentsia, as represented in the Government. At the State councils the President would generally have a waiting list of speakers



as long as your arm. The pros and cons of every proposal were argued back and forth till the point at issue threatened to be forever obscured in a wordy tangle. This would at times lead to loss of temper over the veriest trifles. It thus once happened that two friends, both intelligent and educated men of mature years, fell out with one another literally about dog licensing. The strained situation was relieved, as usual, by my friend M., himself an excellent talker, but no less distinguished for his moderation and good sense; he leaned across the table and remarked to the President in a loud aside, "Mr. President, don't you think it time to close the list?" The President thereupon took his advice and we thankfully looked forward to some much-needed rest.

### BEGINNING OF REVERSES

Though we worked patiently through the heavy strain of days and nights trying to devise a solution for each new puzzle that came up, in April we began to be discouraged by bad news from the front. Our troops, which had advanced to Ufa and Viatka, had to fall back on account of heavy tactical and strategical mistakes. To tell the truth, our Generals had bitten off more than they could chew. Their forces were not strong enough to march beyond the Urals into the very heart of Russia. Caution dictated a defensive campaign, but caution was forgotten in the desire for a triumphal entry into Moscow. Moreover, our High Command neglected to prepare sufficient reserves for this risky enterprise. The advance was made in a thin line 800 miles long, and when a whole Ukrainian division went over to the enemy its defection left a huge gap through which the Reds poured their troops without encountering any resistance. To save a rout, the whole of Gaida's Siberian army had to fall back—and from that fatal moment our soldiers seemed to lose confidence in their chiefs.

We succeeded in checking the Reds for about two months on the Tobol River, but by early Autumn, when the Bolsheviks received reinforcements, they con-

tinued their advance into Siberia. Their insidious propaganda, secretly spread, now began to affect our troops. Hundreds, nay thousands, left our ranks. More deadly to our cause, however, than Bolshevik ideas or Bolshevik fire were the dreadful sanitary conditions that killed or goaded to desertion numbers of our soldiers. Spotted typhus was rampant. Despite all our efforts and the noble assistance of the American Red Cross, we could not check the epidemic. The sick lay in hundreds at small stations waiting their turn to be evacuated to Omsk or beyond. The dead contaminated the living. Whole regiments were decimated. To quote one instance, the reserve brigade of Kalashnikov, hurried from Central Siberia to save the threatened position on our right wing, dwindled down after a fortnight to 600 available fighting men, all the rest being laid low by illness. In fact it is no exaggeration to say that one of the main causes of our military defeat was this appalling sanitary condition—a condition which we had no adequate means of remedying.

### THE BRITISH EVACUATION

Until September, however, the Red and White forces on the Omsk front were well matched. Kolchak had even a small superiority of numbers, which allowed him to continue westward, though with increasing difficulty. But about Oct. 10 we received the bad news that the British intended to evacuate Archangel, leaving our General Miller there alone with 4,000 or 5,000 unreliable troops. The Bolsheviks, who had three divisions on this northern front, immediately deflected a part of them against our lines, using the rest against Petrograd to stop Yudenich at the moment he was about to enter that city. They likewise threw their whole Second Army, which was operating in the Don region, against our Third Army, and advanced with these fresh troops. Unfortunately Kolchak had no reserves with which to oppose them. The limited population of Siberia, consisting as it does of only 15,000,000 men, proved an insufficient recruiting ground. Moreover, the spirit of the population was already so tainted by Bolshevism that its

loyalty in our ranks would have been doubtful. Our Generals at the front even begged us not to enlist new soldiers lest they serve no useful purpose and only contaminate those already under their command.

After Oct. 20 things went rapidly from bad to worse. Kolchak admitted that "the situation was very serious" at a meeting of the Supreme Council on the 25th; how serious we could guess when we noted with anxiety how ill and worried he looked and how strained his nerves were.

### PREPARING TO LEAVE OMSK

The Reds were now advancing at the rapid rate of fifteen miles a day. This caused an increasing unrest in the town, though a week before the Bolsheviks finally entered it the surface life appeared much as usual. The characteristic movement in the streets—the abnormal traffic of a congested city—continued. Then suddenly one morning (Tuesday, Oct. 28) as I left the house I was struck at seeing the shops closed, windows and doors fast shut, no cabs and hardly any foot passengers in the streets—all business at a standstill. The contrast was painfully significant. A little later I learned that the evacuation of Omsk had been decided upon, as Kolchak saw there was no chance of defending the city successfully. Rumor said that three of his Ministers bitterly opposed his decision, but their opposition was finally overborne.

Before proceeding to describe the tragedy of the evacuation I must digress for a moment to describe the situation at the front. Our positions were now shaped somewhat like a fan, with two ribs converging toward a handle, which was represented by the single bridge across the Irtysh. The Third Army occupied the southern fork of the railway line (one rib), the First Army the northern fork (the other rib), both of which met at this bridge, while the Second Army was midway between the other two.

Now, the First Army was notoriously unreliable. The difficulty that our officers were having to hold its swaying

regiments together was an open secret. Still it was painful if not unexpected news when the commanders were forced to draw back about two-thirds of this army in order to reconstitute it. Seeing how matters stood, the leaders of the Second Army attempted by spreading out their forces to cover this retreat—alas, unsuccessfully! When the Bolsheviks managed to turn our right wing our Generals were faced with the problem of getting the three armies back to Omsk in the narrow margin of ten days, during which the capital had also to be evacuated.

### FATAL DELAY IN RETREAT

Divided counsels among our military leaders were responsible for the fatal delay in the retreat. The Commander in Chief, Diedrichs, was for leaving Omsk without giving battle, hoping thus to retire in order. Other commanders had other ideas. Kolchak himself did not want to abandon the town and only gave way at the last moment to the grave exigencies of a hopeless situation. Then Diedrichs resigned just before the final catastrophe.

When they finally agreed to leave the doomed city our officers found that by a stroke of ill-luck the river had not frozen as early as usual because of the exceptionally mild weather. This meant that the long procession of sullen and discontented troops, the guns, the horses, and the hundred thousand transport carts must be hurried as fast as possible over the bridge instead of being taken across on solid ice. Men prayed for a drop in the thermometer; but Nov. 7, 8 and 9 dawned soft and warm, and only on the 11th came the big frost so earnestly desired. That day some of our soldiers did manage to cross the river on thin ice, not without danger to life. Meanwhile the Bolsheviks, with consummate cunning, made a detour to the north and crossed more easily and quickly where the Irtysh was more solidly frozen. On Nov. 14 at 4 o'clock in the afternoon they sent small bodies of their troops to occupy the town while their main armies pushed on eastward, circling to join the railway, where they cut





SUFFERERS THROWN OUT OF TRAIN ON THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY  
(Photo American Red Cross)

our communications and captured hundreds of trains between Omsk and Tatarskaya.

#### OFFICE BOYS AS MINISTERS

Let us now go back a few days and see what was happening in Omsk itself. On Saturday, Nov. 8—the date sticks in my mind—I walked down to the Ministry, to find it practically empty. Most of the staff had gone out to make preparations for the calamity which was so rapidly overtaking us. Only two young office boys were still at their posts. The harassed Minister, worried by panicky callers and pestered for interviews on a dozen different subjects, smiled ironically and remarked to me, “I have put those two boys in charge of the most important departments.” “In other countries under happier conditions,” he told me afterward, “their work would have been done by Under Secretaries of State. But I must say Mischa and Grisha acquitted themselves in a very creditable manner.”

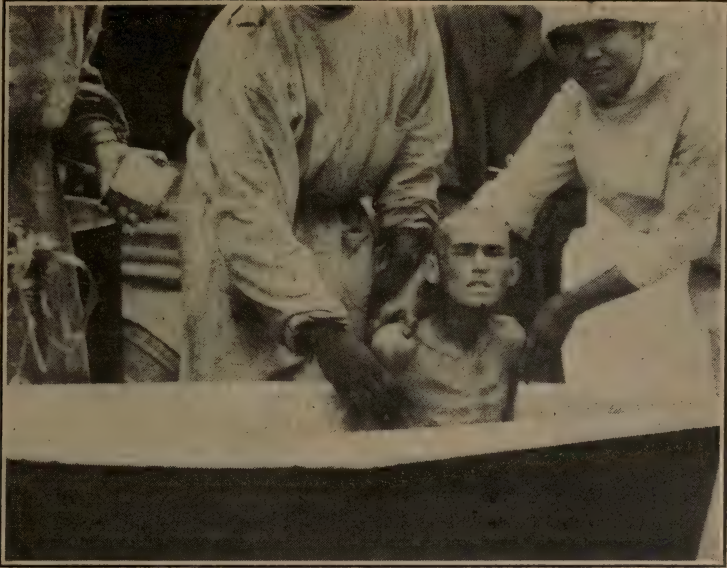
Next morning (Nov. 9) I happened to be in another Government office. While discussing the situation with a friend there we heard voices in the street and crossed to the windows. Men in little groups were straggling, heavy-footed, along the main street. Some had

trousers made of ticking, some remnants of uniform coats, some shawls wrapped round their heads or blankets over their shoulders. “These must be refugees,” I remarked sadly. “Refugees!” he exclaimed; “look at their rifles.” This motley crew, torn and tattered, did indeed carry guns; yet I could scarcely believe that it was the remnant of an army—our army. Step was not kept in those ranks. Little was there of martial array or soldierlike gait and attitude. In discolored flannel and torn serge, mute and sullen, these remnants of our forces tramped by to make, rumor said, a stand on the hills outside the town. Their angry, sullen faces boded ill, however, for any return to discipline, and, as we feared, they drifted gradually over to the Bolsheviks.

There was something infinitely pathetic about this vanguard of the great retreat. Yet it was only the presage of a still greater disaster, the evacuation.

#### PANIC AND CONFUSION

With heavy hearts we heard the decision that the whole Government must leave for Irkutsk on the 10th, the next day. Delay might prove fatal to the official hope of making a stand further eastward. But in our hearts we knew



TYPHUS VICTIM RESCUED BY THE RED CROSS  
(Photo American Red Cross)

that we had failed. Whatever we might do now, whatever threats or concessions our Government might make, we privately realized at that bitter moment that nothing could stem the tide of Bolshevism in Siberia.

The first and most pressing problem was to get the required trains. Our allies, the Czechs, had seized most of our rolling stock for themselves, so it was only with the greatest difficulty that enough cars were found for the evacuation of the Ministries, let alone accommodation for the unfortunate townfolk, who were like a frightened flock of sheep at the approach of wolves. On the last day a panic began and spread until confusion reigned. Even in the Government offices many lost their heads. Some departments left everything behind, including their dispatches; in others everything, down to the last pencil, was safely boxed and got away. All depended on the coolness of those in charge.

When the Council of Ministers came to embark, the cars reserved for them could not be found. A man in the Min-

istry of Marine volunteered to hunt for them. He commandeered an engine and after two days' search up and down the line burst in one night while we were at dinner, exclaiming, "Well, I managed to find five cars, anyhow. One Pullman is hopelessly mislaid." He said it as if he were speaking of a book or other small object. He gave it as his opinion that the loss was due to the ill-feeling against the Cabinet. One of his aids, while searching the station, overheard a railway hand say, "Let the small fry go; but let the big fish remain till the Bolsheviks come in."

#### DEPARTURE FOR IRKUTSK

By great luck the Ministers got away just in time. Practically all the trains which left after the 10th were caught and surrounded by the Bolsheviks except the third train of the Finance Bureau, which, starting on Nov. 13 (the eve of the Bolshevik entry), had a narrow escape. By this train the Government gold reserve of \$100,000,000 in coin and bullion was to have been embarked; Kolchak, who thought that the safest place



for this treasure was near him, in charge of his own reliable bodyguard, had yielded his opinion and permitted the Treasury to be evacuated with the other Ministries. The gold, in fact, had already been loaded on the cars when news came from Irkutsk and Vladivostok that revolution in both towns was imminent—news that was confirmed when the Gaida revolt broke up in Vladivostok five days after the Government left Omsk, and when Irkutsk fell into the hands of the Social Revolutionaries six weeks later. In these circumstances it seemed risky to let the treasure go, so Kolchak, who never shirked responsibility, decided to keep it with him, relying on the Czechs and his own bodyguard. He did not guess then how the former would betray him.

The machines for printing banknotes and also a number of unsigned notes were on this train, however, and if it had fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviks they would have scored an important victory. Now, the Czechs, as usual, insisted that their trains should take precedence. Luckily, our Russian conductor was a man of resource specially chosen for his responsible position. He argued with the Czech military authorities, who finally allowed him to proceed, after placing soldiers on his engine to see that he obeyed orders to keep behind their troop train. But the times were stern, the crisis supreme. In the dead of night, after a secret conference with his engineer and fireman, the conductor gave the signal "full speed ahead" just before reaching a switch. The sleepy guards were seized and thrown off the train before they could defend themselves, while the Treasury train dashed ahead.

#### TRAVELING IN BOX CARS

When our party came to start, we saw with horror that we were to travel in "teplushkas," or ordinary closed freight cars. Except the few "sleepers" left for the Cabinet, all the other first and second class cars were appropriated by the Czechs for their own use. Even the hospitals were unable to get anything but box cars for their wounded,

owing to this arbitrary action of our allies. No wonder people complained bitterly at their inhumanity, though complaints were useless. The Czechs had 57,000 armed men. They held the line. They could do as they pleased. We poor Russians had to accept what they left us.

We had twenty-four hours to make the "teplushkas" habitable—that is to say, to accomplish the impossible. We had only narrow planks to sleep on, like the bunks in the fo'c'sle of a sailing ship. There was not even straw to lie on. The planks served as seats and tables at meal times. A rough window hewn out of the side of the car with an axe and covered with a woman's petticoat let in a little light by day. At night we sat with the feeble illumination of a guttering candle. A rough iron stove in the centre of the "teplushka" burned those who were too near and left those out of range to freeze. Of course, proper ventilation under these conditions was impossible. Many people found the used-up air and foul odors very trying, but to open the door meant letting in 20 degrees of frost, and any such attempt was met by strenuous vociferations on the part of some of our fellow-passengers.

#### INDESCRIBABLE SUFFERINGS

There were no sanitary arrangements of any kind. A small tin basin was an unusual luxury shared by the whole company, but water for washing was scarce. Yet many refugees spent thirty days in these awful conditions, while the heavy trains crawled slowly along—men, women and children crowded together promiscuously, sometimes thirty or forty in each car. Their sufferings were indescribable, and many a time have I heard a mother with a sick or half-frozen child cursing the Czechs, who, our people soon believed, were the source of all their miseries. "Those vile foreigners," she would cry, "they came as friends pretending to help us. What have they done—stolen our cars, stolen even our warm clothes! Look at their uniforms, new and cozy, made out of our last supplies of Russian cloth. Now they hold up our trains and force us to travel like pigs. Oh! how we hate them for



FREED FROM VERMIN, WASHED AND DRESSED BY THE AMERICAN RED CROSS  
(Photo American Red Cross)

their selfish pretensions and their brutality! We shall never forget their inhumanity—never!”

Such bitterness is scarcely to be wondered at when you remember that the refugees were themselves without adequate clothing, without fuel except what they could gather along the line when they jumped out at stations to pick up anything that would burn, such as old railroad ties or broken boards from carts or houses, and without sufficient food. Practically nothing edible could be obtained on the journey, for every station buffet had been long ago swept as clean as if a flight of locusts had passed over it. Those travelers who, like ourselves, had left behind their dearest possessions, such as valued books and family photographs, to make room for foodstuffs, were counted fortunate.

To add to the horrors of the journey there was at least one case of typhus in every “teplushka.” As I said before, Omsk was full of this deadly fever, spread by parasites that bred rapidly among people with few changes of clothing, and flourished in the heavy woolen

undergarments necessitated by the climate. Even the cars were infested with vermin.

#### HELPLESS AMONG THE DYING

As we had no medicines, once a case developed we could only ask one another in a whisper, “How long do you think the suffering will last?” The sick person lay on the bare boards while life ebbed away, moaning softly, or else emitting violent broken shrieks in his delirium. I shall never forget one poor old man, who, like the English King, was an “unconscionable time a-dying.” His wrinkled face would tremble, his dry, thin lips would stretch out and move nervously, displaying black broken teeth, and his breathing sounded like the squeaking of rusty hinges. It was too dreadful not to have some means of soothing his pain, but we could only make him as comfortable as possible, and hope for an opportunity to transfer him to a sanitary car. Here, of course, a patient would get better attention; but experience taught us that this advantage was offset by the change of tem-





REMOVING VICTIMS FROM THE DEATH TRAIN ON THE SIBERIAN RAILWAY  
(Photo American Red Cross)

perature. The move, in fact, generally proved fatal.

How many tragic hours we passed through, when brave men knelt with unashamed tears at the bedside of some patient in despairing helplessness! Wives saw their husbands die before their eyes, mothers their children. But suffering seemed to develop a beautiful spirit of self-sacrifice. Few complained. Even the roughest showed tenderness, and it was extraordinary how calmly everybody accepted the terrible risk of contagion. Perhaps this was due to the strong streak of fatalism in our Russian natures. Many a time I have seen men who felt themselves bitten by a parasite and knew they were doomed, calmly cross themselves, saying, "God wills it."

The dead lay in the car among the living until we reached a station—sometimes all night. Then, hastily and rudely, a grave was dug, a few tears were shed, a few prayers intoned, and a little brown tent of earth was piled up on the desolate steppe. Perhaps his nearest and dearest would never know

where our companion was buried, never see his last resting place. Perhaps they were with us and assisted at the last sad rite. "Stop crying, mother. Come, don't be weak, brother," some one would say with rough kindness, and lead the poor relatives back to the car, hopeless and helpless, cut off from their past, traveling toward who knows what unhappy future?

#### TERRIBLE WAYSIDE SCENES

But miserable as were the people in the "teplushkas," their fate was happier than that of the poor wretches who, unable to find accommodation on the railways, and overcome with terror and panic, at the last packed up their few valuables and fled from the doomed City of Omsk by sledge. Had the evacuation taken place a month later, in the period of greatest cold, I doubt if any of them would have survived. Even as it was the snow lay six feet deep on the ground, and their experiences were one dreadful misere.

Looking out through the little square of window with its rough edges splin-

tered by the axe, I saw the long, pathetic procession of fugitives struggling through the snow, half dazed, with pinched, sad faces. Whither were they bound? If you asked them they could not tell. Still they pushed on, trekking blindly eastward with what they had managed to save piled on their sledges. They were seeking a shelter they would not find. Many already had frostbitten hands or feet. More than one had abandoned a sledge. I remember two pitiful instances that haunt me still—one a man abandoned by his comrade, with a knife placed beside him near the body of their dead horse; the other a woman, evidently sick unto death, sitting screaming on an overturned sledge while her husband, knowing her doomed anyway, had cut the traces and ridden off on the pony. Both could not be saved. He perhaps might still find shelter. There were many other frightful and heartrending scenes. To leave all this misery behind us and push on to safety seemed a crime. Yet what could we do to help?

It was doubly pitiful to hear these wretched refugees singing as they toiled along. Our Russian nature craves expression in song, not only in times of joy but in times of sadness, too. Convicts sing, workmen sing. So even these pathetic sufferers sang a song called "The Charaban," which appeared suddenly none knew whence or how. Always the same song. To me the affecting strains of its sweet, sad melody will ever

call up that scene of desolation. At first I could not catch the words, but as I heard them repeated over and over, heard them as the fugitives moved in ghostly procession over the snow in the white moonlight, heard them in the stillness of the dawn and the sad gray twilight, I came to understand that that unfamiliar word "charaban" was an adaptation from the old French *char-à-bancs*, used here to describe the peasant's little cart-sledge. The verses ran thus:

My wife is dead, my children are lost;  
All that remains to me is my little charaban.

I have loaded it with the chair on which  
my mother sat,

And the old table where my father  
toiled;

All my home is now my little charaban.  
Away, away, out into the limitless plain,  
Seeking a new shelter in a strange land,  
I set out with my little charaban.

Like a leitmotif of our tragedy, it sounded in our ears day and night. Begun by the refugees, it was adopted by the soldiers. I heard a deserter on the platform singing it. Then I heard the trainmen humming the refrain. It was on the lips of those who carried ailing comrades. It was the lullaby mothers sung to their children. It had become the expression of a people's soul. My poor, harassed fellow-countrymen! How many had, indeed, nothing they could call their own—nothing but their little charaban!

[To be continued in the September CURRENT HISTORY]

## EUGENIE

By WILLIAM WALLACE WHITLOCK

Into the Present, see! the Past has reached,  
And taken back its own, a faded flower,  
Its one-time lustre gone, its beauties bleached,  
An Empress long since shorn of youth and power.

A thousand memories cluster round her pyre,  
For one short hour return the "sparkling years,"

The Tulleries, like phoenix from the fire,  
Arise with all their wealth of laughter, tears,

A glittering throng bend knee before her throne,

Whose tottering none yet see, and Europe waits,

In flattering silence, till the gods make known

The stern decision of the brooding Fates.  
Again the pageant gathers, and the hosts

Await her coming decked in costumes brave,

But lo! the soldiers and the throngs are ghosts

Who come to bear her escort to the grave.



# British Labor's Report on Russia

## "An Accepted Dictatorship"

THE British labor unions recently sent a delegation to Soviet Russia to get at the truth regarding conditions there. Two members of the delegation, Ben Turner and Tom Shaw, M. P., returned to England and made a preliminary report on June 9, 1920, to the Secretary of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee. The substance of the report was summed up by Mr. Turner in an interview. Regarding the press statement that 10,000 persons had been shot by the Bolshevik authorities during the Red Terror, he said the official figure which he had seen was 8,500. He had been told by the Soviet officials that most of the executions were for acts of treachery behind the lines during the Denikin and Kolchak campaigns. The Bolsheviks, he said, did not disguise the fact that there had been a Red Terror following each White Terror, but they insisted that the White Terror always preceded. Before the Polish offensive began they had abolished capital punishment; after this offensive was launched they had restored capital punishment and were taking action against espionage.

In describing the scope of the investigation Mr. Turner said that the Soviet authorities had made no attempt to limit either the movements or the inquiries of the delegation.

I do not mean [he continued] that they thrust documents at us, but we were allowed to see everything we asked for. They were brutally frank about their shortage of necessities and their hardships and their intention to win through, even though that means the employment of considerable force. They hid nothing from us, even though it told against them. The physical and moral condition of the country is so bad that they did not attempt to hide it. There is great lack of food and clothing, of raw materials and of transport. They have had a tremendously fierce battle with disease. They have had a million cases of typhus and scores of thousands of cases of malaria

and smallpox, and have no medicines. Neither have they fats or oils.

Speaking of food conditions especially Mr. Turner declared that acute hunger prevailed in both Petrograd and Moscow. He added:

I should say that there are 50 per cent. hungry, although every one gets a minimum allowance of food. There were scenes of desolation in Petrograd. As to the state of the countryside, we had only limited opportunities of judging, as we traveled from one place to another.

In discussing the Bolshevik Government Mr. Turner said:

I hold that every adult has a right to vote, but the Bolsheviks have limited it, which I cannot agree with. Judging from their foundation principles, their system is theoretically well arranged, but owing to the latest attack upon them they have had to suspend the application of some of these principles. They frankly said so, and added the hope that as soon as peace is restored they will be able to apply their theory in its completeness to the Government of the country.

The Bolshevik Government, Mr. Turner said, was making strenuous efforts to induce the rural districts to supply the towns with food supplies, which they declined to do because of the inability of the latter to offer other commodities in barter, according to the pre-Bolshevik system. The rural population, as he put it, was "not fully in agreement with communism." The majority in Petrograd and Moscow supported the Bolshevik régime. This régime, he intimated, was "not exactly a tyranny, nor a despotism, but an accepted dictatorship." As to its adherents, Mr. Turner said:

I should say that the Bolshevik Government has the acceptance of the bulk of the people, the good-will of many and the fierce opposition of the Social Democrats, who say that individual liberty has been destroyed. But even the Social Democrats are supporting the Government now until the Polish offensive is disposed of. The Governments of Europe have made a great mistake in assisting, if they have assisted, the Polish adventure. They

have united the people of Russia so that the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks have determined to support the Government until the war is ended. That is very definite. \* \* \*

There are no strikes, because the Government won't have them. There is not the freedom on the industrial side that we have in England. Indeed, some of their proposals regarding production and the abolition of the strike would gladden some employers of labor in our country, and they do not suit me or some of my colleagues.

The greatest commercial concern in Petrograd, the famous Putilov works, which cover an immense acreage on the Gulf of Bothnia and have shipbuilding slips and miles of workshops for building railway cars and locomotives, employed about 40,000 persons before the war; now they have about 8,000 employees, counting men, women and children; yet Mr. Turner said that the place seemed to have more employees than there was work for. He continued:

I have heard many stories about the destruction of ikons, the religious emblems so prized by the Russians, but a large number of ikons were in evidence in these works. Some of the big ones were tasteful works of art, railed off and well protected. I think there would be at least one in each shed, and one of our party said he had counted fourteen. Thus one of many lies is disposed of, and I have seen hundreds upon hundreds of ikons in many villages and towns and railway stations, besides the multitude of them that is in the vast city of Moscow.\* \* \*

The soldier gets better and more food, his wife and children are also looked after, and things are better for the man in the army than ever in the days of the old régime. There also seems a genuineness in the desire to go and "beat the Poles," who have made them another war when they are hungry and want peace. This spirit is in some of the workers at the factories. For example, we visited the First Government Clothing Factory, employing over 1,500 people, 95 per cent. of them females and young persons. It was a great clothing factory, turning out 2,000 military overcoats, 5,000 other military garments, and 500 civilian suits for men and lads per day. It began with thirteen employees in April, 1918. The staff now works on two shifts per day, 600 work on the forenoon shift of eight hours per day and 900 work on the evening shift of seven hours per day—the shift working from 5:30 to 12:30 midnight, including half-hour for meal. In

some factories or "enterprises" where they work three shifts, the night shift is six hours. They fix the hours of labor by meeting and voting, and through their trade union, and also grade the productivity of the employees.

One reason given for more employees on the evening shift was that they must overcome illiteracy, and the adult women who cannot read have to go to a day school each forenoon to be taught. They say education is good for all, and they then provide it and make it compulsory. The factory was too crowded and the pressing room too hot, and they had not as many machines as in a good factory.

They are making productivity a fetish—in such a way as I think our folks at home wouldn't accept. But when I said this they retorted, "We shouldn't do it for a capitalist or speculator, but we will do it for ourselves because we are the State." In all the factories there are shop committees, and for twelve clothing and other factories there are two inspectors, a woman and a man.

The question of whether Communists or Mensheviks were predominant in the factories was asked by some of us everywhere, for we could see that the ruling powers were the Communists, and in practically all places the Communists were in a minority; but, strange to say, in a majority on shop committees or trade union executives. They get elected—perhaps they are more forcible, perhaps they are more liked, or pitied, for nearly every leader we saw had been in prison or in exile, or both, for his political views.

Most men in managerial positions in factories were not Communists, and I think many of them would like to return to their old position of being free from the State and under private management. However, the experiment is going on and politically the Government is very stable. Lenin and his people are very able, and economically the experiment is developing, and they may pull through. The odds are much against them, for the people are very hungry, and, while hunger makes revolutions, evolution is a safer plan for democracy.

Mr. Shaw and Mr. Turner brought back from Moscow a letter from Nikolai Lenin, the Bolshevik leader, to the British workingmen. It was dated May 30, 1920, and was written by Lenin, not in his Governmental capacity, but solely as a Communist.

I was not surprised [he wrote] to find that the viewpoint of some of the members of your delegation does not coincide with that of the working class, but coincides with the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie, the class of exploiters. This is



because in all capitalistic countries the imperialist war has again exposed the inveterate abscess—namely, the desertion of the majority of parliamentary and trade union leaders of the workers to the camp of the bourgeoisie. Under the oblique pretense of the “defense of the country,” actually defending the spoliatory interests of one of the two groups of the world bandits, the Anglo-French-American or the German group, they entered into an alliance with the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat: they covered up this treason with sentimental shopkeepers’ reformist and pacifist phrases about peaceful evolution, about constitutional measures, about democracy, &c. This was the case in all countries. It is not surprising that this very tendency existing in England has found expression in the composition of your delegation.

Shaw and Guest, members of your delegation, were obviously surprised and hurt by my statement that England, notwithstanding our peace proposals, notwithstanding the declaration of her Government, continues her intervention, is carrying on a war against us, helping Wrangel in the Crimea and the White Guards in Poland—and they asked me whether I have proofs to this effect, whether I can state how many trains with munitions were delivered by England to Poland, &c. I replied that in order to get access to the secret agreement of the British Government it would be necessary to overthrow it by revolutionary means and to lay hold of all docu-

ments of its foreign policy, as was done by us in 1917.

Charging that the “robber Governments” of the Czar, England, France, the United States, Italy, Japan and Poland had made secret treaties for the partition of booty in Constantinople, Galicia, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Russia, Lenin declared that Bolshevik Russia was exposing these pacts to the entire world. As for England, he pointed out that on May 26, when the Labor delegation was received, word arrived that Bonar Law had admitted in Parliament that military aid had been rendered to Poland in October “for defense against Russia,” but that at this very time The New Statesman, a moderate middle-class newspaper, was writing about the new tanks then being shipped from England to Poland. “Is it possible,” he asked, “not to laugh at those ‘leaders’ of the British workers who, with an air of hurt innocence, are asking what ‘proofs’ there are that England is making war on Russia and is helping Poland and the White Guards in the Crimea?”

Lenin admits that no real Communist Party exists in England. The creation of such a party, he thinks, would educate the working classes.

## Soviet Russia's Fight for Trade

### Preliminary Agreement Between the Allies and the Moscow Government—The Internal Situation in Russia

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 20, 1920]

THE Soviet Government, in the month under review, came appreciably nearer to the fulfillment of its desire for resumption of trade relations with the Allied Governments. The consent of the British Government to enter into negotiations with M. Krassin, the Soviet representative at London, aroused considerable commotion both in England and France. The Liberal British press attacked the Government for officially receiving the Soviet Mission, and declared that the sole ob-

ject of Krassin was to establish a political rather than a commercial agreement.

Replying to attacks in the British Parliament on June 3 and 7, Mr. Lloyd George admitted that M. Krassin was acting in an official capacity for the Soviet Government and defended the Government's policy, setting forth the necessity which compelled the Allies, and especially Great Britain, to resume commercial relations with Russia and deprecating the idea that the undesirable character of the Moscow régime made

such a resumption impossible. On this principle, he declared, no trade relations with Czarist Russia or Turkey would have been maintained.

The French press was considerably roused by the British Premier's explanations, charging that the policy advocated was a purely selfish, national one, and intimating that France also must look out for her own interests. The Temps, however, pointed out that the London discussions in reality were the outcome of the endangering of British interests in the East by Bolshevik propaganda and were not to be interpreted as a matter of purely commercial interest. The French opposition to the negotiations with Krassin was based mainly on the contention that no agreement should be reached with Moscow until that Government consented to assume responsibility for the debts incurred by the previous régime. In interviews given by Krassin to French correspondents, it was intimated that this possibility was not excluded.

Pending the culmination of the discussions, Krassin and his colleagues took large and well-appointed offices in the centre of London's downtown district. It developed subsequently that these offices were to be headquarters for the "All-Russian Co-operative Society, Ltd.," a new branch representing the Russian co-operatives. The formation of this society was bitterly denounced by the members of the London branch of the old co-operatives, whose efforts to re-establish trade had ended in failure, and charges of treachery were passed. The smallness of the registered capital—\$75,000—was explained as due to fear of confiscation by France, perturbed over the payment of the Russian debt.

#### RUSSIA ACCEPTS \* CONDITIONS

Krassin returned to Moscow on July 1 to consult his Government. He informed the Soviet authorities that the negotiations had been interrupted until they agreed first to cease further anti-British and anti-allied military activities in Persia, the Caucasus and Turkey; second, to release all British prisoners; third, to abandon all propaganda in India and Asia, and fourth, to recognize

the Russian debt. When confronted with these demands, it was stated, Krassin had replied that he had no power to deal with them. Direct communication was then established by Mr. Lloyd George with M. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, who replied on July 8 that Moscow accepted these conditions.

Mr. Lloyd George communicated this reply to M. Millerand, the French Premier, on July 9. The British Premier acceded to the French demand that the Bolshevik Government cease its hostilities against Poland. A wireless message was sent by the allied Governments to Moscow proposing an immediate armistice between Poland and Russia. The trade arrangements remained subordinate to the Soviet reply to this armistice proposal. The reply, received on July 20, was virtually a rejection; its details were not available when these pages went to press.

#### EFFORTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

An agreement between Russian and Italian Co-operatives was concluded at Milan on April 11. The Swedish Government, according to statements made by the Swedish Foreign Minister on June 12, had not forbidden the depositing of Soviet gold in Swedish banks to cover commercial transactions with Swedish citizens, but had made it a point to see that such transactions did not go contrary to the decision at San Remo, when the powers both authorized and recommended the resumption of trade relations. No guarantees, however, had been given that such deposits of gold would be immune from claims of Russia's creditors. The Soviet Government announced, on June 29, that it had liberated all Swedish civil prisoners, and that Swedish commercial delegates would be allowed to enter Russia to balance the admission by Sweden of an equal number of Russian delegates.

A more definite step toward trade resumption took place in Denmark. The International Clearing House, Limited, was organized on June 19, with a share capital of 2,000,000 crowns, principally held by Britons and Danes. The Chairman was Sir Martin Abrahamson. It had received from a Russian bank about



5,000,000 crowns (\$1,350,000 gold) which had been deposited in the Danish National Bank. This gold, however, it was stated, was purely in the nature of a guarantee, and would be returned to the Russian Co-operatives as soon as the transactions were completed; the interest of French or other bondholders therefor would not be prejudiced.

Another country to favor the lifting of the trade blockade against Moscow was Belgium. At a Cabinet meeting, held in Brussels on June 18, and presided over by King Albert, it was decided unanimously that Belgium should favor this policy in principle, and that an attempt should be made to resume economic relations, with reservations only regarding Belgian rights in Russia. By this decision the Belgian Government committed itself to the British, as opposed to the French point of view, a shift in policy, explained as due to the views of the Socialist Ministers.

#### CANADA AND UNITED STATES

On this side of the ocean also the Bolshevik schemes made progress. Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the still unrecognized Ambassador of the Soviet Republic in the United States, declared, on June 23, that preliminaries to trade relations between his Government and Canada had been completed by a Soviet mission, which had been favorably received by manufacturers, bankers and officials of the Dominion Government. Large contracts would soon be signed, according to Martens, to be guaranteed by gold deposits. The Ottawa Government stated on the same date that no restrictions would be placed by the Dominion Government on such transactions, but that the Government would assume no responsibility. A few days later a contract for several million dollars' worth of Canadian foodstuffs and machinery was concluded on the basis of special banking arrangements made in Canada and England.

The policy of the United States, which M. Tchitcherin on June 17 had characterized as "provincial," was changed to a certain extent on July 7, when the State Department announced that all re-

strictions against trade with Soviet Russia had been removed, with the exception of the ban against the shipment of war materials. Political recognition was explicitly withheld, and, as in the case of Canada, all responsibility for transactions was disclaimed. The passport and postal embargo underwent no change. It was not expected by the department that any considerable body of trade would be initiated, but the lifting of the trade restrictions, even in a modified form, was believed to be one of the most effective weapons against the charge spread by Bolsheviks in many countries that women and children were being starved to death in order to force the establishment of a different form of Government.

#### GENERAL WRANGEL'S CAMPAIGN

The story of the breakdown of the Polish-Ukrainian campaign against Russia will be found in the article on Poland. In the southeast corner of the southern sector formerly held by General Denikin, General Wrangel, his successor, kept up the fight against the Bolsheviks. In an advance made on June 11 General Wrangel captured Berdiansk, on the north shore of the Sea of Azov, and subsequently Melitopol. On June 25 General Wrangel announced that his troops had occupied a new line. His booty at that time was stated to consist of 10,000 prisoners, 48 cannon, 250 machine guns, 3 armored trains, 9 armored automobiles, several million pounds of wheat and much rolling stock. One of Wrangel's main objects, as stated by himself, was to gain possession of the cornfields on the Berdiansk-Kherson-Dnieper line, in order to obtain means to feed the population of the Crimea, swollen by the influx of millions of refugees. Reports received on July 19 indicated that General Wrangel's campaign was developing favorably.

The allied note sent to the Moscow Government on July 11, proposing an armistice between Soviet Russia and Poland, contained a proposal that a similar armistice be made with General Wrangel, on the basis that the anti-Bolshevik General retire immediately to the

Crimea, and that during the armistice this must be a neutral zone.

### THE SITUATION IN SIBERIA

At the end of June the Japanese influence was spread over the eastern part of Siberia, extending to the Transbaikalian Province, held by the pro-Japanese General Semenov, the successor of Admiral Kolchak. General Horvath was still administering the operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway and had received an advisory appointment in the Chinese Department of Communications. It was announced from Harbin on June 28 that the group of officers who, in conferences with Japanese representatives, had planned the creation of a new buffer State under Japanese auspices, with the object of absorbing the Far Eastern republic of Verkhne-Udinsk, favored asking General Horvath to head their movement.

In the Amur region and on the Kamchatka Peninsula the whole power was in the hands of local Soviets, which were independent of each other and possessed their own laws and regulations. Baron L. Nolde, American representative of the Russian Tanners' Association, stated on his return from Siberia late in June that the situation in Western Siberia was desperate; the Bolsheviks, according to the stories of refugees, were maintaining their rule by terror; uprisings, nevertheless, were frequent. The population in the towns was starving. All industry was nationalized, trade was at a standstill and the currency situation was chaotic.

The trial of the former Ministers of the Kolchak Government was concluded on June 16. Four of the Ministers were condemned to death and the remaining sixteen to terms of imprisonment with hard labor for five to ten years. All the accused appealed to Lenin and Trotsky, stating that they had always tried to prevent the adoption of reactionary measures and casting the blame on the military authorities. The Omsk Soviet postponed the executions, pending the decision of the Moscow authorities.

Soviet rule had been thoroughly established in Irkutsk—Kolchak's last capital—by the end of June. All institutions had been nationalized. All the stores had

been closed and the food situation was serious. Chinese merchants dealt in black bread, obtainable only through the use of Government cards, to the tune of 250 rubles per pound. This city was the scene of the tragic end of Kolchak's efforts to establish supreme rulership in Siberia. He was executed and buried there.

### IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The actual conditions in Soviet Russia still remain the subject of discussion and dispute. The report brought back to England by Mr. Lounsbury, one of the leaders of the British Trade Union Party, has been made the target of criticism ever since his return, and the challengers of his rose-colored picture in the public press have been legion. At a special meeting held in London on June 12 every statement that Mr. Lounsbury had made was denounced as untruth—due to ignorance—by British citizens who had just returned from Moscow, where they had been imprisoned. The meeting was directed by the Rev. F. W. North—British chaplain at Moscow—whose story of persecution and imprisonment in Soviet Russia while caring for the interests of British prisoners had attracted much attention in the English press. Mr. North returned from a nine-year residence in Russia on May 24. Besides personal losses through Bolshevik thievery, some 225,000 rubles belonging to his church had been taken from him by the Bolshevik authorities. In a series of articles published in *The London Morning Post*, Mr. North painted a dark picture of conditions in the Soviet country and described the method by which all foreign visitors, including Mr. Lounsbury, were "insulated" by placing them under the constant supervision of a Bolshevik commissary, thus preventing them from learning anything which was not considered desirable.

One striking fact for which Mr. North vouched is that the power really in control in Russia is an inner circle of the All-Russia Extraordinary Committee, under the notorious Derjinsky. "He and his satellites," declared Mr. North, "can arrest any one, condemn any one, execute any one without trial, and in the midst



of the general chaos and destitution it is this power which governs."

At the beginning of June the Bolshevik official organ estimated the deficit of the operations in 1920 of the nationalized industries at 23,756,700,000 rubles. Some fourteen billions had been lost by sales below the cost of production. Salaries of nearly six billions to organizers were reckoned as waste, and more than a billion rubles were "spent on political measures which were found necessary to keep the workmen quiet."

Some remarkable revelations of the economic disorganization of Russia were contained in a document printed by The London Times on June 3. This document was a memoir from a member of the Commissariat of People's Economy. It confessed that at the time of writing (March, 1920) the Bolshevik economic policy had proved itself a failure, and stated that the situation was growing worse. It further discussed the possibility of trade between the Soviet Government and the Allies, and concluded that in the present state of Russia it is almost impossible. Means of transport were falling to pieces, production was steadily diminishing and the chance of export of wheat was at that time infinitesimal.

#### SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' STATEMENT

A declaration addressed by the Social Democrats of Petrograd to the Social Democrats of Esthonia, received and published at Reval on June 4, read as follows:

"Russia is drenched in blood. The Communist Government has destroyed all social and industrial life, tramples per-

sonality into the dust and has already annihilated the best intellectual power of the land. To foreign nations the Bolsheviks pretend to be representatives of the workers and peasants, but they trick the masses of the people and give promises only that they may keep themselves in power. Only through shameless methods of violence do they remain in control, and every day their real hatred against the laboring men becomes more apparent. Through many imprisonments our Social Democratic organization is being destroyed, and the methods are like those of the Czar. Spies are everywhere, and many Social Democrats are continually brought to trial. We, the workers representing fourteen factories of Petrograd and the Social Democrats of Petrograd, protest loudly against this challenge to the whole of the working class in Russia. We have nothing in common with this Government of violence and murder, and we pledge ourselves to use every means that this report shall reach across our frontiers to comrades in other countries.

In the course of a speech at a meeting of river transport workers at Moscow, reported by the Stockholm Tidningen on June 4, Lenin declared that the situation was desperate. Workmen, he said, were starving while the peasants, who were without manufactured products, were unwilling to deliver corn against currency notes, which they regarded as worthless, as nothing could be purchased with them. In consequence Lenin emphasized the necessity of establishing commercial relations with foreign countries as soon as possible.

The middle of July found the tentative trade agreements with England and France still held up by the Soviet Government's refusal to halt its successful war against the Poles. An important convention of the Third International was in session at the Kremlin in Moscow.





POLISH LANCERS OF POZNANIA SETTING FORTH TO MEET GENERAL  
BUDENNY'S INVADING BOLSHEVIST CAVALRY

## Poland's Military Disaster

Pilsudski's Armies Driven Back by Russian Forces—Allies  
Intervene to Prevent Invasion

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1920]

**T**HE outstanding feature in Poland's fortunes during the month under review was the serious breakdown of the Polish offensive undertaken against Soviet Russia on the eastern and Ukrainian fronts, and the imminent menace of invasion following the crossing of the Beresina River by the Red troops. The danger to the new republic was fully realized, and the whole nation rose to repel the Bolshevist invaders. Appeals made to the Allied Governments by Poland to lend aid were answered by the dispatch of a telegraphic note to Moscow calling upon the Bolshevist authorities to agree to an armistice upon equitable terms, providing for the halting of the Soviet Army at a point laid down, and for the withdrawal of the Polish forces within confines similarly defined.

The initial successes of the Polish-Ukrainian campaign greatly elated the Polish nation, but the triumphant tone of the Polish press gradually died away, and the official dispatches showed that the Red Army was countering in force. After being beaten in the last days of April south of the Pripet Marshes, the Bolsheviki established strong resistance between the frontier of Bessarabia and the Dnieper, and to the north and south of Kiev. They then hurled a powerful mass offensive, beginning on May 14, at a point north of Pripet, along the whole front of the Beresina River and in the proximity of Polotsk. It was said that this formidable assault was planned and led by the former Czarist General, Brusiloff.

Outnumbered and outfought, the Poles were forced to retreat to their lines of



defense on the Dvina and Beresina Rivers. The Soviet forces advanced and penetrated the Lake Narotch district to a distance of 100 kilometers, east of Vilna, threatening both that town and Minsk. On June 5 this threat was so serious that the Ruthenians decided to join the Poles in their efforts to check the Reds. Polish optimism arising from temporary successes proved to be ill-founded. The assault was resumed in force by the Red Army on June 18, and this time proved effective.

#### BOLSHEVIKI RECAPTURE KIEV

In the meantime, the Bolsheviks had won a signal success in the South. The much-disputed city of Kiev, which had been captured by the Poles early in their campaign, was retaken by the Soviet troops on June 13, following a Bolshevik advance from the north and an irruption of Budenny's Soviet Cavalry on the south. According to Moscow wireless, the Poles, before evacuation, blew up the Vladimir Cathedral (a modern church built between 1862 and 1896, which contained remarkable mural mosaics), the railway stations, the electric power station and the aqueduct. A vivid account of the evacuation received by the Washington Government from Colonel Gaskill of the Polish Railway Mission and Jay P. Moffat, Secretary of the American Legation at Warsaw, describes the Polish commander—General Rydz-migly—as having been determined to hold the city, and yielding only to the explicit orders of General Pilsudski that he should not attempt the desperate resistance planned. According to this account, the Polish commander rode out of Kiev, already set in flames by incendiary bombs dropped by Soviet airplanes, with his bride of six weeks on the pommel of his saddle. The American narrators reported that many atrocities had been committed by the triumphant Bolsheviks. The American Red Cross units were the last to leave the city. Their convoy of trucks and ambulances was surrounded at times by Bolshevik cavalry, and twice narrowly escaped capture before reaching Warsaw.

Having disposed of the southern sec-

tor the Bolsheviks again turned their attention to the North. By June 18 a new drive of fifty Red divisions was in full swing along a 1,200 kilometer front. The Red troops were concentrating on the Beresina in the vicinity of Rezhitsa, west of which point the Poles were hurriedly retreating. Desperate resistance availed nothing, and by July 1 Mozyr and other Polish towns in the Pripet sector were being evacuated. The Warsaw Government at this time was beginning to feel serious alarm, and supreme power was vested in a National Council of Defence, created by the Polish Diet and made up as follows: President Pilsudski, Chairman; General Leszniewski, Minister of War; General Haller, Chief of Staff; M. Trompcynski, President of the Diet; Premier Grabski, three members of the Cabinet and nine leaders of the Diet. The Polish retreat continued, however, and a Moscow wireless announced on July 6 that the Polish forces were being driven back along the entire front in the Pripet-Beresina sector. On July 7 the fortress of Rovno fell, one of the famous triangle of fortresses in Volhynia, and the whole Polish front was thrown back along a line of approximately 720 miles. Warsaw admitted withdrawal in the face of the greatest attack ever made by the Soviet armies. The Red forces now concentrated on the Beresina front, and the threat of an invasion of Poland was clearly defined.

#### NATION RUSHES TO ARMS

The whole Polish nation rose to repel this projected invasion. Women and boys responded with the men to defend the Fatherland in danger. Floods of money poured in. Even the Socialist Party, which had opposed the whole scheme of alliance with Ukrainia in an offensive against the Bolsheviks, now appealed to the Polish soldiers to resist the invading hosts. General Haller was charged with the formation of the new volunteer army.

At this time the Bolsheviks were advancing in Volhynia, and after several fruitless attempts had succeeded in crossing the Beresina in two places about fifty miles northeast of Minsk.



MAP OF POLAND AND OF THE REGION OF RUSSIA FOR WHICH THE POLISH ARMIES WERE CONTENDING WITH THE BOLSHIEVIKI

The capture of Starokonstantinov, about forty miles from the Galician border, was announced on July 8. The Russians had broken through the Polish lines south of the Dvina River in a drive obviously intended to overrun Lithuania and to establish contact with East Prussia. The Soviet Army was using infantry, cavalry, artillery, airplanes and tanks. While the Poles fought desperately in the North, General Budenny, with Rovno in his possession, was advancing in the direction of Lemberg, which is but 180 miles from Warsaw. Ukrainian efforts to help the Poles proved ineffectual. Polish official communiqués issued on July 12 reported that the Reds were still progressing north of Pripet, but that Budenny's cavalry had been driven back on Rovno. The Letts came to the Poles' assistance around Dvinsk. The Poles, never-

theless, were forced to evacuate this city and to retreat South. Towns in Lithuanian territory evacuated by the Poles were being occupied by Lithuanian forces.

Minsk was captured by the Bolsheviks on July 11. The Warsaw Government had ordered Vilna to be held at all costs. Women had joined the city's defenders.

#### POLES ASK HELP OF ALLIES

The Polish delegation at Spa, pending a formal appeal from Warsaw, held a conference with Marshal Foch on July 10 and presented Poland's need of assistance. The note of the Polish Government arrived so mutilated that its content could only be guessed. That the case of Poland was extremely serious was admitted by Ladislav Grabski, the Polish Premier, at Spa the following day. Mr. Grabski said:



This is a decisive moment for Poland. Our army is engaging the mobilized forces of Russia, with a population six times our own, an army equipped with all the most perfected instruments of war, supplied by the Allies to the armies of Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenitch—armored automobiles, tanks, machine guns and heavy artillery. The Bolshevik Army has much more to fight with than the Polish Army, and of superior quality, besides masses of cavalry. The Bolshevik offensive has created for us a serious situation, but not a desperate one. \* \* \* But besides confidence in ourselves, we call and rely on the aid of our allies, military where possible, and the moral and diplomatic support of all.

Subsequently, M. Grabski said that the Allies had advised the Poles to ask the Reds for an armistice with a view to peace. His Government, he said, had no choice but to agree. It was stated that the Polish Premier's tone was subdued, and that he seemed to realize that Poland had come to the end of her dreams of military expansion.

The Allied Supreme Council issued a statement on July 11 at Spa, which read as follows:

Poland has asked allied intervention, saying that unless she gets assistance her situation will become very serious. The Allies have therefore sent to Moscow a proposal to the Soviet for an armistice between Poland and Russia, subject to the condition that the Polish troops retire behind Poland's legitimate boundaries, the armistice to be followed by a meeting of all border States to fix boundaries. Should the Soviets refuse an armistice and attack the Poles within their proper boundaries, the Allies will give Poland full assistance.

#### ALLIED ARMISTICE NOTE

The note of the Allied Council was read in the House of Commons on July 14. This message took cognizance of Moscow's acceptance of the proposals for trade resumption outlined in the British memorandum of July 1, and agreed to such a resumption as soon as the Soviet delegation returned to England. It then proposed an armistice between Russia and Poland, to be based on the following arrangements:

That an immediate armistice be signed between Poland and Soviet Russia under which hostilities shall be suspended. That the terms of this armistice provide, on

the one hand, that the Polish Army shall immediately withdraw to the lines provisionally laid down last year by the Peace Conference as to the eastern boundary to which Poland is entitled to establish a Polish administration.

On the other hand, the armistice should provide that the army of Soviet Russia should stand at a distance of fifty kilometers east of this line. In Eastern Galicia each army will stand on the line it occupies at the date of the signature of the armistice.

That as soon as possible thereafter a conference, sitting under the auspices of the Peace Conference, shall assemble in London, to be attended by representatives of Soviet Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland, with the object of negotiating a final peace between Russia and its neighboring States. Representatives of Eastern Galicia also would be invited to London to state their case.

For the purpose of this conference Great Britain will place no restrictions on the representatives which Russia may nominate, provided they undertake while in Great Britain not to interfere in politics or the internal affairs of the British Empire or in propaganda. \* \* \*

The British Government has bound itself to give no assistance to Poland for any purpose hostile to Russia and to take no action itself hostile to Russia. It is, however, bound under the covenant of the League of Nations to defend the integrity of Poland within its legitimate ethnographical frontiers.

If, therefore, Soviet Russia, despite its repeated declarations, will not be content with the withdrawal of the Polish Army on the condition of a mutual armistice, but intends to take action hostile to Poland in Poland's own territory, the British Government and its allies will feel bound to assist the Polish Nation to defend its existence with all means at their disposal.

The Polish Government has declared its willingness to make a peace with Soviet Russia and to negotiate for an armistice on the basis set out above directly it is informed that the Soviet Government also agrees.

The British Government would therefore be glad to receive a definite reply within a week as to whether Soviet Russia is prepared to accept the British Government's proposals to put an end to further unnecessary bloodshed and restore peace to Europe.

Mr. Bonar Law, replying to a question, said the note had been sent with the approval of the Allies. The Soviet reply arrived too late for inclusion in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY.



POLISH WOMEN OPERATING A MACHINE GUN DURING THE DEFENSE OF LVOV. THE HILL IN THE BACKGROUND IS ARTIFICIAL. IT WAS RAISED BY THE POLES IN COMMEMORATION OF THE UNION OF POLAND WITH LITHUANIA AND WHITE RUTHENIA

M. Grabski, the Polish Premier, was due to arrive in Warsaw on July 13, bearing allied assurances of assistance in arms and munitions in case Moscow's reply was unfavorable.

#### POLAND'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS

A Ministerial crisis was brought about on June 9 by the resignation of M. Dombbski, one of the Under Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, and the resulting resignations of the Ministers of Agriculture and Public Works, both members of the People's Party, to which M. Dombbski belonged. M. Skulski, the Premier, then placed the resignation of the whole Cabinet in General Pilsudski's hands. The Polish Chief of State asked M. Skulski to form a new Cabinet. The root of the trouble was the opposition of the People's Party to the Government's scheme of expropriating the peasants' crops at

prices considered disadvantageous. The political crisis was preceded and accompanied by an epidemic of strikes, stated to be due to the fluctuation of currency. M. Skulski having found himself unable to meet the request, M. Ladislav Grabski, former Minister of Finance, was appointed Premier, and formed a new Cabinet, composed as follows:

Premier and Minister of Finance—M. Grabski.

Minister of War—General Leszniewski.

Minister of Foreign Affairs—Prince Eugene Sapieha.

Minister of Food—Stanislas Slivinski.

Minister of Railroads—M. Bartel.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—M. Tolloczko.

Minister of Education—M. Lopuszanski.

Minister of Commerce and Industry—Antony Olszewski.

Minister of Public Health—M. Chodzko.

Minister of Public Works—Gabriel Naruzowicz.



Minister of Agriculture—Professor Bu-jak.

Minister of the Interior—M. Kuczynski.

Minister of Justice—John Morawski.

The problem of the coal fields of Teschen was being discussed by M. Patek, Foreign Minister under the Skulski Cabinet, with M. Benes, acting for Czechoslovakia, in Paris toward the middle of June. The two new States had successfully passed through a crisis, threatening a break of diplomatic relations, toward the end of May, charges of violence and excesses in the plebiscite area being made on both sides. The change of Cabinet brought no change in the determined policy of conciliation.

Charges that Sir Reginald Tower, the British High Commissioner for Danzig, was denying Polish rights in the Free City, discriminating in favor of the German population, and seeking to obtain control for British interests, were made by the Poles in June. By a provisional economic convention between Poland and

Danzig, signed on April 22, the two communities had been made a single customs territory.

Dr. Israel Friedlaender, professor of Biblical Literature at the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, and Bernard Cantor, also of New York, both connected with the Jewish Relief Work in Poland, were slain by Bolshevik soldiers in the Ukraine on July 7. Dr. Friedlaender and Dr. Cantor had distributed more than 1,000,000 marks for relief, and were preparing to leave the region in the Ukraine near which General Budenny was operating with his Bolshevik cavalry.

It was announced by the American Polish Chamber of Commerce on June 30 that the sale of \$50,000,000 of Polish bonds, begun at a mass meeting of Poles in New York City on June 13, had been completed. The Polish Government, it was stated, planned to use this loan to buy raw materials and machinery in the United States.

## A Month in the United States

### Developments in the Army and Navy—Convention of the Federation of Labor—War Debt Reduced

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1920]

THE War Department on June 19 issued an order by which twenty-three officers holding the emergency rank of Major General were reduced to Brigadiers or Colonels. The order also reduced sixteen Brigadier Generals to ranks ranging from Major to Colonel. Among the higher officers thus temporarily reduced, preliminary to the reorganization of the United States Army under the new law, were Major Gen. Charles R. Edwards, Henry T. Allen, Omar Bundy, Charles T. Menoher, with others who were prominent on the fighting front during the war; also Major Gen. William S. Graves, who commanded the American forces in Siberia. On June 27 the War Department announced that General Peyton C. March, Lieut. Gen. Hunter Liggett and Lieut.

Gen. Robert L. Bullard would surrender temporary war rank and revert to the permanent rank of Major General in the regular establishment. These changes also were in accordance with the provisions of the new army reorganization law.

Secretary Baker announced on June 27 that President Wilson had appointed four of eleven new permanent Major Generals authorized by the army reorganization law. Those so appointed are Major Gen. J. M. McAndrews, President of the Army and War College; Major Gen. John L. Hines, in command of the division at Camp Dodge, Des Moines, Iowa; Major Gen. Henry T. Allen, in command of the American Army of Occupation in Germany; Major Gen. David C. Shanks, in command of the Port of

Embarkation at Hoboken. The former permanent rank of these officers was that of Brigadier General. They now become permanent Major Generals. Seven other new permanent Major Generals are to be appointed by the Presi-

who served with distinction during the war. General LeJeune assumed his new duties the following week.

### ARMY RESERVE ABOLISHED

Secretary Baker announced on June 29 that in accordance with Section 30 of the new Army Reorganization act the regular army reserve had been ordered abolished and that all members of the reserve would be discharged. Department commanders were ordered to take immediate steps to discharge all enlisted men of this reserve whose records are on file at their headquarters, except those who were called to active service for the World War and who are not shown by the records to have been demobilized.

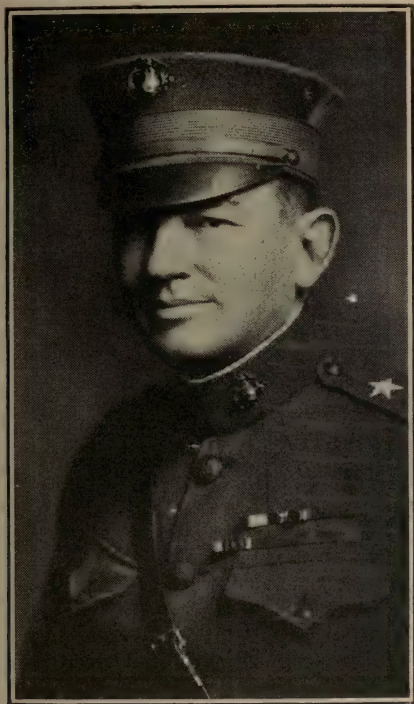
This change applies only to men who enlisted prior to April 2, 1917, when they entered the army either for four years with the colors and three years in reserve or for three years with the colors and four years in reserve. Some have not completed their term of service with the colors, and by the new law they are relieved of the obligation of serving in the reserve when their time with the colors is completed. Any of those who enlisted prior to Nov. 1, 1916, however, who desire to serve their full enlistment, that is to serve seven years with the colors, will be permitted to do so. This does not affect the Officers' Reserve Corps.

### VICTORY MEDAL

The new Victory Medal for United States participants in the World War was designed by James Earl Fraser. Over 5,000,000 of these medals will be distributed to soldiers, sailors, nurses and others who were in the military service. One side shows Liberty, armed with shield and sword. On the other are the shield of the United States and the names of the allied nations. Over all is the inscription, "The Great War for Civilization." On the fob that goes with the medal is a bar on which is inscribed the name of the country or countries where the recipient saw service.

### 5,000 DRAFT SENTENCES

Figures made public at the Department of Justice July 10 showed that



MAJOR GEN. JOHN A. LEJEUNE  
New Commandant of the United States  
Marine Corps, succeeding General Barnett

(© Harris & Ewing)

dent. There are, under the old law, ten permanent Major Generals.

### LEJEUNE HEADS MARINE CORPS

The appointment of Major Gen. John A. LeJeune as Major General commanding the Marine Corps, to succeed Major Gen. George Barnett, was announced June 19. General LeJeune commanded the famous 2d Division when it broke the German line in the Meuse-Argonne offensive and the Secretary said his appointment to command the Marine Corps was in line with the policy of the department to reward the officers



5,000 draft evaders had been convicted in Federal courts and sentenced to prison for from thirty days to one year. Thirty thousand cases remain to be investigated, but officials assert that rapid progress

### NEW VICTORY MEDAL



OVERSE AND REVERSE OF THE MEDAL DESIGNED BY JAMES EARL FRASER. NEARLY 5,000,000 OF THESE ARE BEING DISTRIBUTED TO SOLDIERS, SAILORS, MARINES, NURSES AND DOCTORS WHO SERVED IN THE WAR

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

is being made in rounding up the delinquents. The figures do not include cases of persons who were called in the draft and deserted, as such cases are handled by the military authorities.

So far approximately 275,000 cases of delinquents—men who succeeded in avoiding actual entrance into the service—have been investigated by the department out of a total of 318,314 reported. The results of the investigation show about 10,000 cases of failure to register and an equal number of false questionnaires.

Several thousand German and Austrian alien enemies throughout the United States were released from parole July 15. The only exceptions made were cases in which, in the opinion of the District Attorney, it would be unwise to release the alien enemy from his parole or to terminate his bond.

**MAJOR GEN. WILLIAM C. GORGAS**, former Surgeon General of the United States Army, died of apoplexy in London on July 4, at the age of 66 years. He had gone to London preparatory to a mission to West Africa in behalf of the British Government to investigate sanitary conditions. General Gorgas was considered one of the greatest sanitarians in the world. He was born at Mobile, Ala., in 1854, of a distinguished Southern family, and received his early education at the University of the South,



at Sewanee, Tenn., of which his father was then President. After subsequent training at the Bellevue Medical College he received a doctor's commission in the army, and was sent to Fort Brown, Texas. An attack of yellow fever awoke in him a special interest in this disease.

It was during the Spanish war and the years immediately following it that Gorgas performed the work that brought him public attention. He accompanied the army in the Santiago expedition, and was placed in charge of the yellow fever wards of the Las Animas Hospital in Havana. While serving as Health Officer of the city he seized upon the contemporary discovery of the transmission of yellow fever through mosquitos, and adapted it to his campaign so effectively that he succeeded in ridding Havana of this affliction.

With this record, he became the logical choice of the United States Government

when it became necessary to make healthful the area surrounding what is now the Panama Canal. In contrast with the repeated failure of the French canal builders to eradicate this tropical dis-

to be Surgeon General, and was made a Major General the following year. He performed signal service in reducing the mortality of the American Army during the war to six-tenths of 1 per cent.

On hearing of his death Secretary of War Baker issued an official statement of regret and high laudation of the value of his services to the Government. The British Government showed its appreciation of his work for humanity by taking official charge of the funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on July 9, when the body was attended by a large military escort and the services were supervised by the Minister of Health, Dr. Christopher Addison. The King was represented by Sir John Goodwin, his surgeon.

#### ENLISTMENT OF ALIENS

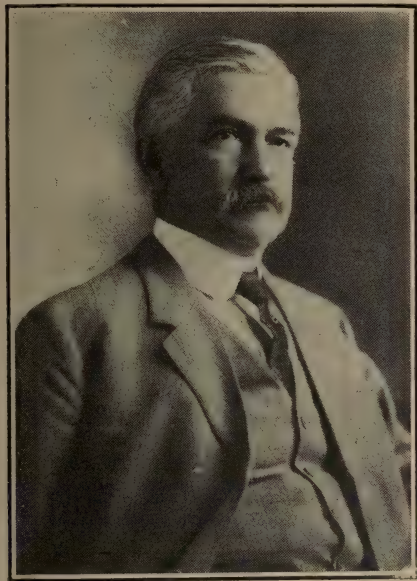
Instructions were issued by Secretary Baker on June 24 that, from July 20, 1920, enlistments would be authorized throughout the continental limits of the United States to illiterates and non-English-speaking citizens and aliens who declare their intention to become citizens. These enlistments will be for three years only for the present, and will be confined to the whites.

The illiterates and non-English-speaking recruits will be distributed to recruiting educational centres, and in any case where enlistment is for special assignment the recruit, as soon as enlisted, will be sent to that educational centre nearest to the organization for which he entered.

To carry out this policy and to give these men a course in elementary English in connection with their military instruction, recruit educational centres will be organized at Camps Jackson, Pike, Grant, Travis and Lewis. These centres will be modeled after the one which has been in successful operation for some time at Camp Upton, New York.

#### WAR DEBT REDUCED

The quarterly debt statement issued July 2 by the Treasury Department showed that the public debt decreased by more than a billion dollars during the fiscal year of 1919, just ended, and by



MAJOR GEN. WILLIAM C. GORGAS  
*Late Surgeon General of the United States Army*

(© Harris & Ewing)

ease, Colonel Gorgas removed not only this, but also the malaria scourge from the Isthmus, thus making possible the great engineering exploits of General Goethals. This result was achieved in great part by means of crude oil spread over vast surfaces of stagnant water, thus killing the mosquito larvae which rose to the surface to breathe. Five years of scientific care by Colonel Gorgas reduced the annual yellow fever death rate of the Isthmus from 8,000 to just 19. Gorgas prophesied that "some day, a case of yellow fever will be regarded as a medical curiosity."

In 1913 Colonel Gorgas went to South Africa at the request of the British Government to investigate conditions in the Rand Mines, where thousands of Kaffirs were dying of pneumonia. In 1914 he was promoted by his own Government



more than two billion dollars since last Aug. 31, when the war debt was at its peak. On June 30 the public debt was \$24,299,321,467.07, a drop of \$1,185,184,692.98 from the June 30, 1919, total of \$25,484,506,160.05, and a decline of \$2,295,380,180.94 from the peak figure of \$26,596,701,648.01 on Aug. 31. The decrease for the period from May 31 to June 30 was \$675,641,559.72.

#### \$17,000,000,000 TRADE BALANCE

Since the beginning of the World War in 1914 the United States has rolled up a trade balance of approximately \$17,000,000,000 against the world. This exceeds by several billions the total balance in favor of the United States from 1875 to 1914.

Department of Commerce figures June 24 showed that the trade balance made in favor of the United States in the fiscal year ended in 1914, one month before the war began, was \$470,000,000. During the first year of the war it was \$1,094,419,600, and in the next year, ended June 30, 1916, it was \$2,135,599,375. During the succeeding year the total was \$3,530,693,209.

Meantime the United States had entered the struggle, and in the year ended June 30, 1918—the first full fiscal year of America's participation—the balance was only \$2,974,055,973. In the next year, ended last June 30, however, it was \$4,136,562,618.

During the first eleven months of the fiscal year 1919-20 the balance was only \$2,788,451,602, but exports were larger in those eleven months than in any other full fiscal year in the nation's history, totaling \$7,474,193,349, as against the previous twelve months' record of \$7,232,282,686, made during the last fiscal year.

At the same time that America's export trade began to advance by leaps and bounds the import trade also showed an enormous increase, totaling \$2,917,883,510 in the year ended June 30, 1916, and advancing steadily each year to a new high record of \$4,685,741,747 during the eleven months of the present fiscal year. The previous high record was \$3,095,720,068 last year.

Most of the favorable trade balance of the United States has been against the allied and neutral countries of Europe. Many of the South American and North American countries and some of those of the Far East have a balance against the United States.

#### A. F. L. CONVENTION

The fortieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was held at Montreal June 9-18. It expressed its confidence in the leadership of Samuel Gompers, the veteran President, when it re-elected him on June 18 for the thirty-ninth time and returned to office his entire administrative cabinet. His election was virtually unanimous. The delegates gave the elderly labor leader a tremendous ovation when he declared: "I accept the call to duty and I will obey."

The federation on June 16 reaffirmed its stand for recognition of the Irish republic amid a great demonstration. Resolutions adopted urged that the "military forces of occupation in Ireland be withdrawn," and that the Irish people be accorded the "right of self-determination."

The federation declared war on the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations by adopting a resolution which condemned such legislation as "confiscatory of the liberty and property and a denial of the human rights of organized labor."

The federation instructed its Executive Council to take such steps as necessary to support organized labor in Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado in "fighting anti-strike legislation to a finish." The non-partisan political policy of President Gompers was unanimously indorsed.

Government ownership and "democratic operation" of United States railroads was demanded in a resolution passed June 17. The language of the resolution was the language of the Plumb Plan League, although the league was not specifically mentioned. The vote was 29,058 to 8,348. It came at the end of a two days' battle. The result was a complete defeat of Samuel Gompers, veteran President of the federation. It is regarded as the only real set-

[A PROPHETIC CARTOON]

## COMPETITION AMONG OHIO NEWSIES

[This cartoon, published by The Columbus (Ohio) Citizen six months ago, is the one referred to by Senator Harding when in his congratulatory telegram to Governor Cox he said: "I recall a much-remarked cartoon which portrayed you and me as newsboys contending for the White House delivery. It seems to have been prophetic."]



—Columbus Citizen, Feb. 24, 1920

back Gompers has received in years. Cheers shook the convention hall when the vote was announced.

## DAMAGES AGAINST LABOR UNION

Justice Rodenbeck in the Supreme Court at Rochester, June 19, handed down a decision in the case of the

Michaels-Stern Clothing Company against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for a permanent injunction and \$100,000 damages. The attitude taken by Justice Rodenbeck throughout his decision, one of the most momentous from the point of view of the industrial world, is that no labor union



has the right to make itself into a labor monopoly and use force and intimidation in any way to effect its end. The Justice says:

The plaintiffs were required to win their way in the world of business by hard and honest competition and by the character and quality of their goods; but the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, instead of endeavoring to secure recognition by an example of enlightened and reasonable administration in other factories, chose to force their way into plaintiffs' factory by secrecy and by a strike backed by its powerful influence and supported by acts that the law condemns. Ultimate success in the labor movement does not lie along this line, but in the direction of a peaceful exemplification of a just and reasonable administration of affairs of the union, with advantages not only to employers and employees but to the public as well.

#### WHEAT PRODUCTION COST

The Department of Agriculture, in making public on June 20 the results of its recent cost of production survey, which covered fourteen representative

districts, announced that the 1919 wheat crop was produced at an average cost to the grower of \$2.15 a bushel. The department stated that to permit a profit on 80 per cent. of the wheat produced on the farms covered by the survey the price would have to be about \$2.60. The cost of producing Winter wheat was much lower than that for Spring wheat, the figures being \$1.87 and \$2.65, respectively. "Dollar wheat," once the aspiration of wheat growers, would have paid the cost of production on only two of the 481 farms included in the survey.

Importers of dyestuffs were notified, June 22, that the War Trade Board section of the State Department was now prepared to grant allocation certificates providing for the importation of German dyes in amounts sufficient to supply the immediate requirements of American consumers for six months. Licenses to import will be issued only in event the dyes applied for are not obtainable from domestic sources on reasonable terms as to price, quality and delivery.

## The Third Party Convention

### Platform and Nominees of the Farmer-Labor Party, Representing Various Radical Groups of the United States

THE radicals and extreme Socialists, who were dissatisfied with the Democratic and Republican platforms, held a separate convention in Chicago, beginning July 10, to launch a third political party in the Presidential campaign. The original call was issued by dissentients known as the Committee of Forty-eight, so named because it consisted of one member from each of the States. It was led largely by intellectuals of radical views, among the chief organizers being Amos Pinchot, who was United States Chief of Forestry under President Roosevelt, and Dudley Field Malone, who was Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York under President Wilson.

Various other groups met in Chicago at the same time, chief among them

being the extreme labor radicals, who are in opposition to the American Federation of Labor; Single Taxers, Grangers and others. After several conferences it was agreed finally to unite in one convention, and it was then that the labor group proved to be in the majority. The labor radicals dominated the proceedings and forced through a radical platform, so extreme that the group of Forty-eighters bolted the convention, as did the Single Taxers; the Non-Partisan Farmers' League also declined to accept the platform.

The platform favors the repeal of all laws against sedition, espionage, &c.; the election of Federal Judges, the initiative, referendum and recall; the complete withdrawal of the United States from the Treaty of Versailles; opposition

to the League of Nations, recognition of the Irish Republic and of Soviet Russia; withdrawal from the Philippines, Hawaii, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, Cuba, Samoa, Guam; opposition to conscription. It favors the "democratic control of industry," public ownership and operation of all public utilities, national resources, stock yards, abattoirs, grain elevators, water powers, cold storage and terminal warehouses; Government ownership and democratic operation of railroads, mines and such natural resources as are to any extent bases of control. The platform favors extension of the Federal farm loan system, opposes consumption taxes, favors increased income taxes, favors a soldier's bonus and adopts in full a bill of rights for labor pledging the following:

(a) The unqualified right of all workers, including civil service employees, to organize and bargain collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they choose.

(b) Freedom from compulsory arbitration and all other attempts to coerce workers.

(c) A maximum standard 8-hour day and 44-hour week.

(d) Old age and unemployment payments and workmen's compensation to insure workers and their dependents against accident and disease.

(e) Establishment and operation through periods of depression of Governmental work in housing, rebuilding, reforestation, reclamation of cut-over timber, desert and swamp lands and de-

velopment of ports, waterways and water-power plants.

(f) Re-education of the cripples of industry as well as the victims of war.

(g) Abolition of employment of children under 16 years of age.

(h) Complete and effective protection for women in industry, with equal pay for equal work.

(i) Abolition of private employment, detective and strike-breaking agencies and extension of the Federal free employment service.

(j) Prevention of exploitation of immigration and immigrants by employers.

(k) Vigorous enforcement of the Seamen's act and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. The present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public must not be minimized.

(l) Exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

The convention nominated for President Parley P. Christensen of Salt Lake City, Utah; for Vice President, Max S. Hayes of Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Christensen is a native of Ohio, aged 51; he is a lawyer and was active for the defense at the trial of the I. W. W. agitators; he was in 1915 a member of the Utah Legislature, a former Principal of the public schools in Utah. In 1912 he was a supporter of President Roosevelt. Max S. Hayes was the nominee of the Socialists for Vice President in 1900. He has been active in Socialist circles for a number of years.

The nomination for President was offered to Senator LaFollette, but he declined to run on the platform adopted.

## The Spa Conference

### Results of the First Direct Verbal Negotiations Between the Allies and Germany

FOR the first time in six years allied and German diplomats met on a theoretically even footing in the historic conference that opened at Spa, Belgium, on July 5. According to plans laid by Mr. Lloyd George, and ultimately sanctioned by M. Millerand, this conference was to be the first of a series. It was the opening wedge for fulfillment

of the German desire to meet the victors face to face in oral discussions instead of through the medium of notes equivalent to commands. As such it was considered by the allied Premiers in the light of an experiment, which would be justified, if at all, by the results.

These results were attained, but not over smooth seas. The Allies found the



Germans obstinate, evasive or violent; the Germans found the allied representatives severe and inflexible. Despite all obstacles, Germany was finally led to agree to disarm, to proceed with the trial of war criminals, to bind herself to the regular delivery of huge quantities of coal. The Allies, on their part, agreed to lend Germany large sums of money with which to build up her disorganized industries. Thus from her new defeat she wrested victory.

The conference at Spa, which ended on July 16, was the culmination of a number of prior conferences held by the allied Ministers at San Remo, Italy; at Hythe and Lympe, England; at Bou-

share, which the Allies were unwilling to grant.

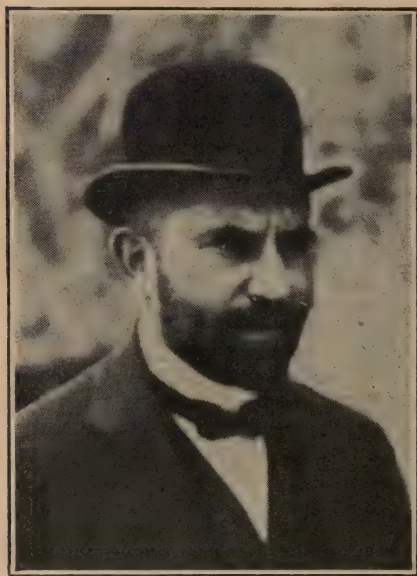
The Germans, on their side, had been exhaustively drawing up their own program. Their delegation, headed by the Chancellor, Herr Fehrenbach, and including the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Commerce, Food and Reconstruction, twenty-five high Government officials and business experts and a large staff of secretaries, left for Spa on July 4.

#### OPENING OF CONFERENCE

The first meeting of the allied and German diplomats took place on July 6, in the Villa Fraineuse, at the crest of the hill back of Spa, where ex-Kaiser William sojourned from time to time in 1918 when German hopes were already on the wane. There was no formality, no ceremony, though all shook hands after M. Delacroix, the Belgian Premier, who presided, had introduced the delegates. The meeting lasted only twenty minutes, and started and ended in a clash. The conflict arose over the question of disarmament, which the Allies brought up immediately. Herr Fehrenbach said he had not understood that the disarmament provisions of the treaty were to be discussed, and that he had not brought Herr Gessler, Minister of Defense, to the conference. Premier Lloyd George insisted that it was impossible to discuss reparations until the disarmament question had been disposed of. The Belgian Premier called attention to the fact that three allied notes on disarmament had been sent to Berlin. Herr Fehrenbach's proposal that other subjects be discussed pending Gessler's arrival was rejected by the allied representatives, and the meeting was adjourned to the following day.

#### A DRAMATIC MEETING

The meeting of July 6 had a dramatic quality, the Germans reinforced by Gessler and General von Seeckt, German Chief of Staff, trying to compel the Allies to withdraw from their firm stand on disarmament, and the Allies, headed by the British Premier, meeting their arguments one by one and demolishing them as they arose. Tears flowed down



HUGO STINNES

*German capitalist who took a prominent part in the Spa Conference*

(© International)

logne, France, and at Brussels, Belgium. At all these meetings the Premiers had discussed the demands to be made on Germany, and at Brussels the reparations indemnity was finally fixed at \$30,000,000,000; but the method of distribution could not be settled, Italy holding out for 20 per cent. and Rumania demanding a

the cheeks of the German Chancellor, speaking for the millions of defeated Germans, as he declared that Germany held no desire of revenge in her heart. At the opening of the session the Defense Minister rose and made a plea against reduction of the German Army from 200,000 to 100,000 men, in view of the serious internal troubles that had arisen since the armistice, which made

further reduction unwise. Lloyd George asked directly: "Is this a declaration that the German Government does not intend to fulfill the terms of the treaty?" The Defense Minister replied that Germany was only asking for special consideration for the conditions referred to. Herr von Simons, the German Foreign Minister, added that Germany intended eventually to reduce the army

## [A MERICAN CARTOON]



1870



1914



1920

—© New York Tribune

OH, DRY THOSE TEARS!



because of its expense, but that she asked for time.

Following a recess, Mr. Lloyd George stated that Germany did not seem to realize the gap between the treaty terms and the execution of the treaty. The treaty, he said, left to Germany 100,000 men, 100,000 rifles and 2,000 machine guns. Germany still had 200,000 men, millions of rifles, 20,000 machine guns and 12,000 cannon. Germany was menaced by two dangers, both from the Right and the Left, and outrages were due to too many weapons being available. The purpose of the Allies, he declared, was to prevent these arms from being a menace to Germany and the rest of Europe. He asked the German Chancellor to present a specific plan with dates for the demanded disarmament, and thus give evidence that Germany really desired to carry out the treaty.

#### GERMAN CHANCELLOR'S PLEA

Herr Fehrenbach, in reply, again cited the special difficulties of the German Government. Strike had followed strike. The rifles had been taken home by the soldiers, and it was impossible to recover them. Germany was weary of war, and did not seek revenge. The Government must have means of combating Communism, which was the great danger in Germany today. The movement both to Right and Left in the recent elections he explained as due to the fear of Communism. He guaranteed that there was no longer any militarist danger from Germany. With great emotion he added:

We will hand over all the material we can. If we have to fulfill the requirements as to rifles we must have more troops. As for dates, it is difficult, if not impossible, to be definite. You can trust us, for our future depends upon the Spa Conference. I am an old man. I have always been an honest man. I hope to appear before the Great Judge as an honest man. I promised the Reichstag that I would fulfill the treaty, and I promise you the same thing.

In response Mr. Lloyd George declared he was greatly disappointed at the situation created by the Chancellor's failure to present a definite plan, with dates, and that if this was not presented,

the conference would be broken off. The next sitting was fixed for the following day and Germany was notified that she must present her answer at that session.

Admitting that there were 1,000,000 armed men in Germany, and 2,000,000 rifles unaccounted for, the German representatives at this new session asked the Allies for a delay of fifteen months in fulfilling the disarmament terms. The Allies refused this delay, and the allied Premiers subsequently called in Marshal Foch and General Wilson, the French and British commanders in chief, to formulate a course of procedure if Germany refused compliance with the allied demands.

#### SETTLEMENT ON DISARMAMENT

The whole question of disarmament was finally settled at the session of July 9. The Allies called on Germany at the meeting of July 8 to agree to fulfill the disarmament terms within six months. The terms laid down were as follows:

First—That the Germans dissolve the *Sicherheitswehr* and *Einwohnerswehr*.

Second—That concealed arms be given up, with severe penalties in case of further concealment.

Third—That a law be passed converting the *Reichswehr* into a small regular army, as provided by the treaty.

Fourth—That all other military and aviation clauses be faithfully executed.

On these conditions, the Allies agreed to extend until Jan. 1 the time for the reduction of effectives, but demanded that the army should not exceed 150,000 men on Oct. 1. The Allies further agreed to allow Germany to keep forces in the neutral zone, and to do their utmost to prevent arms from being smuggled in from the occupied area.

If at any time the Allied Commission of Control finds that Germany is evading the fulfillment of the bargain, the Allies will proceed to further occupation of German territory, whether in the Ruhr or elsewhere, and will continue to occupy it until the terms are wholly complied with.

To these terms, which represented a considerable concession, both in respect to condonation of the German failure to disarm to date, and in respect to the German request for further delay, the Germans replied at the session of July 9 by signifying their consent to sign the protocol presented. A temporary hitch caused by von Simons, who stated that

the threat of occupation of the Ruhr district amounted to a change in the treaty, which could not be agreed to without reference to the Reichstag, was eliminated by the British Premier, who pointed out that the Allies had reserved to themselves under the treaty the right to take such action in the event of non-fulfillment of the treaty terms. Chancellor Fehrenbach and von Simons then signed, and were followed by the allied diplomats. Herr von Gessler was absent. Thus one of the most important phases of the Spa Conference, a phase of paramount importance to France, was settled, and the way cleared for discussions of other important questions, notably, the punishment of the war criminals, the agreement on indemnities and the German deliveries of coal.\*

#### GERMAN WAR CRIMINALS

After the signing of the disarmament agreement the question of the punishment by Germany of the war criminals listed by the Allies was taken up. Here, too, difficulties at once arose. The German Minister of Justice, Karl Heinze, when asked what Germany had done toward pushing the trial of those accused, admitted that she had done nothing. The Allies, he said, had given Germany considerable difficulty by misspelling the names of those charged with war crimes and by presenting insufficient evidence, which the Leipsic Court Magistrates did not find adequate for the issuing of warrants. Furthermore, many of the men accused had moved and could not be found. The British Premier asked severely if Germany expected the Allies to abide by the expression of opinion of the German Magistrates, which he declared to be unwarranted. Herr von Simons came to the rescue of his colleague. He explained that Germany needed the help of the Allies in the matter in gaining further evidence. The Leipsic court, because of its high reputation, could convict only upon the fullest

evidence, and though a considerable time had elapsed since the commission of the crimes charged Germany intended to do her utmost to bring to trial the forty-five men accused by the revised allied list if she could gain the Allies' co-operation in the matter of further evidence. This Lloyd George finally agreed to furnish. A decision was reached by the adoption of a report drawn by a committee consisting of Lord Birkenhead, the British Lord Chancellor; Jules Cambon and the German Minister of Justice. It was recommended and agreed that the prosecutor of the Leipsic court would be allowed to send missions to France and England, where they would receive facilities for gathering further evidence.

#### REPARATIONS IN COAL

At this same session the question of reparations was finally launched by the Allies presenting their demands on Germany regarding coal. Herr Bergmann, a German expert, tried to explain why there had been a shortage in coal deliveries by Germany. He attributed this to the internal troubles in Germany and to strikes in Holland and Belgium, and to floods on the Rhine. Premier Millerand replied that Germany must deliver 39,000,000 tons annually, of which 25,000,000 were allotted to France, 8,000,000 to Belgium and 6,000,000 to Italy. The Reparations Commission had reduced this to 29,000,000 tons. Germany, he said, had delivered only 1,100,000 tons in May, half of her proper quota. On June 15, the Germans had given orders to reduce the amount to France by 10,000 tons daily. Yet Germany's coal position was better than that of France, and France's shortage was due to German destruction of her mines. Furthermore, Germany, while defaulting in her coal deliveries, had sold 35,000 tons of coal to Switzerland, and contracted to sell Holland 80,000 tons monthly. He then read the following proposal: France to have priority up to the amount fixed by the Reparations Committee; Germany to agree to the establishment by the commission of a permanent coal committee in Berlin, in control of all the coal in Germany. The

\*Though the Germans signed the main protocol on disarmament, they refused to sign the agreement prohibiting Germany from building airships in Germany, and they maintained this refusal to the end.



German answer to these proposals was deferred until the following session.

This session was held on June 11, and proved to be a stormy one. Herr von Simons declared that Germany's failure in deliveries was due not to bad faith but to Germany's own imperative inner needs. He urged that the German experts be heard before a definite decision was reached, and called on Herr Hugo Stinnes to plead Germany's case.

#### HERR STINNES DEFIANT

Stinnes, an extraordinary figure in present-day Germany, a multi-millionaire and coal baron, owner of seventy newspapers, and said to be the greatest profiteer of the war, arose at once. Pale, shabby and down at heel, with burning black eyes and a twisted nose, this man whose power was feared even by the ex-Kaiser showed at once by his belligerent attitude that he had come to Spa in no pacific mood. As he started to speak von Simons halted him and warned the Allies that Stinnes and Hue, who was to follow him, were not members of the delegation, and that the German Government did not accept responsibility for what they might say. Stinnes, the biggest coal owner in Germany, and producer of most of the coal which the Allies demanded, then began, saying:

I rise because I want to look you in the face. M. Millerand said yesterday that the Germans are here by courtesy. I maintain that I am here by right. Whoever is suffering from the disease of victory—

Mr. Lloyd George nodded at this point to M. Delacroix, who interrupted Stinnes. The purpose of the Spa Conference, he said, was to come to an amicable settlement, and he insisted that Stinnes cease from provocative remarks. Stinnes then went on to say that Spa was the ear through which Europe would know the truth. The Allies must realize that they must treat with Germany on terms of absolute equality before any agreement could be reached. He contested M. Millerand's coal figures for Germany. Though he admitted that France needed coal, because of the German destruction of her mines—which he defended as due to military necessity—

he declared that the allied demand of 29,000,000 tons yearly was quite impossible. The millions of tons monthly now supplied could be met only by overwork. Underfeeding of the German miners made any greater demands on them impossible. He recognized that the Allies might occupy the Ruhr mining district, where his own mines were operated, but declared in loud and angry tones that if the Allies did that with their black troops as the instruments of their authority, "the feelings of every white man would recoil"; the coal situation, in that event, which might otherwise be cleared up within three years, would then be hopeless. He declared in conclusion that the German mine owners had prepared a scheme which they considered a reasonable solution, and that if it were rejected right would be on the German side, "and we will not accept your terms."

Herr Hue, the other coal expert, spoke more mildly, pointing out the fact that the German miners were already working eight hours and ten minutes daily, and that punitive measures would probably have the opposite effect to that intended. The morning session was then closed.

The afternoon session brought an apology from the German Government for the words and behavior of Stinnes, which elicited from M. Millerand a conciliatory speech, in which he said that the Allies did not wish to chastise Germany but to make her a useful member of world society. The technical result of the day's session was a concession by the Allies that the coal situation be reviewed by experts of both sides before a final decision. Herr von Simons, on receiving this concession, consented to submit the German scheme for reparations, which, as the Germans had previously explained, depended in great measure on the coal decision ultimately reached.

#### GERMAN REPARATIONS SCHEME

The German program, on delivery, was found to consist of three parts, the first dealing with indemnity, the second with the rebuilding of devastated France, and the third with the delivery of materials

for the restoration of the territories affected. The Germans proposed that a definite sum be fixed, after the payment of which Germany should be completely free. The Allies were asked to draw up a schedule of annual payments reaching over a period of thirty years, these payments not to be made regular in character, inasmuch as the economic situation of Germany during the period in question could not be gauged in advance. To enable her to fulfill her obligations, Germany asked for allied aid in respect to food, fodder, fertilizers and raw materials. Regarding her obligation to pay on May 1, 1921, the sum of 200,000,000 marks in gold, she declared that she considered she had more than paid this amount already in other ways. Part 2 of the scheme provided for the establishment of an international syndicate to rebuild devastated France, the cost to be paid ultimately by Germany. Part 3 set forth Germany's willingness to make such deliveries of materials as she found possible, and asked that these deliveries be credited against reparations.

### NEW COAL CRISIS

This scheme, however, was pigeonholed, and a new coal crisis arose on July 12, when the Allies, after due consultation, decided that Germany must accept the previous demand for 2,000,000 tons of coal monthly. The Germans showing defiance, the Allies summoned their military chiefs to enforce compliance on July 13, and declared that they found it impossible to effect a peaceful solution with the German representatives, as they avoided all issues and clamored that their desires in the matter of coal be fulfilled. In respect to indemnity also the Germans refused to make any definite offer and sought to obtain terms amounting to nullification of the Versailles Treaty. At a special session held at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of July 16 the Germans argued for more favorable terms in respect to coal until the patience of both the British and French Premiers was exhausted and they refused to listen further. The allied demands must be met, they declared, without further expostulation or evasion. Faced by prospect of an invasion of the

Ruhr district by six divisions of allied troops on the following day in case of non-compliance, the Germans finally yielded after hours of stormy discussion among themselves, and at 11 o'clock the same night notified Lloyd George and M. Millerand that they would accept the allied coal demands. The coal protocol was signed forthwith—much to the satisfaction of France, to whom the question of coal deliveries was vital—and the Spa conference was brought to an end.

### THE COAL PROTOCOL

The coal terms signed by Germany bound her, under sanctions of a definite nature, to carry out the following arrangements:

Germany pledged herself to deliver 2,000,000 tons of coal monthly to the Allies. This is less by 1,259,000 tons a month than the Versailles Treaty provides for, but more by 1,000,000 tons a month than the Germans had been delivering. The amount delivered was to be credited against reparations, and 5 gold marks per ton were to be paid by the Allies for the purchase of food for the German miners. The conditions of food, clothing and housing for the miners were to be improved at once through a committee at Essen. The distribution of coal from Upper Silesia was to be regulated by a commission, on which Germany was to be represented. In case the total German coal deliveries for August, September and October should be ascertained by Nov. 15, 1920, to have fallen below 6,000,000 tons, the Allies declared that the Ruhr district, or some other German territory, would be occupied.

In exchange for these coal deliveries the Allies agreed to make advances to Germany equal in amount to the difference between the price to be paid according to the treaty and the export price of coal at a German or English port, whichever might be the lower, these loans to be made by opening foreign credits in Germany's favor. Concretely, the Germans, if they deliver within the next six months 12,000,000 tons of coal, are to obtain credits estimated to amount to about \$100,000,000, which they must repay.

Thus, in regard to the two momentous questions of German disarmament and coal deliveries, the Spa conference ended distinctly as an allied victory. The Germans went home in an evil humor, declaring that the signing of the protocols at Spa meant the end of their Govern-



ment, and predicted disaster. The French—distrustful of Germany's good faith—were skeptical of the permanency of the agreements reached. One optimist was Lloyd George, pale and tired, but de-

claring that the road from Spa was the road to reality. The British Premier declared that after six years of separation from Germany he considered the results attained represented enormous progress.

## High Court of International Justice

### Progress of League of Nations Project Now in Process of Creation at The Hague

ONE of the most important steps which the League of Nations has taken in erecting machinery to overcome the scourge of international war is the creation of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision to establish this court was taken by the Council of the League at its meeting in London on Feb. 13, 1920, when it was resolved, in accordance with Article 14 of the League Covenant, that certain eminent jurists should be invited to form a commission to prepare plans for the organization and opening of a high court of international composition. The Commission of Jurists selected comprised the following ten men of international eminence:

Lord Phillimore (England).  
Mr. Elihu Root (United States).  
Professor André Weiss (France).  
M. Adachi (the Japanese Minister at Brussels).  
Professor Raphael Altamira (Spain).  
Baron Descamps (Belgian Minister of State).  
Professor Ricci Busatti (Italy).  
Dr. Hagerup (Norway).  
Dr. Löder (Holland).  
M. Raoul Fernandez (Brazil).

M. Anzilotti, Under Secretary of the League, was appointed Secretary of the commission.

This International Commission of Jurists opened its sessions at The Hague Peace Palace in the afternoon of June 16, 1920, under the Presidency of Baron Descamps, the Belgian Minister of State. The opening ceremony was impressive. It was attended by several high Dutch officials and members of the Diplomatic Corps, as well as by the British Ambassador. Dr. van Karnebeek, Minister of

Foreign Affairs for Holland, offered a welcome on behalf of Queen Wilhelmina, and greeted M. Léon Bourgeois as the President of the League of Nations. M. Bourgeois delivered an address of welcome to the international jurists, in which he referred particularly to the presence of Elihu Root, representing America, saying that his presence was proof that the Old and the New Worlds, notwithstanding passing difficulties, would not be separated by a lasting barrier. He recalled the memorable conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, and drew a moral from the horrors of the great war to point the necessity of establishing universal peace, the difficulties of which project, he warned, must not be underestimated. The High Court now in process of organization, he said, was to be permanent, not a mere court of arbitration, and there would be no appeal from its decisions. This would require a strong organization, which must comprise judicial, diplomatic, economic and if necessary military powers. Above all, the court must be armed with high moral force, in order to penetrate as deeply as possible into the lives of the nations.

At the session held on the following day, the Commission of Jurists adopted its rules of procedure, and issued a resolution declaring that it would avail itself of all agencies and organizations in order to fulfill the object for which the conference had been summoned by the League. The real labors of the commission started on June 17 with an examination of the great principles of law on which the new court must be erected.

The first and fundamental question to be decided was the method of election of permanent judges. A scheme worked out by Elihu Root and Lord Phillimore, representative of Great Britain, was submitted to the conference at the session of June 21. This plan would give the council of the League of Nations, controlled by the Great Powers, the right to name the panel from which the assembly of the League, in which all nations will be represented, would choose some fifteen judges. In case of conflicting opinions the assembly could reject the panel in whole or in part and submit a panel of its own nominees. The candidates appearing in both panels would then be chosen automatically, and the others by the conference committees from the council.

This plan emphasized the view long advocated by Mr. Root, that only by a compromise between the interests of the large and small nations could working arrangements for the High Court be reached. Baron Descamps, President of the commission, favored this joint plan as the first real working basis that had been submitted and as meeting the main desire of the jurists to separate the political questions which must preoccupy the League from the matters of abstract justice with which the High Court should be solely concerned.

Lord Phillimore also submitted a proposal that the conference recognize the existence of the several distinct types of world law prevailing in England, America, Spain, Japan, &c., and suggested that judges be selected representing these types, the selection to rest with the existing court of Arbitration at The Hague.

#### ROOT-PHILLIMORE PLAN ADOPTED

Other plans were proposed for the election of the permanent judges and considered at several sessions; all, however, were ultimately rejected, and the Root-Phillimore plan was adopted on July 6. The suggestion that The Hague Arbitration Court nominate candidates from which the council and assembly should choose the judges was approved. A tentative decision was reached on July 8 that the court should be com-

posed of eleven judges and four alternate judges, to serve for nine years. It was decided that no judge should sit on a case in which his country was one of the parties in appeal, though he would be given the right of presence and consultation. By this decision the intention to have The Hague Court of Arbitration co-exist with the High Court was made plain.

Regarding the jurisdiction of the court there was considerable discussion. Although no vote was taken, the commission on June 27 reached an agreement on a plan submitted by neutrals, which prescribed five types of cases in which resort to the court should be made compulsory. These types were as follows: Cases involving the interpretation of treaties; those regarding the breaking of international agreements; those relating to international law; those involving reparation due after breaking of an agreement, and those, lastly, involving interpretations of an award of the court.

#### COMPROMISE ON SYSTEM OF LAW

One of the most difficult problems was the question as to whether definite or general laws should be applied by the court. Mr. Root and Lord Phillimore spoke for the precise and definite system as opposed to the looser and more general Continental type. A compromise was finally effected at the session of July 3. The court chose as its basis for procedure the plan laid down by The Hague Conference of May, 1907, and the plan of neutral States of February, 1920.

One of the last questions approached was that of the election of a President and Vice President for the High Court. It was decided at the session of July 9 that the Judges should select these officers for a term of three years, after which they could be re-elected. With this decision and some subsequent discussions the first part of the labors of the conference came to an end on July 14, the work having reached a stage where the principles on all important subjects had been agreed upon. Toward the middle of July the commission



busied itself in formulating the text of its decisions in a tangible form for presentation to the League. Interviewed at The Hague at this time, Mr. Root declared that the work of organization was proceeding in the most favorable way. The court and league, he said, when finally organized, would be supplementary to the League. The League Council, he stated, will be a conference which must meet to decide urgent political questions immediately, while the court will decide weighty questions of law, unconcerned with politics and under no necessity to hurry its decision.

The Dutch Government received with great gratification the commission's decision to make The Hague the permanent place of meeting of the court, which was agreed on unanimously at the session of June 25.

#### SIXTH MEETING OF LEAGUE

The sixth meeting of the council of the League of Nations was held on June 16, in the Picture Gallery of St. James's Palace, London. Lord Curzon, representing Great Britain, presided. The other members present were: Baron Moncheur (Belgium), Senhor F. de Castello Branco Clark (Brazil), M. de Fleuriau (France), M. D. Caclamanos (Greece), Commendatore Catalini (Italy), Viscount Chinda (Japan), Marquis de Faura (Spain) and the Secretary General of the League, Sir Eric Drummond. The meeting was attended by the Persian Foreign Minister, Prince Firuz, who came prepared to hear the council's decision regarding Persia's appeal against the Bolshevik aggression in Persia. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen was also present to report on the question of repatriating war prisoners from Siberia.

After warmly welcoming the representatives of the other powers, Lord Curzon expressed regret at the absence of M. Léon Bourgois, because of his work at The Hague with the Commission of Jurists. When the Persian appeal was about to be discussed he invited Prince Firuz to take his seat as a member of the council. He then read a resolution, passed the day before, in which the council decided to await the effect of the

Soviet promises to withdraw before taking further action in behalf of Persia.

Dr. Nansen's report on war prisoners set forth the enormous difficulties attending their repatriation. There were still some 250,000 war prisoners in Russia whose repatriation Dr. Nansen recommended by way of Moscow and the Baltic States, instead of the long and difficult way by sea transport from Vladivostok. It was evident, he said, that this route was possible only with the co-operation of Soviet Russia, and an agreement had been concluded by the International Committee of the Red Cross with both Germany and Moscow on the basis of exchange of prisoners in Russia against Russian prisoners in Germany. Esthonia and Finland were collaborating loyally. Repatriated prisoners were arriving rapidly at Narva, and Dr. Nansen was certain that with the obtaining of necessary shipping, at least 60,000 of these prisoners could be brought home from Russia before next winter. Lord Curzon, after the reading of this report, said that a letter of appreciation and thanks had been sent to the Governments of Esthonia and Finland for the facilities offered to them. The question of the repatriation of Bulgarian prisoners in Greece and Serbia was referred to Dr. Nansen.

At a subsequent meeting held on June 30 the council of the League decided that the International Financial Conference called by the League should meet at Brussels on July 23. The conference was called to discuss economic conditions of the various nations and give suggestions for working out the reconstruction problems. The United States was to be represented at the conference unofficially.

The next meeting of the League Council was set for July 27, at San Sebastian, Spain.

On invitation of the League of Nations, President Wilson on July 15 issued a call for a meeting of the Assembly of the League at Geneva, Switzerland, on Nov. 15. The contemplated agenda called for discussion of the Far and Near East situation, and of the methods to be adopted in financing the German indemnity.

# AMONG THE NATIONS

## Survey of Important Developments in Half a Hundred Countries of Both Hemispheres

[For Alphabetical Index of Countries see Table of Contents]

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1920]

### Events in the British Empire

#### ENGLAND

THE extraordinary worldwide housing shortage was conspicuously emphasized in England when 300 delegates, representing more than twenty nationalities, assembled in the Central Hall, Westminster, for a seven days' meeting, under the title of the Interallied Housing and Town Planning Congress. Dr. Addison, Minister of Health, presided. At the first meeting a resolution was carried urging legislative action by each Government in the preparation of a national policy of sufficient scope to secure within the limit of twenty years the proper housing of every family. In supporting the resolution, Dr. R. S. Copeland, Health Commissioner of New York and a delegate to the Congress, stated that he had made a survey of over 30,000 tenement houses in New York, and he found that tenements originally intended for five families were now housing ten families, and there were hundreds of tenement homes in New York in which twelve persons were living in three rooms, and where four persons slept in the kitchen every night. He added that in view of such serious conditions legislative assistance was hoped for to stimulate house building.

The War Department in London recently disclosed the daring plans which had been made for bombing Berlin from airplanes, and which had been on the point of being carried out when the armistice was signed. Half a dozen secret machines, loaded with 1,600-pound bombs and lighter projectiles, were to

start from a point on the east coast, travel over the North Sea and on to Berlin, a distance of approximately 500 miles, and another fifty miles return, with no stops. It was intended to begin the trip in the early afternoon and to reach Berlin just after dark. This project never materialized, but in the month under review the German super-Zeppelin, L-71, which was built with the intention of bombing the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, was on its way for delivery to Great Britain under the terms of the Peace Treaty.

The first general strike of ship wireless men, which was declared on June 15, and caused considerable interference with marine traffic at the Port of Liverpool and elsewhere, was called off on June 23.

While after-the-war conditions in London were steadily improving, the process was slow, with strikes as the bane of progress. An extra million of population that had drifted to the metropolis during the war had remained to make prices range high for visitors, especially Americans, whom a part of the population regarded as traveling banks. The emancipation of Englishwomen from old-time restraint was said to be responsible for the somewhat curious signs on golf links and in hotels, which read: "This smoking room is reserved for gentlemen only." On June 15 the bakers were instructed not to make any more white bread, and a return to bread cards was thought to be imminent. All food was very dear, with a pronounced scarcity



of sugar and butter. The Defense of the Realm act—commonly called "Dora" for short—being still in force, many articles could not be purchased after 8 P. M. Thus there was the anomaly that while a fruiterer could sell perishables after that hour, his sale of an apple would bring down a fine of \$100 (normal exchange) if reported.

Owing to several causes a set-back in the shipbuilding and engineering industries of the country was commented upon, with the prospect of a general stoppage. So unfavorable had the outlook recently become, that a number of shipowning firms had made considerable sacrifices to cancel orders for vessels which were placed soon after the armistice. What with falling freights and the cumulative effect of the wages movement during the past eighteen months, added to the increased cost of ships, the future presented a too uncertain aspect. An ordinary tramp steamer, which could have been bought for less than £50,000 seven years ago, now costs upward of £225,000.

An appeal for £50,000 was issued by the authorities of St. Paul's Cathedral to assist in repairing that edifice, in danger from the strain to the foundations and piers caused by the vibrations of subways and other modern public conveniences. During the war, also, two enemy airplane shells pierced the fabric, causing considerable damage. In this both sacred temple and national mausoleum, where rest the remains of Wellington and Nelson, an imposing military tribute was paid on July 9 to the memory of Major Gen. William C. Gorgas, former Surgeon General of the United States Army. The funeral ceremonies were attended by representatives of the Royal Family, the Government, the medical profession and many of the most distinguished men in public life.

By a card vote of 2,760,000 against 1,636,000 the special Trades Union Congress of 800 delegates assembled in London decided on July 13 in favor of a general "down-tools" policy to compel the withdrawal of troops from Ireland. The resolution adopted protested against British military domination of Ireland and also demanded the cessation of the

production of munitions of war destined for use against Ireland and Russia. It was pointed out, however, that the vote signified no more than a threat of direct action, since, should the Government reject the demands of the resolution, each union would act according to its constitution and in most cases a ballot would be necessary.

On the following day the Irish Secretary's Office issued a reply. It stated that the resolution of the Trades Union Congress was probably the result of a misconception of the actual function of the troops, which were not in Ireland for purposes of military occupation but merely to assist the civil power and the police in preserving order. While pointing out that martial law had not been proclaimed, it asserted that to withdraw the troops would leave the law-abiding populations at the mercy of the forces of disorder.

## IRELAND

Developments of the critical Irish situation comprised chiefly a state bordering on civil war in Londonderry for some days, and extension of the railway strike in protest against handling British military munitions so as seriously to hamper both passenger and freight traffic. The prevalence of disturbed conditions throughout the country was indicated by statistics showing that since Jan. 1, 1919, 43 policemen had been murdered, there had been 135 raids in the last six months made on post offices for money, or private residences for arms, and in the month of April, 1920, 277 Royal Irish Constabulary barracks and huts were destroyed or damaged. In addition, trains and mail cars had been held up, and income tax office records destroyed.

From June 20 to June 26 the historic city of Londonderry became the scene of violent conflicts between the Unionists and Nationalists. At the outset, and, in fact during the greater part of this period, the British military authorities were loath to exercise their full power to subdue the outbreak, apparently wishing to avoid participation in what was practically civil war. Early in the morning of the 21st a large body of Unionists charged down Castle Street, firing vol-

ley after volley toward the Sinn Fein stronghold in Bridge Street. When the fighting at this point was broken up by a military armored car, it was shifted to other places, and the rioting became continuous. Thereupon all business was suspended, the schools and shops were closed, and many houses barricaded.

On the 22d the fighting spread to the waterfront district, the rival parties being intrenched and barricaded with sand bags in Cross Street and Broad Street, respectively. While troops strove to protect some of the streets and hold the contending factions apart, pitched battles took place wherever bodies of Unionists and Sinn Feiners came together, and sniping from housetops was general. Channel sailings also came to a standstill. In the face of a reign of terror, out of which many casualties were reported, numbers of citizens fled, some of them declaring they would never return.

These disorders went on throughout the 23d, and into a night of fierce firing, in which the ominous rattle of machine guns told that the troops were carrying out their latest orders to drive the warring elements off the streets and out of their strongholds. Thus by dawn of the 24th the bloody conflict was practically over, except for some intermittent sniping. On the 25th, as the result of a conference between the military and Irish Government officials, a Conciliation Committee, representative of all classes, was appointed to restore peace. According to an official report, the total casualties amounted to 17 persons killed and 29 wounded.

Meanwhile the deadlock on the railways, due to the munitions controversy, increased. On June 18 Premier Lloyd George was quoted as saying that if the Irish railway strikers persisted in refusing to carry troops and munitions the Government would close the railways. This would lead to a very serious situation. This threat, however, so far failed to change the attitude of the strikers that by the 29th the Great Northern Railway, hitherto not affected, became involved in the general boycott, and nearly sixty engine drivers, guards, &c., had been suspended by various com-

panies. On the 30th the railroad terminus in Dublin was tied up, causing a complete stoppage of trains for the South. This resulted from the refusal of railway men to move trains boarded by police or soldiers.

Thus disorganization of the railways went on until by July 8 no trains were running out of Limerick to Waterford, Cork and Sligo, and there had been no outbound trains from Tipperary for more than a fortnight. In several districts where railway communication had ceased motor services had been organized to deal with the transport of food supplies, becoming alarmingly scarce. On July 16 the situation was declared never to have been so grave from the Government viewpoint. Workers refused to move any sort of war material, and Sinn Feiners had resorted to the practice of kidnapping men who took the places of dismissed employees.

One of the most daring and well planned Sinn Fein ventures was successfully carried out on the night of June 27, when Brig. Gen. Lucas, commanding the Fermoy military area, together with Colonels Danford and Tyrell, his companions on a fishing trip, were ambushed by a large party of armed and masked men, who intercepted the officers when returning to a hunting lodge some miles from Fermoy. In resisting capture Colonel Danford received a dangerous bullet wound under the eyes. He was left by the roadside in the care of Colonel Tyrell, but General Lucas was carried off to an unknown destination.

The kidnapping of the British General was promptly followed up by the sending out of search parties in every direction. The act also resulted in a riotous counter demonstration by soldiers at Fermoy, in which damage estimated at many thousands of pounds was committed. An anonymous letter received by the authorities at Cork stated that the arrest of General Lucas had been due to the discovery of Sinn Fein matters in his intercepted correspondence, and that although he would be kept in secure confinement he would be accorded the care and respect due to his rank while a "prisoner of war."



The Lord Chief Justice, in addressing the Grand Jury at the King's County Assizes on July 1, remarked that although the constabulary had reported over 100 cases to headquarters there were only four cases before the court. "There is absolute immunity for the remaining ninety-six," commented the Judge. "That means that the criminals have a free hand to do as they like. As far as I can see the state of this country is very sad. There is no law, no order, and there is no punishment for crime."

On the other hand, the "Irish Parliament" in secret session passed decrees authorizing the establishment of courts of justice and equity, and courts of criminal jurisdiction. Another decree provided for the protection of persons occupying land against vexatious claims, and a National Land Commission was appointed. The extent to which the Sinn Fein Courts were superseding the Crown tribunals was marked on July 9 in the number of cases withdrawn from the Crown Supreme Court, owing to the popular belief that the British Courts were without power to enforce their decisions. In many parts of the provinces, too, the Sinn Feiners had taken over the control of liquor selling, and had issued orders to saloons regarding the hours of closing.

Bad feeling between the British troops and the Irish Constabulary was offered as the reason for police revolts in County Kerry, which eventually spread to Dublin. Hence, presumably, the extraordinary military measures taken in and around Dublin on July 9, when all roads leading to the city were closed with barbed wire entanglements and strongly patrolled day and night. All persons approaching the city were subjected to rigorous personal search. At Fairview, on the east of Dublin, there was to be seen a formidable barricade of sandbags, through loopholes in which bayonets glistened. These barricades and restrictions were removed on July 13 with the unofficial explanation that they had been intended to prevent the dispatch of arms to Ulster for the July 12 celebration.

Predictions that this anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne would witness

bitter fighting between the Unionists and Sinn Feiners proved without foundation. No counterdemonstration was made against the Orange parade in Belfast, while in Londonderry the day passed quietly. A threat to capture Sir Edward Carson and send him to join General Lucas in Sinn Fein captivity impelled the Government to take special precautions in guarding his person. But evidence that no semblance of a truce existed was provided at Lifford, where, at the opening of the County Donegal Assizes, on July 13, troops occupied the principal thoroughfares, and the roof of the Court House was fortified with sand bags and machine guns. Also, on the following day at Lurgan, 2,000 Sinn Feiners and Unionists engaged in a battle, which resulted in many casualties before troops arrived from Belfast and restored order. Fifty armed men entered the General Post Office, Dublin, on the 15th, and, after covering the Superintendent and sorters with revolvers, went through the official mail. Without interference they carried off all letters directed to the Viceregal Lodge and Dublin Castle.

## CANADA

Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada since the famous reciprocity election of 1911, resigned on July 10 and was succeeded by Hon. Arthur Meighen, who announced his Cabinet on the 13th. With only three exceptions, its personnel was the same as that from which Sir Robert Borden withdrew, though there was some rearrangement of portfolios. This was particularly desirable in order to avoid by-elections, which would be necessitated by the admission of new members. The new Cabinet officers are R. W. Wiggmore, Minister of Customs and Internal Revenue; F. B. McCurdy, Minister of Public Works, and E. K. Spinney, Minister without portfolio.

Press comments generally credit the retiring Premier with having accomplished a great work for Canada, especially during the war period, though newspapers politically opposed to him think that he should have intrusted the fortunes of the Government to another

general election after the treaty with Germany had been approved.

Hon. Mr. Meighen, who was sworn in by the Governor-General a few minutes after the King's representative had formally accepted the resignation of Sir

the Unionist Party, Mr. Meighen became more prominent than ever in the discussions in the Commons. He is a keen debater, skilled in analysis and fluent in speech.

There has been a tendency of late among members of the Unionist Party to return to the traditional party lines, and some of the most able of the Liberals who had entered the Unionist Cabinet have been dropping out in the last year or so. A considerable number of Liberal members of Parliament, however, still support the Unionist Government, and with their aid it is probable that Premier Meighen will be able to hold office until the next general election, legally due about two years from now. In religion Hon. Mr. Meighen is a Presbyterian.

Sir Lomer Gouin, the French-Canadian Premier of the Province of Quebec, has also resigned. He is a Liberal and had held office for fifteen years. Often referred to as "Gouin the silent," because of his ability to do much and say little, he has been singularly fortunate in his ability to retain the affection of his fellow-citizens to a markedly growing degree with the passing years. The Hon. L. A. Tachereau, a member of the Quebec Cabinet for some time, succeeds Sir Lomer. The Liberal Party has a big majority in Quebec and should, under ordinary circumstances, be able to retain power for some years. Rumors of a split in the party were revived with the announcement of the Premier's resignation, but there are no surface signs of serious trouble.

Surprising results were recorded in the Manitoba provincial elections held on June 29. The Liberal government of Premier T. C. Norris, which had a comfortable majority when the appeal was taken to the people, is now the largest of several groups, but cannot carry on unless one of the other groups gives it support. The Conservative Party, which formerly constituted the sole opposition, was almost wiped out. There are a number of farmer members elected as such and so-called independents, as well as a party of seven or eight labor representatives, including one woman. A labor man



ARTHUR MEIGHEN

*New Premier of Canada, who had been serving as Minister of the Interior*

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Robert, is in his forty-seventh year. The son of an Ontario farmer, he qualified for the practice of law and as a young man went to Western Canada and was returned to Parliament for the first time in 1908 as member for Portage la Prairie, which constituency he still represents. He is a Conservative and has held the portfolios of Secretary of State, Minister of Mines and Minister of the Interior. After the elections of 1917, in which Sir Robert Borden, up to then leader of a Conservative Government, went to the country as the head of a re-organized Cabinet, including a number of prominent Liberals under the name of



headed the poll in the City of Winnipeg, and several other of the labor men elected there are in prison serving terms on charges arising out of the general strike and the attendant riots of a year ago. The proportional representation system of voting was followed in Winnipeg for the first time in a political election in Canada.

It is reported that Premier Norris is certain to succeed in his plans to form a coalition with the aid of the independents and farmer groups. The elections following the turnover in Ontario recently are taken as showing that the political unrest is common to all Canada, and will be emphasized in future provincial and federal elections.

New Brunswick in a referendum vote on July 10 gave large majorities for the retention of the Provincial Prohibition act, which was passed by the Legislature as a war measure on the understanding that a public expression of opinion should be sought within a reasonable time after the cessation of hostilities. Not only was prohibition approved, but a large majority was recorded in the negative on the question of allowing the sale of light beer and wines. Contrary to expectations, the cities and industrial centres voted dry, as did also the French-Canadian sections. The figures show: For prohibition, 41,436; against, 20,769; for beer and wine, 23,713; against, 38,375.

## AUSTRALIA

Melbourne in a few years is destined to lose her temporary glory; the capital of Australia is to be transferred further north from Victoria to New South Wales. There the Seat of Government act, passed in 1908, set apart a Federal district of 900 square miles, or thirteen times the size of the District of Columbia. It was decided that the capital city should be located at Canberra, on the Molonglo River, about 200 miles south of Sydney. The project was delayed, first for want of funds, and then by the great war; but nearly \$10,000,000 has been expended in the last ten years on the preliminary work, including a drainage and water system supply by damming the rivers. The plans were drawn up by an American architect, Walter Griffin.

On the summit of a hill dominating a great grassy plateau, surrounded by mountains, the Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone of the Federal capitol on June 21, returning to Sydney, where his 26th birthday anniversary was celebrated on June 23. In accordance with the custom all over the world of conferring honorary degrees without the slightest regard for the attainments of the recipient, the University of Sydney on the same day awarded the Prince the degree of Doctor of Laws *honoris causa*.

From Sydney he sailed for West Australia, landing at Perth. On July 5 a train in which he was traveling was wrecked near Bridgetown and his car was overturned. The Prince crawled out of a window none the worse for his experience.

Henry William, first Baron Forster, was appointed Governor General of Australia on June 14, succeeding Sir Ronald C. Munro-Ferguson. Baron Forster was Secretary to the British War Office from 1915 to 1919.

Australia is closely following California in her anti-Japanese agitation. A recent law was passed by both houses of the Australian Parliament imposing a tax of \$500 a head on Asiatic immigrants. It was sent to the Governor General for signature, but, under instructions from the British Foreign Office, he refused to sign it. Meanwhile, Australian officials attempted to collect the tax, but the Japanese, backed by their Consuls, have refused to pay it. Anti-Japanese feeling has therefore reached a dangerous point, especially in Queensland.

The Australian Government Pacific Islands Commission, which has been investigating the status of German New Guinea, now under the mandate of Australia, has recommended that all German companies be liquidated, their plantations sold and the proceeds turned in to the allied funds. They also recommend that the commonwealth steamships extend their operations to New Guinea.

The Overseas Settlement Committee at Melbourne has received 30,000 applications from Great Britain for intending colonists in Australia. Many requests have come from districts in France and

Belgium, where Austrians were quartered during the war and representatives from Italy, Holland and Sweden have visited London to inquire about the facilities for settling emigrants in Australia.

## NEW ZEALAND

There is no rent profiteering in New Zealand. On the contrary, more houses are under construction than ever before in the history of the country, and are being sold at cost to working men who can pay for them in monthly installments. This is in spite of the increased cost of construction. A house that could have been built for \$3,000 before the war now costs \$5,000.

New Zealand farmers who for years have been pestered by rabbits, so that laws were passed compelling property owners to destroy them, have suddenly realized that they have a fortune unawares in their skins for furs and their

bodies for food. Some farmers in the South Island have given up sheep raising for rabbit killing, and trappers with good dogs can make as much as \$40 a day. According to statistics just issued, there were exported 14,153,982 rabbit skins, valued at \$3,734,289, in 1919, the quantity having doubled and the value nearly tripled since the previous year.

## EGYPT

Fearing renewed nationalist disturbances in Egypt, the Government of the protectorate is adopting very stern measures. On July 3, Abdel Rahman, Secretary of the local committee of the Egyptian delegation headed by Zaglul Pasha, which is now in London negotiating with Lord Milner, was arrested on secret charges and lodged in the Kasre-el-Nil barracks. Ibrahim Massoud, the 19-year-old Egyptian who on June 12 attempted to assassinate Tewfik Nesim Pasha, the Premier, was hanged on July 8.

# The Latin Nations of Europe

## Effects of Giolitti's Conciliatory but Firm Policy in Italy—The Month's Events in France

### ITALY

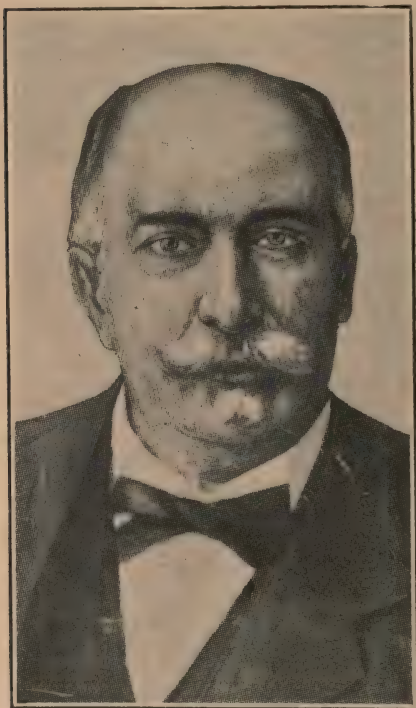
COUNT SFORZA, Italy's new Foreign Minister, made desperate attempts at the Spa conference to obtain for Italy a share of the German indemnity commensurate with her war sacrifices. Aside from this and the still unsettled Fiume question, two new foreign problems were added to the burdens of Giovanni Giolitti, the new President of the Council and Minister of the Interior. These were (1) the rise of the Albanians, who captured Selinitza and other places, disputing the Italian protectorate established at Avlona and Italy's right to that place as one of the keys to the Adriatic, and (2) the rise of a native chief in Libya, who captured a number of Italian officers and would release them only on his own terms. On June

22 news reached Professor Luigi Rossi, Minister for the Colonies, that the prisoners had been released; but on July 14 Baron Aliotti returned empty-handed from treating with the provisional Albanian Government at Tirana. This Government, just before the rising, had been superseded by one inimical to Italian interests. Baron Aliotti had been expected to produce great things, as he had been the Italian Minister at Durazzo during the régime of William of Wied. Later he had been Minister at Peking.

Before Signor Giolitti had sufficiently prepared his program to submit it to a Chamber, whose leaders, save those of the Socialists, had received portfolios in his Cabinet, the bad effects of the Nitti régime—lack of legislation and a fluctuating administration by decrees—were



made manifest in various ways. The social and economic situation in Italy probably was not relatively worse than in other countries in contact with the great war; but in the peninsula there was the disappointment over the war's awards, the long period of an unstable foreign policy and the unrest and voluntary idleness in labor circles owing to lack of raw materials and of a foreign



GIOVANNI GIOLITTI  
*Italy's new Premier*

market, and to the preachments of extreme socialism. These influences made the lower classes particularly responsive to any sensational movement which came along, whether in the form of an anarchist demonstration fomented by the agents of Enrico Malatesta or strikes ordered by the Socialist leaders simply to display their power or egotism. The Anarchist Congress at Bologna, as well as the Marine Congress at Genoa, listened to speeches which called not only

for the overthrow of the Government and dynasty but also of public order under any form. But such had been the dangerous precedents allowed by Nitti that Giolitti made no attempt to interfere until overt acts actually took place.

Such acts took place at Venice, Ancona, Forli, Leghorn, Brescia, Naples and other places. All showed the intervention of anarchists in converting a strike, a demonstration or a meeting into an active rabble which defied the police and military by using firearms and destroying property. At Venice a fatal collision between the soldiers and the populace was avoided by some dancing, smiling Venetian maidens coming between them. At Ancona, however, the anarchists induced a detachment of Bersaglieri to mutiny, imprison their officers and seize the barracks. These they held for twenty-four hours, until induced to surrender by the persuasive influence of two batteries of 75s under the command of Major Mariotti. Observers stated that these and similar sporadic revolts were rather the result of temperament than of calculation, of psychological spasms rather than of deeply rooted plots.

Scarcely had the first news reached Rome of the affair at Ancona when Signor Giolitti dispatched to the sixty-nine provincial prefects the following circular telegram:

We hold your Excellency personally responsible for the immediate re-establishment of order whenever there are attempts made to disturb it.

The seriousness of the situation will indicate to your Excellency what should be your first duty. This duty calls for full and absolute respect for the laws and their intelligent execution and for the scrupulous observance of the orders imparted by the superior authority, without discussion, without hesitation and with a serene conscience to save the country from the greatest calamities.

The strikes, however, continued to break out, sometimes with curious results, as with the tram strike in Rome on June 29, when the Feast of St. Peter was utilized. Executives of the General Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party met on the eve of the feast to

declare a general strike, but when the labor executives heard its cost they became opposed to it and left the hall. The Socialists then declared the strike, but few obeyed the order. In other cases strikes were ordered which waited upon the reply of the Government to a manifesto. If the reply was favorable no strike would occur. Thus the Socialists and the labor executives demanded that the Italian troops at Avlona should not be reinforced. Giolitti promised that they should not be reinforced, but he made no effort to stop volunteer recruiting for an Albanian campaign, and bodies of volunteers, who had been obliged to put on board ship their own munitions and other supplies in the face of angry crowds, set sail from Taranto.

After a fortnight's recess Parliament reopened on the afternoon of June 24 to hear Giolitti expound his program. Among all leaders but the Socialist a tacit agreement had been reached that no vote of confidence should be asked until after ten days. In the Chamber 400 of the 508 Deputies were present; the galleries were crowded and vast crowds remained outside. Great excitement prevailed, both on account of Signor Giolitti's expected speech and owing to the Socialist Party's having held the day before a general meeting and voted the following resolution:

The Socialist Party finds that the new Giolitti Ministry, born under the cloud of proletarian massacres, is also a coalition of the bourgeois parties against socialism, and reaffirms, therefore, its intention to offer strong Parliamentary opposition. Owing to the Libyan and Albanian guerrilla wars it notifies the Government that the Socialists will resort to every means to prevent the country being inveigled into further war adventures.

This was the result of the Government's having shown a firm front through the Prefects against the recent disorders in various cities, and a demonstration was expected against Giolitti during his speech from the Socialist benches. None occurred.

After communicating the composition of the new Cabinet, Signor Giolitti declared that men of the different parties

had agreed upon an exact program. This comprised the settlement of the most urgent questions for saving the credit and the existence of the State. While each Minister should preserve his own political individuality, Signor Giolitti believed that the program they had agreed upon would deprive no Deputy of his liberty of action. In regard to the foreign policy to be pursued he said:

The principal object of our foreign policy is to insure complete and definite peace for Italy and the whole of Europe—an essential condition for a solid beginning of the work of reconstruction. We must maintain the most intimate and cordial relations with the peoples who were our allies and associates during the war, and who do not forget the enormous sacrifices made by Italy for the common cause. In order to achieve this complete peace we must, without delay, establish friendly relations with all the other peoples and, without restrictions, begin normal relations even with the Russian Government.

Signor Giolitti announced the introduction of a bill modifying Clause 5 of the Constitution by making declaration of war and the validity of international treaties and agreements dependent upon the sanction of Parliament. To secure the effective control of Parliament over foreign policy the Government, he said, proposed to institute permanent commissions in the Chamber and Senate. These would be kept informed of the course of events by the Government and would have the most important documents communicated to them, a beginning being made with the Adriatic affair.

Dealing with home policy, Signor Giolitti declared that the Government renounced the promulgation of administrative decrees, except in some special cases, and said it would be made impossible for the conditions regulating the status of civil servants to be modified without Parliament's being consulted. Civil servants would be free to form associations, but on condition that they kept within the law. It would be arranged that when workmen employed by the State desired to choose representatives these would be chosen by means of a system of proportional representation in such a way that all schools of thought would be represented.



The Government, he added, was giving anxious attention to the increased cost of living. In discussing the causes of high prices he said:

Before the war imports surpassed the value of exports by a billion lire, yet this unhealthy trade balance was remedied by the money sent home by emigrants and that spent in the Peninsula by tourists. After the war the balance had increased to a ruinous degree and little money came from emigrants and none from tourists to make up the difference. The only remedy was increased production and increased exportation, which would soon be possible through the reception of the needed raw materials from the Italian colonies and the consequent decrease in the cost of production which would secure markets abroad.

Signor Giolitti then forecast the following legislation: (1) The surrender to the State of war profits, it being immoral and unjust that the war should be a source of profit to any one; (2) a Parliamentary inquiry into the cost of the war and the revision of war contracts; (3) an increase in death duties; (4) an increase in the tax on private automobiles; (5) the imposition of a tax on all financial securities and bonds. He explained that these securities, which represented a value of about 70,000,000,000 lire, at present escaped taxation, and this constituted an injustice to the less wealthy classes.

There were some interruptions to the speech from extremists, but only one to which the Premier paid attention. To the question "What about Albania?" he replied: "I have no hesitation in declaring that the Government is not in favor of a protectorate in Albania, but wishes the independence of that country."

At the sitting of the Chamber on June 27 Signor Giolitti enlarged on his statement in regard to Albania in the following manner:

We shall send no military expedition to Albania. The Government is in favor of Albanian independence, as provided in the old agreement with Austria-Hungary. In regard to Avlona, however, that is a strategic point, which, if occupied by a power not friendly to Italy would constitute a grave danger. Albania today is quite incapable of defending Avlona against a power with any sort of fleet. Italy, in occupying Avlona, guarantees Albania against the permanent occupation

of Avlona by any one else. This position has been approved by representative Albanians.

Signor Modigliani, on behalf of the Socialists, exclaimed that the statement of the Premier was unsatisfactory, and added that Italy would have an exalted position if she were to renounce—"If all were to renounce," Signor Giolitti interrupted. Then the Socialist continued: "That statement shows that Signor Giolitti, instead of being a forerunner, is a slave of ancient prejudices. The difference between the Government and Socialists is irreconcilable."

On July 9 the first vote of confidence was taken in the Chamber. It gave the Government a majority of 119, as of the 411 Deputies voting 265 were in favor and 146 against.

On July 11, the birthday of King Peter of Serbia, a conflict arose between the officers of an Italian warship stationed at Spalato, on the Dalmatian coast, and the Slav population in which several lives were lost. In Trieste, Istria, there were anti-Slav demonstrations on July 13, in which much property was destroyed in the Slavonic quarter of the city.

**THE VATICAN**—M. Colrat made an important statement before the French Foreign Affairs Committee at Paris on June 28. It dealt with the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the French Republic and the Holy See, and was to this effect: An agreement having been reached on the questions of a foreign policy, steps may now be taken to re-establish the French Embassy at the Vatican. The internal laws of France will not be altered, and the Holy See will not intervene with regard to such matters as the prohibition of monastic societies.

The *Corriere d'Italia*, semi-official organ of the Vatican, published in Rome, stated on July 8 that a rapprochement between the Vatican and Quirinal might be looked for in the selection of a protector of the holy places in Palestine. As England, on account of the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner, and also because she was officially a Protestant nation, could not

be considered, nor France, because she already had her hands full in Syria, it was natural that Italy should receive the mandate, provided the way were paved by a recognition by the Italian Government of the inalienable rights of the Holy See in Italy.

## FRANCE

The constant anxiety of France in regard to the coal situation is reflected continually in the French press. By the arrangements concluded at Spa, France is assured of the regular and uninterrupted delivery of the 2,000,000 tons of coal which Germany had pledged herself to send, and which hitherto she has avoided sending. French discontent with the existing situation has long been voiced by some of her leading statesmen in the Senate, notably by André Tardieu and Aristide Briand. Though these men represent one phase of French sentiment—dissatisfaction with what France, as compared with Great Britain, has gained from the peace—yet the tendency has been to insist on complete fulfillment of the treaty as concluded at Versailles. This policy M. Millerand, the Premier, has kept to.

French feeling against Great Britain has also been evidenced in regard to the negotiations in London with M. Krassin, the official representative of the Soviet Government. The determination of France that her representatives at this conference should not countenance any political discussions was based on the policy outlined by M. Millerand before the French Chamber late in June. The fundamental ground of this was that no political recognition of the Soviet Government should be given so long as it pursued its methods of anti-Governmental propaganda while seeking peace, and so long as it repudiated the legally contracted debts of the former régime. From the announced results of the London Conference, it appears that in this attitude France has found support. In the arrangements tentatively concluded with Moscow, no question of political recognition was involved. With regard to the resumption of trade, France yielded to the viewpoint of her British

ally, and provisionally waived her objection to the covering of Soviet transactions by gold deposits to which she considers she has a prior claim by reason of her position as Russia's principal creditor. France carried her point in insisting that her protégé, Poland, should be helped by the Allies to recoup, as far as possible, the military disaster which she has suffered in her campaign against the Bolsheviks. On the dispatch of a note by the Allied Supreme Council to Moscow, demanding an armistice for Poland, the whole question of trade resumption has been made by Britain and France, acting together, to depend.

Internally France has shown equal energy in reaction against what it considers dangerous and disintegrating tendencies. The failure of the strike of the *Confédération Générale* was declared by the French Premier, speaking before the Fraternal Union of Railway Employees on June 6, to be due mainly to French public sentiment. Weary of the continuous succession of strikes, averse to the employment of the strike as a political weapon, the public opposed the new form of tyranny which the radical leaders of the trade unions had sought to impose.

The Government prosecution of the confederation, begun on May 26, continued. Charges of plotting against the safety of the State during the strike were formally investigated. Among those accused was one Monatte, editor of the Bolshevik sheet, *La Vie Ouvrière*. Two letters from him to Tchitcherin, Soviet Foreign Minister—found sewn up in the shirt of Motte, the American who was shot dead by a German sentry during the troubles in the Ruhr district—gave the French Government its first clue to this organized conspiracy. One of those questioned at length was M. Jouhaux, General Secretary of the confederation. The charge made against M. Jouhaux was that he had attempted to substitute the General Confederation for Government action (with the object of compelling the nationalization of railways), thereby infringing the law of 1884 on trade unions. M. Jouhaux, on June 6, declined to offer explanations in this regard until later.



He defended the confederation's opposition to hostilities against Russia on the ground that, as France was not formally at war with the Moscow Government, it was unconstitutional to combat it. He furthermore defended the legal status of the confederation, and argued against its dissolution. If it were dissolved, he asked, by whom would French interests be represented at the International Bureau of Labor? At the session of June 30 M. Jouselin, the examining Magistrate, cited evidence to prove that the confederation, by the articles inscribed in its statutes and by its whole attitude during the war, had followed a policy of sedition and obstruction. M. Jouhaux took exception particularly to the charge that the confederation had sought to bring about a general strike by French, English and Italian organizations, and that the strike order of July 21, 1919, was international in character. He declared, first of all, that this strike had not taken place; secondly, that the Government was made fully aware of the confederation's project, which he defended as wholly legitimate. The investigation was carried over to later sessions.

The question of what final disposition would be made of the French railways remained uncertain. At a meeting of the Union of Commerce and Industry, held on July 1, M. Peschaud, Secretary of the Paris-Orleans Railway Company, emphasized the large deficits under which the railroads were operating, and declared that a new régime must be inaugurated. Public sentiment, he showed, was opposed to the solution of nationalization proposed by the Confederation of Labor, which was in reality that of the Soviet. M. Peschaud also pronounced against the project proposed by M. Loucheur in the Chamber, which envisaged the vesting of all railway interests in the hands of a single exploiting company as a disguised form of nationalization. The Government proposal to maintain the established companies but to institute a unifying and stabilizing system of central direction was discussed by him in detail, and the general approval of the railway operators was indicated.

The Journal Officiel on June 28 pub-

lished the decree passed on June 25 regarding the new fiscal taxes, which enumerates the so-called "luxury articles" subject under the law to a tax of 10 per cent. This tax was prescribed for two listed categories of merchandise, and exempted other products similarly defined. The new tax law became immediately applicable, except in certain cases where special Governmental action was reserved.

The urgent need of economic revival has been largely met by France. A very optimistic view was expressed by Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador at London, on May 27. M. Cambon declared that such an economic revival depended on the continuance of close bonds of friendship between his country and England, and was, in general, a problem of interallied interest. France, a nation pre-eminently of peasants and small holders, he said, had already taken up the work interrupted by the war. The demobilized soldiers—who had formed at least 75 per cent. of the army—had returned to cultivate the fields. They were economizing and buying ground. Through this loyal, hard-working class France would see her financial and economic situation rapidly transformed. A great revival, he said, had already come from the reunited Province of Alsace-Lorraine.\* France's exports in the three preceding months, he stated, had been more than double those of the same period in 1919.

Marvelous achievements in reconstruction in the devastated areas were told of by the Mayors of these districts at a great demonstration held at the Sorbonne on June 19. The work accomplished may be summed up as follows:

Since November, 1918, the population of the ten devastated departments has been increased from 2,000,000 to nearly 4,000,000. On April 1 of this year nearly 2,000,000 people had returned to their former homes to begin the work of re-

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\*The Patriotic League of Alsace-Lorrainers held a reunion celebration in London on June 19, which was attended by many people of prominence in Alsace-Lorraine and France. A number of patriotic addresses were delivered, the general tone of which was gratitude to Great Britain and France for their successful efforts in delivering the two provinces from the German yoke.

construction. Out of 6,400 schools at work before the war 5,300 had been reopened, either in the repaired buildings or in hutments.

Out of nearly 9,000,000 acres of farm land 7,000,000 had been cleared of explosives on May 1, nearly 6,000,000 of barbed wire, and over 4,000,000 had been cultivated. One hundred and fifty-seven thousand cubic meters of old trenches have been filled in, and large districts and towns have been entirely cleared of barbed wire and the accumulated debris of war. Of 277,000 houses partly destroyed 185,000 have been repaired, and, to house people whose homes to a total of 297,000 have been wholly destroyed, 28,500 barracks and 44,000 temporary houses have been built.

In the great manufacturing districts of the north, also, there were in all 3,500 factories destroyed, of which 2,600 have been put in a sufficient state of repair to begin work. On May 1 they were employing over 300,000 workmen.

In this work of restoration more than 10,000,000,000 francs have been spent, and France holds that this enormous expense should be covered in the German reparation payments still unsettled by the conference at Spa.

At the Sorbonne demonstration, the national determination was expressed that Germany should not escape from payment of the damage which her armies inflicted.

The first stone was laid at Verdun on June 23 for the monument to be erected in honor of the soldiers who fell in the victorious defense of the besieged city. This date was selected as being the fourth anniversary of the farthest advance into the Verdun region made by the Germans—the day that marked the turning point in the great struggle for possession of this strategic point in the battleline. The ceremony occurred in the presence of detachments bearing the colors of all the French Army Corps. Many well-known officers and civilians were present, including former President Poincaré, Marshal Pétain and André Lefèvre, the Minister of War.

Two new diplomatic appointments were made by the French Government in June. Charles Laurent was named French Ambassador to Germany on June 24. M. Laurent is 64 years of age, and has had a distinguished career, principally in the Ministry of Finance. He was appointed by President Carnot in

1889 to organize the finances of Tonking, and in 1895 became Director General of Public Accounts. Three years later he was named Secretary General of the Ministry of Finance. In 1918 he was appointed financial counselor of the Turkish Government. It was stated in Paris that his appointment was dictated by the need of France to secure a proper execution of the financial clauses of the Versailles Treaty.

It was announced at this same date that Viscount Louis Dejean, French Minister to Mexico, had been appointed Under Director of American Affairs to succeed E. M. L. Lanel, former Minister to Brazil.

The International Chamber of Commerce held sessions in Paris during the period from June 23 to July 1. The gathering was representative of the commercial interests of Great Britain, France, the United States, Belgium and Italy. The economic situation of all five countries was reviewed, and the following subjects were discussed and fitting resolutions passed: Raw materials and general economic policy, customs and tariff questions, financial policy, including the exchange question; transportation, unfair competition, reconstruction of the devastated regions and the economic organization of new States.

## SPAIN AND MOROCCO

Military operations in Morocco, never popular in Spain, were handled with extreme care by the Madrid Government, particularly on account of a recent defeat of the Spanish arms suffered there. Any attempt to reinforce the Moroccan garrisons would be followed by a general strike, it was threatened. The Government, therefore, decided to adopt a campaign of publicity in regard to military movements in place of the old sub rosa policy, and for that reason, on July 1, dispatched the War Minister on a tour of investigation to Melilla, Ceuta, Tetuan and El Araish.

While Spain attempted to have her authority prevail throughout the northern zone by force of arms, she was also diplomatically concerned in securing Tangier, which, although geographically





FRENCH MAP OF MOROCCO SHOWING ZONE AT NORTH WHERE NATIVES ARE FIGHTING SPANISH TROOPS

a part of that zone, has been placed under an international régime with a French Resident General. The Tangier idea has the support of the Spanish people—even those who desire no more fighting.

In the middle of June the Spanish troops advanced from Alcázar and Tetuan and took possession of She-shouan, in the mountain districts of the northwest. In the second move, which was dual, they were not so successful. In the last week in June they advanced from Tetuan and occupied the heights of Beni Hosmar and established posts in the neighborhood of Dar Ben Karrich, six to eight miles from Tetuan. Simultaneously Spanish troops with native auxiliaries from Ergaia attempted to occupy Rehana, between the Jebel Habib and the Beni Idir tribe lands.

While the Tetuan force was successfully operating to the east, the other force was ambushed on its way to Rehana by Ben Haman of Wad Ras and Ben Khazen of the Anjera tribe and lost a large number. This defeat brought into the field as the leader of the native forces the famous El Raisuli, who has been described by Señor Merry del Val, the Spanish Ambassador at London, as "neither a brigand nor a great military chief," but simply "a political *à la mauresque*." His career is sketched thus by The London Times:

Supported by the Djebala tribes, he came into prominence by kidnapping Kaid Maclean, forced the Sultan of Morocco to appoint him Kaid of Tangier, and relinquished the post only to become Governor of Arzila, where the Spanish authorities tried to make him useful in their policy of peaceful penetration. Soon he began to intrigue with the tribesmen, and it was determined to have done with him. Military operations began, and from February to June, 1919, tribe after tribe submitted. On July 12 Raisuli, realizing that he was being cut off from the coast, attacked, but was badly defeated, and further submissions proved his power to be waning. Fighting from Sept. 30 to Oct. 6, 1919, resulted in the taking of Raisuli's principal position, El Fondak of Aïn Yedida, columns operating simultaneously from Tetuan, Ceuta and Larache. This broke his power, but the Autumn rains made a suspension of the advance necessary.

## PORTUGAL

Most of the foreign correspondents in Lisbon regarded the death of Antonio Maria Bautista, the Portuguese Premier and Minister of the Interior, which occurred June 6, as a national calamity. He had brought some sort of public security to the nation out of the chaos which had succeeded the murder of President Paes, in December, 1918. According to the correspondent of The Morning Post of London: "His sudden death may well be a disaster to the country, and fresh political troubles are

freely prophesied." The same writer continues:

To talk of Portugal perishing is no empty phrase: At a time when most Portuguese and all friends of Portugal wish to get to practical work and realize that merely political questions should be relegated to a second place, every heart and intellect being required to face a difficult position, many a useful talent is rusting and many a Portuguese eating his heart out in prison or exile or in nominal liberty in Portugal. If such a state of affairs be allowed to continue Portugal cannot possibly put forth those energies which will alone secure the possession of her colonies, on which really depends her existence as a nation. In the present critical conditions any one who objects to or opposes the republic as such must be shallow to the verge of idiocy: a straightforward, tolerant, moderate republic would now be a strong republic, because it would have the support of the nation.

### SWITZERLAND

The session of the Federal Parliament was adjourned to Sept. 20. Consideration of the bill on social insurance, regarded by many as the most important domestic measure before the session, had to be postponed to the Fall term.

A Federal Labor Bureau has been established at Berne under the Department of National Economy. The Bureau will have jurisdiction over all matters of workers' welfare, conciliation, &c., and will draft bills regulating relations between employer and employe. The bureau will also act as the intermediary between the Swiss Government and the labor organs of the League of Nations.

The Federal Government has received a note from the French Government stating that rumors concerning a change in the seat of the League of Nations are, as far as the intentions of France are concerned, wholly unfounded.

The Federal Council ordered the troops guarding the northern and eastern frontiers withdrawn. Henceforth these frontiers (touching on Germany and Austria) will be guarded by Federal and Cantonal police and revenue officers only, like the French frontier. The measure is hailed as another step toward normal conditions.

A lively discussion continues in the press on the matter of supervision of aliens. During the war a special Federal police was formed to supervise the streams of foreigners pouring into the country from all directions. The developments that followed the Russian revolution added to the tasks and responsibilities of this body. The demand is now raised, especially from the side of hotel interests, that the activities of this police, and the close scrutiny of visiting aliens in general, be abolished, because the contingent inconveniences hurt the most important of Swiss industries, tourist traffic. On the other hand, it is argued that considerations of public safety and social order demand that the restrictions be continued, especially as Switzerland has no adequate Consular apparatus abroad to insure thorough examination of prospective visitors.

## Belgium's Close Relations With France

### Fate of Eupen and Malmedy Decided

#### BELGIUM

**W**OMEN in Belgium can be elected to Parliament under a bill adopted by the Chamber of Deputies on June 18 by a vote of 142 to 10, but, with the exception of widows of combatants, do not yet have the vote in national elections. A bill granting suffrage to women was defeated in the Chamber on July 1 by a vote of 89 to 74.

An agreement in principle on a defensive alliance between Belgium and France was reached in June in a conference between Marshal Foch and General Waglinse. The duration of the treaty will be from five to fifteen years. Belgium agrees to maintain a larger army than before the war and to restore Antwerp and other fortifications.

Germany on July 11 witnessed the



second loss of a definite strip of territory under proceedings provided by the Treaty of Versailles. It was there stated that for six months after the treaty went into effect the people of Eupen and Malmédy should be permitted to record in writing a desire to see the whole or part of the region remain under German sovereignty. During the six months less than 200 persons recorded their opposition to Belgian occupation out of a total population of about 60,000. The districts in question are on the Rhine province frontier north of Luxemburg.

After 109 years the Veronese painting of Juno pouring out treasures upon the City of Venice is being returned from the Beaux-Arts Museum in Brussels to the Doge's Palace in the Italian city. When the Venetian republic was suppressed the painting was taken by the French and placed in the Louvre in Paris. This becoming overcrowded, the Juno in 1811 was sent to Brussels. Its return has long been requested by Italy; and Belgium's acquiescence shows the friendship of the two countries.

## HOLLAND

That the Kaiser still dreams of restoration was shown by a remark to a visitor at Doorn who was discussing the difficult situation created by the elections and the Spa conference. The Kaiser listened attentively and finally exclaimed: "And they're not yet thinking of calling me back?" Perhaps he would have been disillusioned could he have learned the Socialists' protest against postponement of the debate on the proposed law to regulate Hohenzollern property. One of the Deputies in the Reichstag pointed out that "the tremendous fortune at the disposal of the Hohenzollerns constitutes a standing danger to the republic." At the same time the Dutch authorities have decided that the Kaiser is liable to taxation. A mysterious attack on the Kaiser was reported to have taken place on June 16, but no details were allowed to become public. The Kaiserin, who suffers from heart trouble, had a severe attack on June 20. The suicide of Prince Joachim at Potsdam on July 17 was a heavy blow to both his parents.

## Developments in Scandinavian Countries

### Aland: A Fiume of the North

#### SWEDEN

THE problem of the future sovereignty of the Aland Islands, which has caused bitter contention between Sweden and Finland ever since the war, was the first question submitted to the League of Nations for solution, after Sweden had waited anxiously, but in vain, for a decision on the matter by the Peace Conference. On July 12 the Council of the League of Nations decided, at a meeting in St. James's Palace, London, to refer the Aland question to three international judges. Pending the finding of this judicial body the Swedish and Finnish representatives pledged their countries to take no other action. Thus the tension was relieved at an acute stage of the situation, which contains

the potentialities of a conflagration involving Soviet Russia.

The issue is whether the Aland Islands shall continue to belong to Finland or, on the principle of self-determination, pass to Sweden. What gives them such importance as an international issue is the strategic advantage of their position. Commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, the Gulf of Finland and the upper end of the Baltic Sea, they are almost within bombarding range of both Stockholm and Helsingfors. The larger islands are a little nearer to the Swedish than to the Finnish mainland; and, as a naval base, they would be within easy striking distance of Petrograd. From these larger islands to the Finnish mainland extends

a belt of smaller islands and islets, forming what the Scandinavians picturesquely call a "skerry-garth," to render it (skäregård) by a Scotticism. They mean "a fortress-yard of rocky islets."

The archipelago comprises about a thousand islands, of which over a hundred are inhabited by a population of some 34,000 Swedes and only a thousand Finns. They are farmers, fishermen and sailors. All the men follow the sea more or less. From their rich forests they build a curious, old-fashioned type of sailing vessels known as Finn boats. These are used to deliver wood, which the Alanders largely export to Stockholm. The young people are very capable in seamanship and have been rendering adventurous service in carrying refugees over to the Swedish mainland in these small boats, since the Finnish authorities have garrisoned the Alands and forbidden emigration. Thus the Aland leader, Johannes Ericsson, escaped arrest. The Finns are patrolling the waters of the archipelago with two cruisers, and 400 Finnish-speaking soldiers have been quartered in Aland since early in June. Most of these are encamped on Main Aland ("Fasta Aland"), as the largest island is called, whereon stands Mariehamn, the capital and only city of the Alands, a town of 1,500 inhabitants. This island is about thirty-one miles long, north and south.

Ever since Finland won its independence, on the fall of the empire of the Czars, the Alanders have made resolute efforts to win the right to self-determination, signifying again and again their desire for reunion with Sweden. But the Finns have declared that they will never give up the islands; lately, however, certain Swedish members of the Parliament at Helsingfors have petitioned the Finnish State Council to submit a proposal of autonomy for the Swedish-speaking provinces of Aland, Nyland and Nesterbotten. The suggestion was accepted by Minister of Justice Joederholm, who later resigned, and has been approved by his successor, Granfelt. Many of the Finland Swedes have been opposed to the separation of Aland as a weakening of their own

faction against the politically dominant Finns. Up to the outbreak of the World War there were 2,571,000 Finns and 339,000 Finland Swedes. The latter comprise the old aristocracy and most of the middle class. They are settled throughout the country, but mostly in the towns and along the coast.

What occasioned the crisis that led to the interposition of the League of Nations was the arrest by the Finnish authorities, early in June, of the two Aland leaders, Mr. Sundblom, an editor, and Mr. Björkman, a district chief, on their return from a mission to Stockholm on behalf of their fellow-islanders. The two men were charged with high treason, as negotiating with a foreign power for aid in secession from Finland. At their first hearings, concluded June 10, they denied guilt of high treason, declaring that they acted only for the best interests of Aland. The same day several Aland communes sent an indignant protest to the Finnish Government against the arrest and transportation of Finnish-speaking troops from Aabo and Björneborg. Only the restraint of the leaders prevented the Alanders from issuing a proclamation of independence. Messrs. Sundblom and Björkman were subjected to indignities and allowed neither to communicate with their families nor to see any one.

Sweden also sent a note of protest to Helsingfors, but the reply of the Finnish Government was not conciliatory; the Finns disagreed with the Swedish view that the Alanders had a right to withdraw from Finland and implied that the Swedish Government was aiding and abetting the islanders in high treason. This caused much indignation in the Swedish capital. Mr. Westman, the Swedish Minister to Helsingfors, was recalled on June 15 to report in Stockholm, and the situation was regarded as very serious. Premier Hjalmar Branting appealed to the League of Nations, and the Finnish Government, through its Minister, Enckell, in Paris, assented to a discussion of the question by the League. On July 13 Messrs. Sundblom and Björkman were released pending the award of the three international judges, to



whom the League Council referred the Aland question.

The Swedish contention is that Aland should have been reunited with Sweden after Finland and Aland gained their independence from Russia, inasmuch as Aland was an integral part of Sweden until 1809, when Sweden was compelled to cede both Finland and Aland to Russia. The situation is exceedingly delicate, as excitement runs high in both Sweden and Finland, and Sweden hopes for a settlement without an appeal to arms, such as might involve her in a war with Soviet Russia. Fear of such a war is all that has kept Sweden from forcibly annexing the islands.

## DENMARK

King Christian signed the law incorporating North Slesvig (the First Plebiscite Zone) into the Kingdom of Denmark, on July 9, which was celebrated all over the country as Reunion Day. President Wilson sent a cablegram felicitating the King and the Danish people on the restoration of that portion of the ancient Duchy of Slesvig "through the application of the principle of self-determination." In reply, King Christian expressed his heartfelt thanks, through the American Legation at Copenhagen, for the President's message and the warm gratitude of "the entire Danish Nation toward the President and the American Nation for the liberation of the ancient Danish territory of North Slesvig."

On July 10 the King and Queen, with their sons and several other members of the royal family, sailed from Copenhagen to Kolding on the royal yacht Dannebrog, as the first stage of their progress into North Slesvig. Thousands of people at the Kolding dock gave them enthusiastic greeting. Thence the royal party drove south in motor cars to within one kilometer north of the old frontier, where the King went through the historic ceremony of mounting the white charger. As he rode across the frontier his sons followed on horseback and the Queen and the rest of the royal family and suite in carriages. In reply to the warm welcome to redeemed Slesvig ex-

tended by the local authorities, King Christian bade them welcome home to the kingdom, and cheers for Denmark were given with a will. Between 60,000 and 80,000 people were gathered at the frontier, lining the roads and cheering, while young girls dressed in white strewed red roses before the white charger, as the royal procession continued southward toward Christiansfeld.

The following day there was a great patriotic demonstration at Dybbøl, where in the war of 1864 the Danish Army fought heroically against the combined forces of Prussia and Austria.

According to a cablegram to the Danish Legation at Washington on July 7, the new election to the Danish Folkething (lower house of the Rigsdag), held on July 6, resulted as follows: The Left Party gained 3 mandates (seats) and elected 51 representatives. The Conservatives lost 2 mandates and now have 26 representatives, while the Radical Party lost 1 mandate and elected 16 members to the Folkething. The Socialists elected 42 representatives and the Tradesmen's Party (also conservative) 4, the same number as in the election held in April.

## NORWAY

The new Geo-Physical Institute at Bergen is unique in the world and its reason for being is a new science of characteristically Norwegian creation. In reading the face of the sea and its storms in the Viking Age, the Norsemen evolved the myth of Thor's fishing for the Midgarth Serpent, to account for the thunderstorm in conflict with the raging seas. But from that time forth until Dr. Fridtjof Nansen became the pioneer of the Norse science of oceanography, the nation has been gathering the material for the new courses offered this Summer in oceanography, dynamical methology, climatology and terrestrial magnetism. The Summer's curriculum includes a special course for investigators from other lands. This comprises a practical investigation of sea conditions, conducted by Professor Björn Helland-Hansen, whose testing ship cruises along the fjords of the Nor-

wegian coast, even to Spitzbergen and Iceland. Soundings are taken at various depths and specimens of sea water are gathered in metal bottles designed for this purpose by Dr. Nansen.

Professor Helland-Hansen and Professor Vilhelm Bjerknes of this Bergen faculty, are world-famous as oceanographers and weather forecasters. Both have gone far to take the guess out of weather forecasting. "We are really in possession of all the theoretical knowledge necessary to determine future weather," stated Professor Bjerknes, in a recent paper in the United States Monthly Weather Review. "It resides in the equations of dynamics and thermodynamics; or, as more generally expressed, in the equations of physics."

Among the students of weather-forecasting at Bergen this Summer is Miss Anne Louise Beck, M. A., of the astronomical department of the University of California. She is the first of five American students who will be sent to Bergen between 1920 and 1925, with traveling-fellowship stipends of \$1,000 each granted to them by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, which conducts an annual exchange of forty students between the United States and

Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Her successor will be appointed in 1921.

## ICELAND

The Icelandic Republic, which resumed its independence in December, 1918, after an interval of foreign domination dating back to A. D. 1262, is in the throes of raising its first internal State loan. According to a June issue of *Morgonbladið*, a Reykjavik daily newspaper, the Government had requested in February a loan of three million kroner, to run ninety-six years at 5½ per cent. The public, to whose patriotism the editor appealed, had been rated as good to raise half a million kroner. Two banks, Islands Bank and Landsbanken, had agreed with the Government to raise a million kroner each. But this left half a million still lacking, when the allowance of time to raise the loan was nearly out. The editor deemed it a wonder that not more than half a million kroner had been shown among the public, as the loan had been requested under good conditions and the best security; he ascribed the backwardness to a peculiarity of Icelandic trade conditions, in that large capital is still outstanding abroad in commodities.

## Germany's Conservative Regime

Dominance of Leading Capitalists in the New Ministry — Party Strength in Reichstag

### GERMANY

THE first Reichstag of the German Republic was opened at 3 P. M., June 24, by the oldest Deputy present, Herr Rieke, 77 years old, a Majority Socialist from Brunswick. When the roll was called, George Ledebour announced the absence of Deputy Mittwoch, an Independent Socialist editor from Königsberg. Herr Mittwoch had just been sentenced to two years' imprisonment in a fortress by the Leipzig Supreme Court on a charge of treason. His offense was the publication last October of a false allegation that Chancellor Philip Scheidemann, Minister of De-

fense Noske and other high officials, at a conference held in the Berlin Foreign Office the preceding June, had discussed the possibility of an offensive against Poland, and a consequent defensive action against France. The next day the Reichstag elected as its President Paul Loebe, a Majority Socialist, and William Dittmann, an Independent Socialist, as First Vice President. On June 26 President Ebert asked the Reichstag to set the day for the election of a new President of the Republic.

Konstantin Fehrenbach, in his maiden speech as Chancellor, on June 28, told the Reichstag that Germany was doing



its best to live up to the Versailles Peace Treaty, and would continue to do this in so far as it was able. He called for the co-operation of all classes to increase industrial efficiency, promised to carry out many social and industrial reforms, and referred with deep feeling to the feeding of German children by foreign diplomats. His speech was well received, except that the Independent Socialists frequently interjected sarcastic remarks. Dr. Gustave Stresemann, a People's Party leader, was chosen President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Reichstag on June 30, with ex-Chancellor Müller as Vice President.

Following political negotiations for nearly three weeks subsequent to the Reichstag elections, the coalition Cabinet headed by Hermann Müller was replaced by a Cabinet dominated by the more conservative elements. When Karl Trimborn, the leader of the Centre Party (Catholic), gave up the task of trying to carry out President Ebert's request to construct a new Cabinet, it was taken over by Konstantin Fehrenbach, the veteran Centrist President of the National Assembly. He induced the People's Party, the Centre and the Democrats to allow their men to enter the Government and persuaded the majority Socialists and the Nationalists to adopt a policy of watchful waiting and to do nothing to embarrass the new Cabinet at the start. No promises were obtained from the Independent Socialists. The personnel of the Cabinet was announced June 25, as follows:

Chancellor — Konstantin Fehrenbach (Centrist).

Minister of Justice and Vice Chancellor — Dr. Karl Heinze (German People's Party).

Minister of Foreign Affairs — Dr. Walter Simons (party affiliations not clear).

Minister of Finance — Dr. Wirth (Centrist).

Minister of the Interior — Dr. Erich Koch (Democrat).

Minister of Defense — Dr. Gessler (Democrat).

Minister of Transport — General Groener (non-political).

Minister of Food and Agriculture — Andreas Hermes (Centrist).

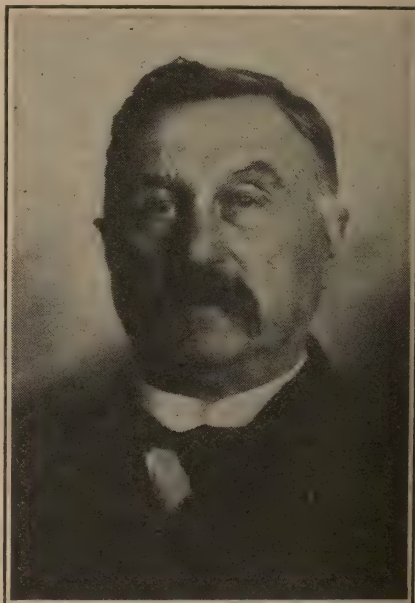
Minister of Posts and Telegraphs — Johann Giesberts (Centrist).

Minister of Economics — Herr Scholz (German People's Party).

Minister of the Treasury — Herr von Raumer (German People's Party).

Minister of Labor — The Rev. Dr. Heinrich Brauns (Centrist).

Dr. Simons, according to the reports of the Spa conference, looms up as one of the important men in the new Cabinet and appears to have made effective



KONSTANTIN FEHRENBACH  
*New German Chancellor, who signed the revised protocol at the Spa Conference*

(Wide World Photos)

use of his fifteen years in Government service, which began with a call in 1905 to a post in the Imperial Ministry of Justice. There he remained until 1911, when he was taken over into the legal department of the Foreign Office. Dr. Simons was made Ministerial Director in the Foreign Office on Dec. 24, 1918, and intrusted later with preparing for the peace negotiations. He was General Commissioner of the German delegation to Versailles. On June 21, 1919, because of the signing of the Peace Treaty, he offered his resignation as Director of the Legal Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but merely

received a leave of absence from President Ebert. In August, 1919, with the permission of Hermann Müller, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Simons took over the management of the National Association of German Industries.

While the parties represented in the new Cabinet have only 175 members in the Reichstag out of a total of 466, the divisions among the other parties will probably enable the Government to hold its power for a short time at least, as was shown on July 3, when a motion presented by the Independent Socialists expressing a lack of confidence was voted down, 313 to 64. As a general proposition, the 21 votes of the Bavarian People's Party and the Christian People's Party (offshoots of the Centre) may be counted upon to support the Cabinet. Five members of the new Cabinet—Koch, Wirth, Giesberts, Gessler and Hermes—occupied the same posts in the preceding Cabinet.

Resumption of diplomatic relations with Germany was marked by the presentation of credentials to President Ebert on July 1 by Charles Laurent, Ambassador from France, and on July 4 by Lord d'Abernon, Ambassador from Great Britain. On June 30 Ebert received Mgr. Pacelli as the first Papal Nuncio to the German Government.

On the same day, July 10, that the Judicial Committee of the Prussian Diet rejected a motion by the Independent Socialists for confiscation of the Hohenzollern family fortune, estimated at from 300,000,000 to 1,000,000,000 marks, a report came from Slesvig-Holstein that a gang of farm laborers had invaded the country seat of Prince Henry of Prussia at Hemmelmark and had forced the ex-Kaiser's brother to run the gantlet, subjecting him to kicks and curses in the process. Other junkers in the vicinity were said to have received the same treatment. The Diet will take up the question of the Hohenzollern property at its Fall session.

Prince Joachim, the sixth and youngest son of ex-Kaiser Wilhelm, committed suicide at Potsdam on July 17 by shooting himself. An official report ascribed the act to "a fit of excessive dementia."

Field Marshal von Hindenburg's villa at Hanover was entered on the night of July 12 by a burglar, who was encountered by the old officer and worsted in a fight, despite his use of a revolver in a vain attempt to shoot the master of the house.

Germany's total debt was put at 265,000,000,000 marks (about \$63,000,000,000 at normal exchange) by Minister Wirth in a statement to the Budget Committee of the Reichstag on June 30. Statistics published in June reported 520,000 war widows in Germany, 1,130,000 war orphans and 500,000 maimed or consumptive veterans. The war dead were put at 1,350,000.

Publication of the official figures on the Reichstag election of June 6 showed that 26,017,590 votes had been cast and 466 Deputies elected, including the 40 carried over from the plébiscite districts where there was no election. The definite results were given as follows:

Parties.	Deputies.	Popular Vote.
Majority Socialists.....	112	5,614,456
Independent Socialists....	81	4,895,317
Centrists .....	68	3,540,830
German Nationalists.....	66	3,736,778
German People's Party....	62	3,606,316
Democrats .....	45	2,202,334
Bavarian People's Party }	21	1,171,722
Christian People's Party }		65,219
Communists .....	2	441,995
Bavarian Peasant's Party. 4		218,884
German-Hanoverians ....	5	319,100

In addition to the ten parties which elected Deputies, there were ten other would-be parties and groups which cast their ballots, as follows: German Middle Class Party, 11,970; German Economic and Labor Party, 43; National Democratic People's Party, 3,993; German Economic League for City and Country, 88,652; German Socialist Party, 7,216; Lusatian People's Party, 8,052; Polish Party, 76,497; Reform Group, 6,814; Christian Social People's Party, 1,228; Non-Partisan Party, 169.

The revised figures brought the number of women Deputies up to thirty, as against thirty-eight in the former Assembly.

On June 6 and on the immediately succeeding Sundays State Legislatures were elected in several of the seventeen politi-



cal entities now making up the German nation. The results, so far as ascertained up to July 15, show that the tendency to run to the political extremes displayed in the Reichstag elections held good in the contests for the minor parliaments. In nearly every instance the Nationalists and the People's Party and the Independent Socialists gained at the expense of the Majority Socialists and the Democrats.

The new Bavarian Diet is made up of 64 Bavarian People's Party Deputies, 25 Majority Socialists, 21 Nationalists and People's Party combined, 20 Independent Socialists, 11 Democrats, 11 Agrarians and 2 Communists. In Württemberg the Centrists won 23 seats, the Majority Socialists 17, the Democrats 15, the Independent Socialists 14, the Agrarians 13, the Citizens' Party 10 and the People's Party 4. The Anhalt Majority Socialists elected 13 Deputies, the Independent Socialists 6, the Nationalists 6, the People's Party 5 and the Democrats 6. In Oldenburg the People's Party won 13 seats, the Majority Socialists 10, the Democrats 7, the Independent Socialists 5, the Centrists 11, the Land League 2 and the Nationalists 1. The Mecklenburg result differed from the others in that the Majority Socialists there increased their vote 8,650 over that cast in the Reichstag election and won 26 seats; the Independent Socialists won 5, the Democrats 4, the People's Party 10, the Nationalists 14 and the Economic Association 5. In the newly organized State of Thuringia the four Democrats in the Diet hold the balance of power between the 23 People's Party men, Land Leaguers and Nationalists, and the 15 Independent Socialists and 11 Majority Socialists. In Brunswick the parties of the Right united in the Provincial Electors' League, but the Majority Socialists, Independent Socialists and Democrats managed to retain their majority in the Landtag.

The first municipal election, on June 20, in the enlarged Greater Berlin, which now embraces 877 square kilometers and has a population of about 3,900,000, resulted in the two Socialist parties retaining control. The membership of the Board of Aldermen is limited to 225, apportioned according to the vote cast. The Independent Socialists elected 88, the Majority Socialists 38, the People's Party 40, the Nationalists 25, the Democrats 16, the Centrists 8 and the Economic League 9.

Numerous food riots spread through North Germany, the Rhine district, Frankfurt and Württemberg in consequence of high prices, poor crop reports, profiteering by retailers and general depression. In Berlin a column of enraged housewives marched to the Chancellery, vainly seeking an interview with Chancellor Fehrenbach to protest against the failure of the Government to try to curb the profiteers and increase the food supply. In Hamburg five persons were killed, and several other cities reported serious clashes between the police and Federal troops and the indignant populace, which was taking matters into its own hands and forcing shopkeepers to sell at prices fixed by the crowds.

The two extreme elements of German political life, the Junker-Big Business reactionaries, and the Communist-Independent Socialist revolutionaries, tried to make capital for propaganda out of the food riots and the general anxiety over the Spa negotiations. They filled their press with wild rumors of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary plans, and almost every day the Government was being saved by the "timely discovery" and frustration of these plots. Nothing serious happened, although competent observers agreed that there was indeed much dissatisfaction, and that a genuine political crisis might be worked up unless the new Government showed sufficient strength to impress both extremes.

# Hungary and Her Neighbors

## Labor Blockade and White Terror

[See articles on Pages 875-883]

### HUNGARY

THE announcement of the international labor blockade and the publication of the Wedgwood report, submitted to the British Labor Party conference by the Committee of Inquiry that investigated the charges concerning a White Terror in Hungary, precipitated a crisis the solution of which is not yet in sight.

The existence of a White Terror is now admitted by members and spokesmen of the Government and is denounced in open session of the National Assembly. The Government, however, disclaims responsibility for the excesses and emphasizes that the atrocities are committed by "irresponsible elements." This was controverted by the Conservative leader, Count Apponyi himself, who declared in the National Assembly that the horrors "are perpetrated not by civilians disguised as officers, but by real officers who are unworthy of the name. Officers' gangs commit one revolting, bestial murder after another. This sort of thing must be stopped and law and order must be restored or else nothing can prevent disaster."

A plot of officers, belonging to the so-called Hejjas and Ostenburg detachments, was revealed in the National Assembly by Deputy Hencz. He said that the overthrow of the Assembly by armed raid and the establishment of military dictatorship were planned. Deputies demanded strict punishment of the guilty, but skepticism as to their apprehension was expressed.

For several days the Assembly and the capital were in turmoil, and the resignation of the Simonyi-Semadam Cabinet was repeatedly rumored. The Cabinet council was discussing measures to stop the terror, and it was announced that the Regent, Admiral Horthy, is in accord with the Ministers' attitude.

The decree promulgated by General Soos, the Minister of Defense, as the

outcome of these discussions was, however, generally regarded as unsatisfactory and beside the point. In substance this decree provided that all "officers' detachments" and other extraordinary military formations were to be incorporated in the regular army; that their jurisdiction over civilians must cease, except in cases of offense committed against the army, and that transgressors must be arrested. Under the severe censorship the comment of the Budapest newspapers was rather indifferent, but the Vienna newspapers pointed out that under this order everything would remain unchanged, as the most notorious detachments had been incorporated in the National Army previously, and as every provision could be stretched by the officers to suit their own purposes and the prosecution of offenders against the regulations was left in the hands of brother officers.

Despite the state of siege which had been declared at Budapest after the pogroms in the first week of June, Jew-baiting, nightly murders and other excesses continued. The reactionary element, especially the terrorist officers and the Awakening Hungarians, emboldened by the vacillation of the Government, assumed the offensive, and both in the extreme clerical and jingo press and on the floor of the Assembly attacks were delivered against the Premier for his "deference to Jewish demands" and his "weakness" in face of the boycott.

The crisis reached its temporary climax when Lieutenant Hejjas, the perpetrator of the Kecskemet massacre and head of the most notorious of detachments, served a formal ultimatum on the Government urging it to clear out and yield its place to strong and capable men, uncompromising upholders of the "Christian course." The ultimatum was printed in leaflet form and distributed in a million copies. It threatened with reprisal those "trai-



tors of the national idea" who attempted to revive the old liberal (i. e. non-anti-Semitic) policy.

Simultaneously it was rumored that Hejjas was organizing a private army and preparing to seize Budapest. It was feared that a coup of this order would result not only in setting up an outright military dictatorship, but also in a general massacre of the Jewish population.

## AUSTRIA

The protracted struggle, within the Governmental coalition, of Social Democrats and Christian Socialists reached its climax on June 11, when Chancellor Renner, together with his Social Democratic colleagues, resigned from the Cabinet. The immediate occasion of the crisis was the attack in the National Assembly on the Minister of War, Herr Deutsch, whose new army decree was bitterly denounced by the Pan Germans and Christian Socialists because of a provision rendering the Soldiers' Councils of the new army immune from supervision by officers. Acting conjointly, the Pan Germans and Christian Socialists charged that the measure was calculated to destroy discipline and Bolshevize the army. The Christian Socialists threatened to withdraw from the Cabinet, but their action was anticipated by the Social Democrats.

The underlying causes of the upheaval were the fundamental divergences between the programs of the two groups making up the coalition. Above all, the Social Democrats favored a constitutional settlement along centralistic lines, while the Christian Socialists demanded federalization with substantial autonomy for the several provinces. Moreover, the Social Democrats are strong adherents of the ultimate union with Germany, whereas the Christian Socialists oppose such union. A faction of the latter advocates more or less openly the formation of a new Austro-Bavarian monarchy, with a Wittelsbach or a Hapsburg for King. This plan was originally launched by Dr. Heim, leader of the Bavarian Catholic peasant party and at present virtual dictator of Bavaria. This scheme is especially favored among the agricul-

tural population of Tyrol and Salzburg. Another disagreement exists in the question of the capital levy, which, in a thoroughgoing form, is favored by the Social Democrats and opposed by the Christian Socialists. The Social Democrats charge that the Christian Socialists deliberately block the working of the National Assembly and plan the overthrow of the republic with the aid of Hungarian and Bavarian reactionaries.

The split was precipitated also by the announcement of the international labor boycott against Hungary. The blockade is enthusiastically supported by the Social Democrats, but is opposed by the Christian Socialists.

As a solution of the crisis it was proposed that a bourgeois block be formed in which the Christian Socialists would co-operate with the Pan Germans and other minor anti-Socialist factions. This outcome would have been welcomed by the Social Democrats, who figured that the bourgeois coalition would soon reach an impasse and leave the field open for a straight working class Government. It was also suggested that the Assembly be dissolved and new general elections be held. In the meantime, negotiations between the Social Democrats and Christian Socialists were resumed through the mediation of the President of the republic, Herr Seitz. These negotiations ended on July 4 in a compromise providing for a concentration Cabinet in which all parties were to be represented in proportion to their strength in the Assembly. Each party named its own Ministers. Chancellor Renner was induced to retain his post, in addition to which he assumed the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

The international labor blockade of Hungary, decreed by the Trade Union Congress at Amsterdam, went into effect, as scheduled, on June 20. The Christian Socialists attempted to break the embargo by dispatching a freight train manned by their adherents. This led to a clash between Christian Socialists and Social Democratic workingmen. The railwaymen's union retaliated by declaring a general embargo on all traffic. Later this embargo was withdrawn, but

no passenger trains were permitted to leave for the Hungarian frontier.

The counter-boycott ordered by the Hungarian Government by way of reprisal went into effect on June 23. All food shipments intended for Vienna were stopped, and no passengers except Entente or neutral subjects were allowed to cross the border. The Christian Socialist press of Vienna charges that the Social Democrats, by enforcing the Hungarian blockade, expose the population of Vienna to starvation, as the Hungarian Government cannot be expected to send food to the Austrians if the latter participate in the attack on Hungary. The Christian Socialists denounce the blockade as an international Jewish conspiracy against the Christian Government of Hungary.

A meeting of the Teachers' Federation of Lower Austria was addressed by the President of the republic, Herr Seitz, who himself started on his career as a teacher. The President declared that the mission of Austrian teachers was to keep alive German culture and traditions, looking forward to the day when the Austrian Republic will be united with the great German Nation.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The trade unions of the Czechoslovak Republic declared their adherence to the international labor blockade of Hungary, and on June 20 the measures to enforce the boycott were put into effect along the entire frontier. Especially in Slovakia the blockade was welcomed with great enthusiasm. Mass meetings of Magyar workers in cities like Bratislava (Pressburg) and Kosice (Kaschau) expressed their gratitude to the Czechoslovak fellow-workers for taking up the struggle against the Hungarian régime of Admiral Horthy.

The revelation of a Hungarian plot to assassinate Dr. Srobar, the Governor of Slovakia, aroused general indignation. The conspiracy was disclosed when a Magyar student, Alexander Filler, made an affidavit at Losons to the effect that he had been hired at the Budapest headquarters of the Hungarian Defense Union, the semi-official irredentist or-

ganization of army officers, to kill Srobar by poison and to blow up several important military buildings in Slovakia.

The Teschen question continues to occupy the centre of interest. With the approach of the plebiscite, indignation against the violent methods of the Polish authorities grows. The newspapers hold that, although the plebiscite arrangement in itself was an insult to the Czechoslovak nation, inasmuch as Teschen always formed part of the lands of the Bohemian crown, it is to be preferred to settlement by arbitration, as suggested from the Polish side. This suggestion, it is argued, shows that the Poles are aware of their own weakness and of the overwhelming sentiment in the Ostrau-Karwin district, the centre of the coal area, in favor of Czechoslovakia. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly adopted a resolution demanding the unconditional and impartial execution of the plebiscite and rejecting the arbitration proposal. The press points with satisfaction to the circumstance that in the Teschen question the German population unanimously sides with the Czechs against the Poles.

The working schedule of the Tuzar Government has been adopted by both Chambers of the Assembly. In the Senate the Socialist majority for the Government was 71 votes, against the 58 of the German parties the conservative Kramarz group and the Catholic People's Party. A similar lineup occurred on the issue of the war loan, when the Government's proposal for a redemption on a 75 per cent. basis was adopted.

As a counterweight to the establishment of an independent Czech Church, embodying Hussite tendencies, the Papal See has authorized the use of the Slovak language in the Catholic churches of Slovakia. Accordingly several features of the service will be conducted in Czech instead of Latin. At funerals the Czech language will be exclusively used, and on the days of the national saints—Cyrill, Method, Wenceslaus, Ludmila, Prokop and John Nepomuk—even the mass may be said in Czech. The decree stipulates that translations be submitted to the Vatican.



# States of the Balkan Peninsula

## Albania's Armed Clash With Italians—Bulgaria's Law of Compulsory Labor and Education

### ALBANIA

ONE of the most complex little wars that came as the aftermath of the great one is that which has been fought around Avlona between the Italian Arditi and Alpini on one side, numbering about 3,000, and the Albanian insurgents, mostly Moslems, numbering about 4,000, on the other, with both the contending forces sadly lacking munitions.

As Italy, in the notes which were exchanged between her and France, Great Britain and the United States last Winter, seemed ready to gain Fiume by allowing Jugoslavia to have the northern part of Albania and Greece the southern part, certain Mirdite Albanian tribes naturally believed that Italy had betrayed them.

During the régime of General Giacinto Ferrero and his 16th Army Corps Albania had prospered. Roads had been built, schools established and a civil administration organized in the Italian zone while waiting for the war to come that way. Then came Colonel Castoldi, as the Italian Commissioner, and suddenly there was no work for either the soldiers or the peasants, and the feeling gradually augmented among the latter that Italy, in spite of her protectorate declared by General Ferrero three years ago, would turn Avlona into a barracks and Sasseno, the island at the mouth of Avlona Bay, into a fort, and leave the country to shift for itself, a prey to either Slav or Greek, or both. At any rate, the economic régime instituted by Castoldi, under orders from the Nitti Government in Rome, seemed to confirm the belief in the betrayal and the fear that worse things were at hand.

So the clans began to gather under the leadership of a former Governor of Avlona, Osman Effendi, who had been appointed Prefect by the Italians, and his lieutenant, Major Cocoshi Kiazim. They

first changed the Provisional Government at Tirana to their liking, and then began raids upon the Italian outposts, principally defended by dispirited men with small stores of ammunition. This accounts for the surrender of Tepeleni and its garrison of 200 and the capture of Chisbardha, overlooking Avlona, on June 28, and the actual invasion of the city in the week following, which gave rise to the report from Belgrade that the Albanians had occupied Avlona. The Albanians were driven out, however, at the point of the bayonet. Numerous sorties drove them still further back, and there they were kept by the diverted guns of Fort Kanina and the warships in the bay. Meanwhile the Albanians captured an immense stock of supplies, but little ammunition. On a smaller scale it was practically the same story at Dulcigno, Antivari and San-Giovanni di Medua.

Toward the end of June Rome sent Baron Carlo Aliotti to treat with the new Albanian Government, whose seat is the little town of Tirana, situated at the southern extremity of the Kroai Plain, inhabited by about 12,000 Mirdite Albanians. The basis of Aliotti's negotiations was supposed to be as follows:

Acknowledgment by the Italian Government of the Albanian Government at Tirana.

A promise that Albania shall administer her provinces without foreign influence.

Evacuation by Italian troops of the whole of Albania.

Liberty for the Albanian Nation to arm itself in order to defend its national integrity.

Permission conceded Italy to construct works for naval defense and a wireless station on Saseno Island, opposite Avlona, which is to be occupied by Italian troops.

Reimbursement of Italy for expenses incurred in Albania for civil organization.

Reports in the Italian papers state that Serbian officers were found among the Albanians taken prisoner. This

may be so, but both the Belgrade and Athens Governments, early in the uprising, informed the Rome Government that, as a state of anarchy prevailed in Albania, they would be obliged to intervene the moment their interests seemed placed in jeopardy. Both later asked the

tion headed by Stanislav Popoff, who had saluted the King as "citizen of Adrianople in the name of all Thrace." This the Sofia papers denied, saying that Popoff had merely arrived with a crowd of refugees driven from their Thracian homes by the Greeks. There were plenty of refugees, however, whom the Minister of the Interior transported to homes on the Black Sea littoral as fast as they arrived.

The press of Sofia printed columns of eulogy apropos of the departure of the commander of the French troops in Bulgaria, General Gondrecourt, who returned to France, via Varna and Constantinople, the middle of June.

Both articles and advertisements in the Sofia papers show that the Bulgars are working hard to rehabilitate the country and long for the aid of foreign machinery and farm implements. A new law for education was drawn up by the Minister of Education, with a report showing the advancement made in that department since the war, particularly in higher education and teachers' colleges. A new "law of work," recently passed by the Sobranje, was promulgated. Each Province will be required to maintain a certain number of schools of the primary and grammar grades and at least two high schools for both sexes. The law of work makes labor of some sort obligatory for all. Article I. reads:

All Bulgar subjects of both sexes, the males having reached the age of 20 and the females 16, are liable to enforced work. But work is not obligatory with Moslem girls. Work may be voluntary with males between the ages of 17 and 20 and with females between 12 and 16.

Article II. describes the aims of this enforced labor—"the better organization of social forces," "the useful education of citizens independent of their social standing," "the stimulating of mental and moral faculties," "the advancement of public morals and economy," &c.

The only disquieting signs on the Bulgarian political and industrial horizon appeared to be the Communists, who had just finished their annual Congress at Sofia with an increased membership due to what were deemed drastic measures



ANCIENT "THIEF STONE" IN THE CITY OF TIRANA, ALBANIA. ON THE SQUARE STONE BLOCK BETWEEN THE CYPRESS TREES THE BODY OF A THIEF IS LAID OUT AFTER EXECUTION FOR THE INSPECTION OF ALL WHO MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO FOLLOW HIS EXAMPLE

(Photo American Red Cross)

consent of the Italian Government to intervene. This is what complicated the mission of Baron Carlo Aliotti and possibly accounts for its futility and his withdrawal on July 10. (See Italy.)

## BULGARIA

The Sofia press, apropos of the Greek occupation of Thrace, was busily engaged in denying the statements made in the Hellenic papers of Constantinople and in approving the statements made in the Turkish papers printed there. The Cronos of Constantinople, for example, had printed the story of how King Boris had received a Bulgar Thracian delega-



of the Government to make the people intelligent and industrious.

## GREECE

The Government, on June 18, issued the following communiqué on the Albanian situation:

Greece is desirous of maintaining friendly and neighborly relations with Albania, but cannot abandon her rights in Northern Epirus, already recognized by the Peace Conference. Nor will Greece ever approve the anti-Italian policy now being followed by the Albanian revolutionaries. Greco-Italian friendship is dictated by old tradition, and present interests cannot be endangered for Albania's sake.

Greece's advice to the Albanians would be that they cannot seriously hope to form a stable and prosperous State without the friendship of the great power holding the opposite shore of the Adriatic, for whom Avlona means what Gibraltar means for Britain.

As there is a rigid censorship, practically nothing was printed at Athens in regard to the progress of the war in Asia Minor, but much space was given to the work of the Hellenic delegation under Messrs. Negropontes and Theodoropoulos at the Seventh Woman's Suffrage Congress at Geneva, and to King Alexander and his romantic marriage with a Greek commoner, whose honeymoon, nearly a year after his marriage, was spent in Paris. On this subject the Journal of the Hellenes observes that it regrets to hear that neither the Greek Government nor the people have yet reached the advanced stage when they will regard monarchs like other individuals, capable of making their own choice, and it continues:

That course seems the best both from the point of view of human feeling and from the point of view of eugenics. If there is one thing certain it is that as long as monarchs are allowed to marry within a few restricted families the doom of the whole monarchic idea is as certain as any other forecast of modern science. \* \* \*

The Greek people and Government should rejoice over this marriage of their young King—should rejoice that he has married a Greek lady and that he has been happy enough to attain to a marriage of love. This, also, would probably be the best reply to the Constantine intrigue. For it is clearly the hope of Constantine and his faction that the

young King will be disabled from ruling by this marriage, and they believe that he is already cut off from any prospects of union with any of the other European royal houses. They also believe that the marriage will create a subject of strife for Greece and will split up the Venizelist party. For the Constantinists are a desperate faction, ready even for that fearful prospect of civil war from which M. Venizelos so rightly shrinks. They have played a big card by publishing the facts of this marriage.

## RUMANIA

Rumania had another change of Government, followed by a general election.



TAKE JONESCU

*Noted Rumanian pro-ally leader, who has become Minister of Foreign Affairs*  
(Photo Central News)

On June 18 a new Ministry was formed as follows:

Premier and Minister without portfolio—General Avarescu.  
Foreign Affairs—M. Take Ionescu.  
Interior—M. Argetoyanu.  
War—General Rasosnu.  
Public Instruction—M. Negulescu.  
Fine Arts—M. Octavian Goga.  
Communications—General Valcu.  
Public Works—M. Greceanu.  
Finance—M. Titulescu.  
Agriculture—M. Cudaleu.

Labor—M. Trancou Jasi.  
 Justice—M. Cantacuzene.  
 Industry and Commerce—M. Octavian  
 Taslavanu.  
 Under Secretary for Reconstruction and  
 Food Supply—M. Arnastasiu.  
 Bukovina—Baron Starcea.  
 Transylvania—M. Moscony.  
 Bessarabia—M. Sergeie.  
 Minister of State and President of the  
 Board of Agriculture—M. Garoflid.

The results of the election for both House and Senate, held in the last fortnight of June, gave the People's Party, headed by the Premier, 215 Deputies, against 117 divided among eight other parties, and 86 Senators against 13. The Socialists increased the number of their Deputies from 13 to 19, and for the first time elected a Senator.

At a preliminary meeting of representatives of the Parliamentary majorities it was decided to put forward Dulin Zamfirescu, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs, for the Presidency of the Chamber, and General Coanda for the Presidency of the Senate.

Some excitement was caused in political circles by a rumor that the object of the mission of the French General Payot was to endeavor to induce the Rumanians to lend armed assistance to the Poles against the Bolsheviks. This caused a Government denial and an explanation: General Payot, it was stated, had come from Paris to ascertain what supplies of Rumanian oil could be secured for France.

Popular opposition was aroused against the Government decree authorizing the formation of the Rumanian Oil Company with a monopoly of the distribution of oil in Rumania. Some of the newspapers of Bucharest attacked the Government, not for creating a monopoly of the oil trade, but for favoring certain companies to the exclusion of others. The Government promised to modify the decree.

## JUGOSLAVIA

The seventy-sixth birthday of King Peter was celebrated throughout Serbia, and received honorable mention, as it were, in other parts of the monarchy of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, on June 29 (July 12). The demonstrations did

much to revive the popularity of the Black-George dynasty, which was rapidly losing prestige through the Prince Regent's habit of spending so much time in Paris and Monte Carlo rather than in Belgrade. Also the new Government organized under M. Vesnitch the month before, owing to its Croatian and Slovene representation, did much to improve the cohesion of the Belgrade administration; meetings in Croatia and Slavonia still continued to demand a republic, but lacked any executive head under which to turn their words into action. One cause for complaint in these regions, formerly under Austrian rule, was that in the contracts made for American machinery and farm implements the Belgrade Government had discriminated in favor of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Roussagen Agency of Belgrade announced that M. Drinkovitch, the Croatian Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, had instituted a scheme for automobile communication between all points in Jugoslavia not reached by rail. At the beginning, ten passenger automobiles and twenty former army tractors were used over a route of 2,000 kilometers. From Stolatz to Voditzé the country was divided into districts, each of which will be held responsible for the upkeep of the roads running through them.

The withdrawal of Italian troops from Montenegrin ports caused the Opposition press of Belgrade to demand that the Government assert its rights, in accordance with President Wilson's dictum, on the Croatian littoral and the islands in the Adriatic. One paper, forgetting that Italian troops still occupy the armistice territories of the quondam Austrian Empire, went so far as to state that the present Serbian situation for settling accounts with Italy was more favorable than it might be later, and that therefore the situation should be cleared up. In regard to the Albanian insurgents, the sentiment of all parties was that, if Italy found herself unable to maintain her protectorate over the country, Serbian interests demanded intervention on behalf of the monarchy of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.



A new propaganda on behalf of Montenegro, which, however, has nothing to do with the attempted rehabilitation of the dethroned King Nicholas, has been circulating for some time in Paris and London official circles. Its object is to annoy the Belgrade Government with the fear that the League of Nations might investigate the means employed by Serbia in gaining possession of the land of the "Black Mountain." French and British relief expeditions in Montenegro were stopped by the Serbian military authorities. As to the British Mission, Alexander Devine forwarded to Downing Street a report in which he described the conditions in Montenegro as "absolutely heartrending and, for the most part, unnecessary." He continued:

The shops are empty, the town markets are deserted. The peasants, who may not travel from one village to another without a Serbian "permit," bring in daily from the mountains anything they have to sell, but what they can scrape together for sale is pitiable, and there are many poor wretches who cannot even get to the markets simply because they are naked, simply walking about in sackings. The majority of the children are clothed only in a sack. The

Scottish Women's Hospital, which has been working since the outbreak of war in Montenegro, has been disbanded. Four of the nurses passed through Antivari on their way to England, and their reports confirm these statements. The poor people have no money and have nothing to eat; they are said to be living on an herb of some sort that grows wild in the mountains.

The British Prime Minister also received from Lord Sydenham a resolution, signed by some fifty prominent members of the British Parliament, including Viscounts Bryce, Gladstone and Curzon. This read:

Having regard to the most gallant services rendered by Montenegro, the smallest of our Allies, and to the heavy cost she has sustained, her people have the clear right to determine their future form of government; it is, therefore, necessary that a Parliament should be elected under the Montenegrin Constitution to decide this question, free voting being secured by the withdrawal of all the Serbian troops and officials at present occupying the country; and only by these means can the definite pledges made by the Great Powers be redeemed, and the principles for which the Allies fought be vindicated in the case of the Sovereign State of Montenegro.

## Turkey and Her Lost Dominions

### Counterproposals Submitted by the Turks on Many Articles of the Treaty—Affairs in Palestine.

#### TURKEY

THE publication of the Turkish Treaty of Peace merely accentuated both the political and military aspects in what was called the Turkish Empire before the great war. In Constantinople itself, even more incomprehensible became the strength of Anglo-Saxon and Latin civilizations and the Hellenic traditions to be revived, as these were reflected in the native press and in interviews with Ottoman subjects, both Moslems and non-Moslems. New ideas—Socialism, the League of Nations—simply did not interest them. British hostility they lamented; the Greek advance through Anatolia they looked upon as

something to be dismissed with a few words—and a few companies of Turkish infantry. The misunderstandings with the Arabs in Palestine and the south, with the French in Syria, with the British in Mesopotamia—these were merely diplomatic disturbances which would soon pass away. That the guns of British warships in the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmora shook the houses in Istanbul meant nothing to them; nothing the arrival of hundreds of refugees from the southern littoral of the Straits. The trivial modifications in the terms of the treaty handed to the Turkish delegates at Paris, on July 17, were regarded as a diplomatic victory which would be fol-

lowed by others until very nearly the old order would be restored.

But the reply of the Allies to the Turkish delegates contained something drastic also. If at the end of ten days Turkey did not sign the treaty:

If the Turkish Government refuses to sign the peace—still more, if it finds itself unable to re-establish its authority

and for all to the empire of the Turks over other nations.

The optimistic fatalism of the Turks and their utter indifference to the results of the war outside of Turkey itself were illustrated by the Turkish counter-proposals, as dictated from Constantinople and presented at Paris:

The Turkish Government agrees to recognize the new States of Poland, Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, the independence of Armenia and the Hedjaz, and the Protectorate of France over Tunis and Morocco. It renounces all claims over Libya, Egypt and the islands of the Aegean. It recognizes the independence of Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine, and the rights of Great Britain over the Suez Canal and the Sudan. It also ratifies the British right to dispose of Cyprus.

On the other hand, the Turkish Government protests against the composition of the Straits Commission, on the ground that certain States only are represented, while the State actually situated on the Straits (Turkey) is excluded. The clauses calling for the demolition of fortifications and the occupation of their sites by British, French and Italian military forces are declared to be an impairment of Turkey's sovereign rights and the security of the Ottoman State. The Government agrees to the free navigation of the Straits, but insists that it shall have representation on the Straits Commission, and that they shall be operated as the Suez Canal has been operated, in accordance with the Treaty of Constantinople of Oct. 29, 1888.

The articles which deal with the surrender of Thrace, Smyrna and Syria the Turkish Government rejects. The first because the northern frontier would be brought too near the Golden Horn, the second because it suspects the justice of a future plebiscite, and the third for the following reason:

Turkey cannot give its approval to a solution which would do the gravest injury to the imprescriptible rights of an important fraction of the population, and the national sentiment of Turkey, which has already demonstrated its resistance, will not accept this annexation and will only yield if compelled to do so.



MUSTAPHA KEMAL

*Leader of the Nationalist and anti-Ally revolt in Turkey*

(Photo Keystone View Co.)

in Anatolia or give effect to the treaty—the Allies, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, may be driven to reconsider this arrangement by ejecting the Turks from Europe once and for all. The Allies are clear that the time has come when it is necessary to put an end once



Finally, the Turkish Government agrees to the reduction of the army and navy and to the appointment of a Financial Commission, on the latter of which, however, it shall have representation.

On June 30 Djemal Pasha and Rechid Bey arrived in Paris with a supplement to the foregoing counterproposals. Fear lest the Greeks might turn over certain of the Aegean Islands to some third Power—to England, for example, in exchange for Cyprus—it was said, had inspired the Porte to ask that the islands Lemnos, Imbros and Tenedos, situated at the entrance to the Dardanelles, be included in the same zone as the Straits and so remain Ottoman territory under allied occupation. The supplement also protested against including the port of Alexandretta in the French mandate for Syria, and offered the following by way of solution:

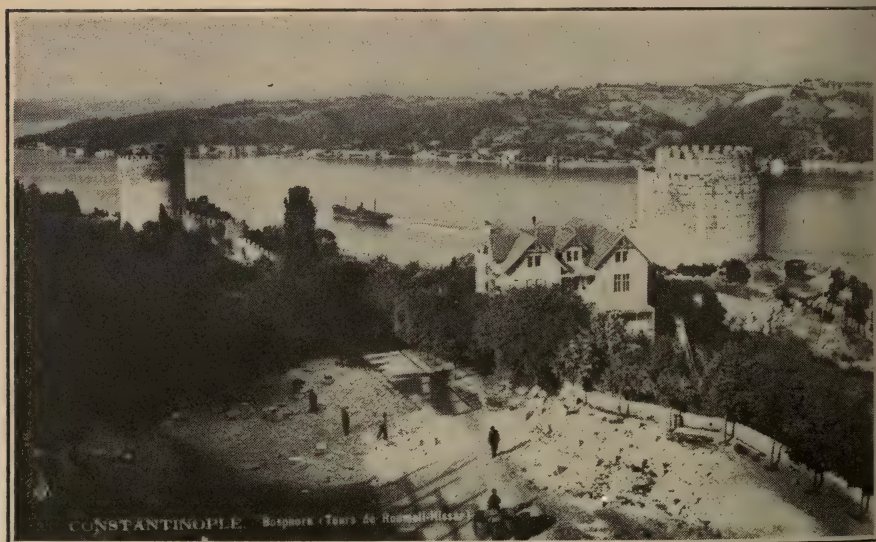
A line starting from the Mediterranean coast at Ras-el-Basit [between Latakia and Alexandretta, and over 120 miles south of the latter] and ending at Khanikan [on the Persian frontier], passing north of Aleppo [left to Syria], south of Nisibin [the present terminus of the Bagdad Railway], and north of Mosul [left to Mesopotamia].

The supplement further qualified the Ottoman Government's acceptance of an independent Armenia in this way:

There is no ground for extending Armenian territory beyond the old Russo-Turkish frontier. The Ottoman Government admits in principle the demilitarization of Turkish territory near the Armenian frontier, provided this demilitarization be reciprocal.

The military operations since the middle of June had their initiative, according to the Turkish press, in an attempt of the Entente to carry out prematurely the terms of the treaty: The Greeks to take possession of Thrace and Smyrna with their hinterland, and the British, with their warships, to establish the international zone at the Straits. As a matter of fact the forces of the Entente were everywhere placed on the defensive by the advance of the Turkish Nationalists, inspired by the withdrawal of the troops of the Sultan.

The Nationalist, or Kemalist, attack began in raids against the Entente lines south of the Straits and the capture and execution of Turkish loyalists, and was concentrated against the British here and the Greeks at the Smyrna outposts.



THE BOSPORUS AS SEEN FROM THE TERRACE OF ROBERT COLLEGE, CONSTANTINOPLE. THE TOWERS ARE THOSE OF RUMELLI-HISSAR. AT THE EXTREME LEFT IS BEICOS BAY, FROM WHICH BRITISH WARSHIPS RECENTLY BOMBARDED THE NATIONALIST FORCES OF MUSTAPHA KEMAL IN THE HILLS

Little attention was paid to General Gouraud in Syria, who had fallen back to the Mersina-Aintab line, or to the Italians around Ephesus, who later decided to allow the Greeks to pursue the fleeing Nationalists within their zone. The Entente counteroffensive, when it came, was the execution of the matured plan arranged between the Greek Commander in Chief, General Paraskevo-



THE GREEK ADVANCE ALONG THE AKHISAR-SOMA-PANDERMA LINE WAS INTENDED TO CUT OFF THE NATIONALISTS TO THE WEST NEAR MOUNT IDA. THE GREEKS ENTERED BURSA ON JULY 8

poulos, and Lieut. Gen. Sir George Milne, commander of the allied troops in Western Asia. It was agreed that offensive operations in the field should be taken by the Greek troops alone.

Fighting between the Nationalists and the British, the latter acting on the defensive, assumed a formidable aspect on June 16 at the Ismid trenches, east of the bay of that name, which is an arm of the Sea of Marmora. A raid, in which Turkish loyalists were alone molested, was also made by 200 Nationalists on Guebza, on the Anatolian Railway, about halfway between Skutari, opposite Constantinople, and Ismid. British warships then entered the bay and began to shell the Nationalist lines. Meanwhile, the British High Commissioner, Admiral de Robeck, went to Ismid and protested

to an envoy of Mustapha Kemal Pasha against the unprovoked attack. No attention was paid to this protest. On June 21 the British landed engineers at all the Turkish fortifications on the southern side of the Straits, and began to blow up the guns there. The few Turkish soldiers guarding the fortifications made no resistance. By June 26 it was reported that the British casualties were under 100, while the Nationalists, principally at Ismid, had lost 1,000 by British gunfire. The British forces were reinforced from Malta by 2,000 English and Indian troops, and by a flotilla of small naval craft.

What may be considered as the beginning of the Greek offensive occurred on June 22, when the Hellenic forces, with their base at the city of Smyrna, advanced north and occupied Akhisar and attacked Salihli. The former is on the railway fifty-five miles northeast of Smyrna, while Salihli is about the same distance east. Simultaneously, operations were begun in Eastern Thrace to disperse the bands of Tjafer Tayar, the Nationalist Military Governor of Adrianople. These operations were under the command of General Leonardopoulos, with his headquarters at Ourli. As he proceeded toward Adrianople he met with little or no resistance; most of the towns, whence the Turks had fled, received him with music and flowers. On his official entrance into Karagatch over 100 deserters from the newly recruited army of Tayar joined him. General Leonardopoulos, who received his military education in France, is considered one of the ablest Greek Generals, and the division he commanded—the famous Ninth—composed entirely of men from Epirus, was said to have a high sense of discipline and esprit de corps.

Aside from General Leonardopoulos's army of occupation, the distribution of the Greek troops and the strength of the enemy arrayed against them, both in Thrace and Smyrna, were as follows:

In Southern Thrace, on the right bank of the Maritza, between Adrianople and the Adrean Sea, were the equivalent of three divisions, supported in the rear in the direction of Saloniki by one division



and by the advancing Ninth in the neighborhood of the Bulgarian frontier. Tjafer Tayar's army included 10,000 Turkish regulars and 20,000 Greek and Bulgar Moslem recruits of the region. By June 25 the Greeks had crossed the Maritza and had moved east in the direction of Constantinople, resting upon the railway between Demotika and Constantinople, which they were using for their supplies.

In the region of Smyrna was the equivalent of five divisions, or 200,000 men. Waiting for their advance and distributed at strategic points widely separated, on an irregular line extending from Mount Ida, on the west, to Angora, on the northeast, were 40,000 Nationalists recently mobilized by Mustapha Kemal. Here the Greeks began their advance along three railways, leading respectively toward Lake Egerdir and Afiun-Karahissar (an important junction on the Greek railway to Bagdad in one direction, and to Panderma, a port on the south side of the Sea of Marmora, in the other.)

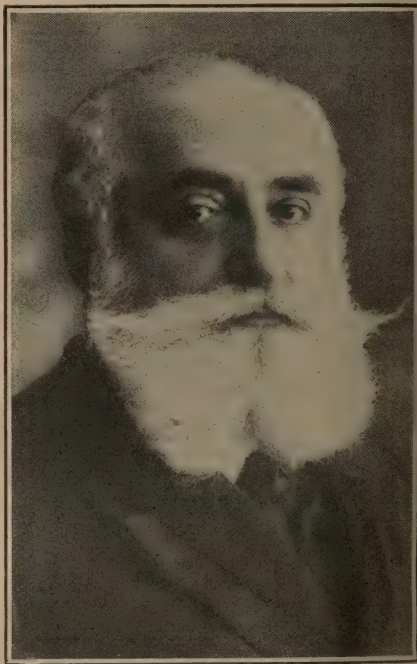
By June 28 the Greek advance presented a line beyond Soma-Akhissar-Alashehr (Philadelphia)-Kelles, which had cost the Turks 2,000 killed in the valley of the River Hermus (Gedis Chai). Consolidating their lines until June 30, the Greeks on that day landed 2,000 men on the south shore of the Sea of Marmora, twenty miles west of Panderma, and simultaneously began their advance on that place with three columns from Soma. Their idea was to isolate the enemy in the Mount Ida region from his main forces east of the Anatolian-Bagdad railway. Another landing, this on the Dardanelles littoral, was made at Hamidieh Fort, the guns of which had been destroyed by British engineers a few days before.

On July 2 the Greek cavalry reached Balikesri, 100 miles northeast of Smyrna and fifty south of Panderma, capturing 1,200 prisoners, 54 heavy guns and a score of field pieces. Simultaneously Kemal Pasha sent a message to Constantinople saying that he had the Greek advance well in hand. The Greeks, moving north from Soma and south from the

Sea of Marmora, next effected a junction, and the Nationalists at Mount Ida were thus isolated. The two Greek columns then (July 10) advanced on and occupied Brusa, 75 miles southwest of Ismid, and prepared to raise the siege of the British lines at the latter place.

## PALESTINE

As Sir Herbert Samuel, British High Commissioner in Palestine, began his administration at Jerusalem a long fermenting movement against his appointment in particular, and against the British Government's espousal of the cause of Zionism in general, broke loose



MAX NORDAU

*Noted author, who is taking an active part in the Zionist movement*

in Parliament and in a certain section of the daily and weekly press of London, led, respectively, by The Morning Post and The Spectator. Meanwhile, the Jewish Correspondence Bureau, taking its position from the unofficial report (see JUNE CURRENT HISTORY) of Sir Herbert on the Jerusalem riots, stated:

Sir Herbert Samuel will signalize his entry into office as High Commissioner of Palestine by proclaiming an amnesty for those who have been sentenced in connection with the riots in Jerusalem, the amnesty to be applied to Arabs, Christians and Jews. Among those who will thus be released is Vladimir Jabotinsky, who was sentenced by court-martial for organizing a Jewish self-defense corps.

In the House of Lords on June 29, Earl Curzon, in reply to an interpellation of the Government by Lord Sydenham, said that, while Sir Herbert's report had not been intended for publication, that of Lord Allenby on the subject of the Jerusalem riots had referred to a matter which was still sub judice. In the House of Commons, on the same day, Brig. Gen. Colvin interpellated the Government on the subject of Jabotinsky and was told by Mr. Churchill that both Lord Allenby and a British tribunal had found Jabotinsky's acts unjustifiable.

The Spectator, after praising the attitude taken by The Morning Post in denouncing the appointment of Sir Herbert "to be the chief administrator and virtually autocrat of Palestine," continued:

The British Government has, of course, assured the people of Palestine that they had nothing to fear, and things were beginning to settle down. Suddenly, however, the Moslem and Christian population see named as administrator and autocrat of Palestine not only a Jew but actually a Zionist. Can we wonder that the appointment has been received with consternation by all who know the Middle East, and with something like fury by the majority of the inhabitants of the new State?

An international Zionist conference, the first in seven years, met in London on July 7 and elected as its President Louis D. Brandeis, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. The object of the gathering was to formulate a program for Palestine. Dr. Max Nordau of London was chosen Honorary President.

Professor Chayim Weizmann, the noted Zionist, in his address to the conference made an eloquent appeal to Jews throughout the world to co-operate with the Zionists in the re-establishment of Palestine. Professor Weizmann stated that a Jewish colonization organization already had been formed, open to private initiative, from which much might be expected. He emphasized the fact that



NOTED AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE ZIONIST CONFERENCE IN LONDON. LEFT TO RIGHT: NATHAN STRAUS, MERCHANT, AND LOUIS D. BRANDEIS OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, WHO IS HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION. THE THIRD IS RABBI WISE, WHO WAS SEEING HIS FRIENDS OFF WHEN THEY SAILED FROM NEW YORK



all work in Palestine would be effected in strict co-operation with the Arabs. The professor declared that at least 50,000 Jewish immigrants would be settled in Palestine during the next twelve months. In accordance with a suggestion made by Dr. Weizmann the conference appointed a Policy Committee of twenty-one members to formulate a program for observance in Palestine.

## SYRIA

The armistice established between the French and the Nationalists broke down in Cilicia on June 14, when the Nationalists renewed their attacks upon Armenian villages and occupied the Eregli coal fields, levying heavy taxes on the owners and ordering the French concessionnaires off the property. So the fighting between Senegalese troops and the Nationalists began again, and on June 16 a French garrison at Bozano was forced to surrender to superior force.

In view of these events and the war between Greece and the Turkish Nationalists in Asia Minor, on June 27 the battleship Jean Bart and the destroyers Bisson, Mangini and Capitaine Mehl were ordered to Constantinople. Nevertheless, the policy of the French Government, as outlined by M. Millerand the same day, had undergone no change:

Before France received the mandate for Syria the message of the Government sent on Feb. 10 to our High Commissary outlined our policy, which was more diplomatic than military. The mandate we have in Syria is an issue of Article XXII. of the covenant of the League of Nations. France is tied to Syria by so many memories and traditions, and has not the right to leave that country if she does not wish to compromise irreparably her position as a great Mediterranean and Mussulman power. We are in Syria, and there we shall remain, to conduct the policy defined by the Covenant of the League of Nations and to defend the Syrian population, which asks us to collaborate with Turkey in Cilicia to bring about peace and economic prosperity.

According to Jerusalem dispatches received by The London Times on July 17 and 18, General Gouraud, the commander of the French forces, had dispatched to Prince Feisal, the so-called King of Syria, an ultimatum on July 16 demanding that he, within twenty-four hours,

acknowledge the French mandate, adopt French as the official language, and French currency as the official currency. Feisal thereupon ordered a general mobilization and the French prepared to occupy Aleppo and advance on Damascus with eighty battalions of French and Senegales, including the proper quotas of artillery, airplanes and tanks.

It was reported from Beirut that Prince Feisal had been forced to adopt the course he did by the extremists among the Syrians and not by his own Arab faction. The Syrians were said to have resented the armistice which Gouraud had formed with the Nationalist Turks in the north, in Cilicia, as strengthening the Pan-Islamic movement. It was also pointed out that Feisal was finding it much more difficult to hold a middle course, on account of the economic conditions. It was practically impossible to get any goods through from Beirut or the other ports of French occupation to Damascus and the interior towns. Commercial confidence had also been hit hard by the substitution of French paper money for the Syrian.

## MESOPOTAMIA

On June 20 Major Gen. Sir Percy Cox, who had been the British Resident at Teheran, Persia, was appointed to represent Great Britain in Mesopotamia. News came from Bagdad that his instructions included the inception of the task of preparing the country for home rule, and that for this purpose he would be authorized to call into being provisional bodies, a Council of State, under an Arab President, and a General Elective Assembly, freely elected by the population. A debate ensued in the British House of Commons on June 23, due to an attack on the Government's policy, which kept "70,000 troops employed at a yearly expenditure of £21,000,000." The Prime Minister said in substance:

He repudiated entirely the suggestion that the League of Nations was to determine who should be the mandatary of those countries. The whole cost in money and blood of emancipating Mesopotamia and Palestine fell on the British, and Great Britain had the best moral or legal claim to be the mandatary there. There would be an Arab Government in Meso-

potamia in time, but until it was able to walk firmly Great Britain must guide its tottering footsteps.

Mr. Churchill, for the Government, admitted that fighting had been renewed between the Arabs and the Turks and the British in the Mosul region, but without any loss to British prestige. In the House of Lords, Lord Curzon admitted that an invitation had been addressed by Mesopotamian notables to Emir Abdulla, third son of the King of the Hedjas, to become King of the Mosul region of Irak; but he observed that the invitation had been sent without the Emir's knowledge. He added that the British mandate over Mesopotamia was in process of being submitted to the League of Nations for investigation and criticism.

Meanwhile, in Paris, the Anglophobic press lent fuel to the Asquith opposition flame by trying to prove that M. Clemenceau had betrayed France when he consented to the British mandate over Mesopotamia, as the rich French oil interests in Mosul should have caused that region to be joined to the French mandatory of Syria.

## PERSIA

As the month covered by the July CURRENT HISTORY closed, the Persian Foreign Minister, Prince Firuz Mirza, who happened to be in London, was appealing both to the British Government and to the League of Nations to save his country from a Bolshevik invasion via Baku and Enzeli. On June 16 it was reported that the Persian province of Ghilan, of which Resht is the capital, had revolted and formed a Soviet republic. As neither the British Government nor the League of Nations made replies outlining a definite policy, Viscount Grey of Falldon attacked the Government's entire Persian policy in a speech at Stratford, and Prince Firuz issued a statement to the press.

Lord Grey said that the Anglo-Persian agreement, brought into existence by the British Government just before the Council of the League of Nations was created, should be superseded by the League. The League, if backed by the sympathy of the world, should be better fitted to maintain the independence of

Persia against aggression. Britain, he said, desires no such obligations, though the agreement has been widely misconstrued as an effort on Britain's part to further her own selfish interests.

The decidedly informing statement of Prince Firuz reads, in part, as follows:

I need not repeat the facts in detail: the bombardment and occupation, without any provocation on our part, of the neutral Persian port of Enzeli, on the Caspian Sea, by the naval forces of the Moscow Government, and the landing of Red troops at several points in our territory. In such an emergency the Persian Government hastened, among other measures, to lodge a protest with the Soviet Government, and, in accordance with its duty as a member of the League of Nations, to appeal to that august body through the Secretary General. \* \* \*

I am hopeful that the League of Nations will seriously take up the subject of our request. I believe this is the first time that an appeal of this nature has been made to the League. \* \* \*

I need not say that unrest in Persia as a result of extreme propaganda would certainly disturb the peace of the whole of the Middle East, and produce an upheaval the consequences of which would be incalculable. The whole civilized world, and especially the British Government, could not possibly regard with equanimity such sinister developments. Although, as Mr. Bonar Law stated in the House of Commons when referring to the Anglo-Persian agreement, the British Government is under no written obligation to come to the assistance of Persia in such an emergency, and as I myself, in a statement made to the press in Paris, clearly emphasized, the agreement contained no engagement on the part of Persia and no obligation on the part of Great Britain, outside of the well-defined limits of the text. But, leaving aside the question of any formal or implied engagement, we must not forget that the vital interests of Persia, as well as of Great Britain, are now involved. Those interests are indeed so closely interwoven that the British Government and people cannot adopt an attitude of aloofness.

At this moment, released from the oppressive influence of the old Czarist régime, Persia—alive to the important duties imposed upon her by her geographical position and as a member of the League of Nations, is endeavoring to strengthen her organization and to develop her resources in order to contribute effectively to the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the Middle East, and to the extension of the benefits of civilization in that part of the world.



# Status of the Shantung Dispute

## Japan's Universal Suffrage Crisis

### JAPAN

THE Shantung controversy made no visible progress toward settlement. The Japanese Government on June 14 sent China an official note urging the opening of negotiations, and issued a long official statement on June 16 reviewing all the correspondence between the two Governments since the ratification of the Versailles Treaty. In the light of this correspondence, the Shantung dispute may be said to stand as follows:

On ratification of the treaty in January, the Japanese Government, through its Minister at Peking, informed China of its desire to open negotiations devised to lead to the restoration of Kiao-Chau in Shantung, declared its intention of withdrawing its troops, but stated that it must keep them there temporarily to guard the railway, in the absence of any competent force to assume this duty after the contemplated evacuation. Japan hoped that China would organize a police force for this purpose, even before an evacuation agreement was reached, and was fully prepared to carry through the proposed negotiations.

China, however, did not reply for nearly three months, and thus a question of importance to enduring peace remained unsettled. Finally, on April 26, the Japanese Minister at Peking was instructed to urge upon China the importance of taking the necessary steps to open negotiations. China did not reply until May 22, and her reply amounted to a request for delay. Though appreciating the Japanese pledge to withdraw her troops, she stated that as she had not signed the treaty she was not in a position to negotiate directly with Japan on Kiao-Chau; for this reason, and also because of the "indignantly antagonistic" attitude of the people of China, she regretted that she found herself at that time unable to make any definite reply.

China, however, pointed out that as the state of war with Germany had ceased, the further presence of Japanese troops in Kiao-Chau was unnecessary, and urged Japan to issue an order for evacuation at once, stating that China planned to effect a proper organization to replace these forces.

The Imperial Government then transmitted its note of June 14. This note took cognizance of the Chinese position

as stated, but pointed out that a "fundamental agreement" existed between China and Japan regarding Kiao-Chau. It then reiterated Japan's desire of effecting a fair and just settlement as soon as possible, and declared that it would accept a proposal for negotiations at any time the Chinese Government saw fit to make it. Japan made the withdrawal of troops depend wholly on the formation of a Chinese police force competent to take over the responsibilities of guarding mutual interests. The question of military equipment in and around Kiao-Chau, the note said, furnished additional ground for negotiations. These, and all other minor questions, it added, would be solved simultaneously with the opening of negotiations. The note ended with a reiteration of Japan's desire to effect a fair settlement as soon as possible. China had made no reply when these pages went to press.

Negotiations for a prolongation of the alliance between Great Britain and Japan continued through June and the first half of July, and were finally brought to a successful conclusion. Considerable opposition to the continuation of the alliance had been expressed by the Australian press and a strong feeling of hostility to a renewal developed in China. The Chinese Government protested officially against such a renewal without consultation of China. Despite this opposition, an agreement was reached, and Great Britain and Japan notified the League of Nations on July 13 that they had prolonged the treaty of alliance for one year. They pointed out that the terms of the treaty had been revised and that they were now in accord with the principles of the League. The insertion of an article relieving either of the high contracting parties from the necessity of going to war with any Power concluding a treaty of arbitration with the other contracting party was considered important in Washington in view of the fact that Great Britain and the United States had contracted such a treaty of arbitration on September 15, 1914. The motive of the prolongation for a single year was stated to be the desire of Great Britain to gain

time to consult with the Dominion Governments regarding a revision of the treaty, necessitated by the elimination of German influence in the Far East.

The treaty thus prolonged had originally been signed in London on July 13, 1911, by T. Kato, the Japanese Ambassador; Lord Grey, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The long dispute over universal suffrage in Japan was settled, temporarily, at least, when the Diet rejected the proposal on July 12. The issue had aroused great excitement among the people, as well as in the Diet. On July 3 the former Minister of Agriculture attacked the Government policy, declaring that the Cabinet should respect the Diet's decision to grant universal suffrage without a referendum to the nation. Premier Hara replied that it was improper to adopt universal suffrage without giving a trial to the amended election law, which extends the right of voting, and declared the Government justified in appealing to the people. The session of July 9 was extremely turbulent, the Opposition Party making a fierce attack upon the Government, both in regard to the action of the Militarists in Siberia and in regard to suffrage. The Premier admitted that extension of the suffrage was necessary, but declared that he was unable to see why the whole social organization should be destroyed. At the session of the following day, however, the House defeated a resolution of want of confidence in the Government by 283 votes as against 145. The Diet was guarded by 5,000 police reserves, in view of the great mass meeting held in Tokio, as well as in the provinces, to voice the popular demand for universal suffrage. Speeches of a violent character were made at these gatherings, and paraders carrying banners clashed with the police, who made many arrests.

At the session of July 12 the proposal of universal suffrage was defeated in the lower house when an Opposition resolution was rejected by a vote of 283 as against 150. While the measure was being debated immense crowds held pro-suffrage demonstrations in nearby parks. The police kept all demonstrating crowds away from the House of Parliament and

broke up an indoor meeting of students who were attempting to pass resolutions censuring the Cabinet for "hindering the development of the nation."

The following diplomatic appointments were announced on June 5:

Baron Gonsuke Hayashi, formerly Governor of the leased territory of Kwantung, Manchuria, to be Japanese Ambassador at London, succeeding Viscount Chinda. Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, formerly Ambassador at Washington, to be Japanese Ambassador at Paris, succeeding M. Matsui. Mr. Isaaburo Yamagata, formerly attached to the office of the Governor General of Korea, to be Governor General of the Kwantung leased territory, succeeding Baron Hayashi.

In a letter addressed by William D. Stephens, Governor of California, to Secretary of State Colby on June 21, it was stated that the influx of Japanese into California had brought about "alarming conditions," which made it necessary to protect the sovereignty of the State against this "growing menace" through diplomatic negotiation or a strict exclusion act. A proposed initiative in State legislation designed to prevent Japanese from owning or leasing land within California, it was stated, would be submitted to the voters of the State in the coming November elections. Meanwhile informal conversations were entered upon between the American and Japanese Governments relative to the situation precipitated by this proposal. Speaking on the California problem in Tokio on June 18, Viscount Kentaro Kaneko, member of the Privy Council of the Empire, condemned the proposed law, which he declared was purely anti-Japanese in its design, and asserted that the Japanese limit of endurance had nearly been reached.

## CHINA

The unsettlement of China owing to the civil war continued, with fighting between the opposing forces throughout June. Meanwhile negotiations at Shanghai between representatives of the Northern Government and leading figures of the Canton Government, who had revolted against the Southern Military Party, were reaching their end by June 26. The Southern secessionists were



headed by Wu Ting-fang, former Minister to America; Dr. Sun Yat-sen, First Provisional President of China; Tang-Shao-li, former Premier, and General Li Lieh-chun, who took a prominent part in the establishment of the republic. These leaders, it was stated, had agreed on the secession of all the Southern provinces except Kwang-si and Kwan-tung—the strongholds of the Southern militarists—whose arbitrary distribution of tax revenues had precipitated the secession, and on their reunion with North China.

Though these negotiations were considered to be making for a speedy peace between the north and the south, fresh trouble developed in North China through action taken by the Northern Reform Party early in July, in securing the dismissal of General Hsu Chu-cheng, Resident Commissioner of Inner Mongolia and Commander on the northwestern frontier. This dismissal was said to be due to bad feeling between the Reform Party, headed by General Chang Tso-ling and the Anfu Party, of which General Hsu Chu-cheng was a member.

The Anfu Generals, Wu Pei-fu and Tsao-kun, of Chi-li refused to give their sanction to Hsu Chu-cheng's dismissal, and on July 11 threatened an advance on Peking, as a result of which the city was thrown into a panic. The veteran General Chang Kuei-ti had gone to Chi-li to attempt to reconcile the opposing factions, and the Chinese President, Hsu Shih-chang, issued a mandate ordering the troops of the contending sides back to their original posts to preserve the people from the threat of a new civil war. Meantime, Marshal Tuan Chi-jui, himself a member of the Anfu Party, assumed control, and set out to force the Anfu Generals into submission. He was opposed by a number of the military Governors, and also by General Chang Tso-ling, who served notice from his post in Manchuria that in view of his having received evidence that Tuan Chi-jui had recruited brigands in Manchuria to oppose Tsao-kun and Wu Pei-fu, he intended to organize an expedition to occupy Peking and hold it until Tuan Chi-jui was punished. This project, however, he abandoned. Meanwhile Tuan

Chi-jui, surprised south of Nanyuan by Wu Pei-fu's troops, retreated toward Peking. The diplomatic corps on July 10 served notice on the Government that no fighting must take place in Peking, and that the city must not be subjected to bombardment.

Severe fighting followed, July 15-18, with the advantage in favor of General Wu Pei-fu. On the 18th it was reported that General Tuan Chi-jui, head of the Anfu Party, had suffered a severe defeat, and that his disorganized troops were retiring toward Peking. The capital was still in a state of semi-panic over the situation when these pages went to press.

The Cabinet crisis precipitated by the resignation of the Premier, Chin Yun-peng, early in May was virtually solved on June 30 by the selection of Chou Shu-mu, a member of the Reform Party and a friend of the President, to take the Premiership. Chin Yun-peng retained the post of Minister of War. Three important posts in the Cabinet were taken from adherents of the Anfu Party and replaced by civil appointees supporting the President. Tuan Chi-jui, one of the leading supporters of the Anfu program, had given, nevertheless, his consent to these changes. The name of Chou Shu-mu was submitted by the President to Parliament on July 3 for approval.

An offer to pay the sum of \$45,000 for the murder of the Rev. W. A. Reimert, an American missionary of the Yochow Reformed Church, and a native of Pennsylvania, was rejected by the American Legation on June 27, the Legation insisting that the Peking Government hold the Military Governor of Hunan Province, where the murder was committed, personally responsible for failure to provide protection. The Government had charged the Governor with incompetence and inefficiency and had divested him of all titles and honors following the loss of Chang-sha to the Southern revolutionaries, but had then pardoned him. The missionary was killed by the retreating Northern soldiers following the occupation of Chang-sha on June 14, and the mission church which he directed was looted.

# Restoring Law and Order in Mexico

## Status of the Oil Controversy

### MEXICO

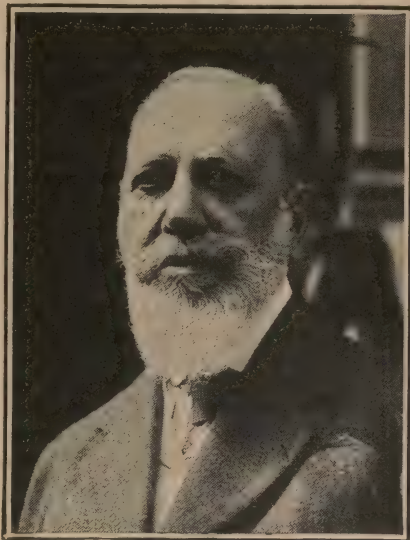
PRESIDENT de la Huerta addressed the Mexican Congress in person at the opening of the extraordinary session on June 21, its first meeting since the revolution that ended in the overthrow and tragic death of Carranza. Restoration of constitutional government in the revolutionary States, reforms of the electoral law and of the common law judicial system, modifications of the labor law to protect the rights of capitalists and workers equally, and improvements of the educational system were among the President's recommendations.

Among the subjects of vital interest to be considered in the brief session are revenue, shipping, sanitation, banking, coinage, customs, foreign commerce, the external debt, and, most important of all, the controversy over the ownership and taxation of oil lands. Under the Diaz régime, through bribery and graft, foreign companies were allowed to acquire monopoly of vast tracts of valuable oil lands; but with the fall of the dictator their absolute dominance began to weaken. Then came minor revolutions, and in many cases foreign companies were severely mulcted by various Generals under the plea of special taxation and protection from bandits, with the alternative threat of closing or destroying the wells.

The Federal Government determined to end this anarchy, and in a new Constitution, adopted on Feb. 5, 1917, incorporated as Article 27 the provision that subsoil products, meaning particularly oil, should be the property of the Mexican Government, to be disposed of by law or decree. There was no interpretation as to whether this applied to public lands or to private property, or whether it was retroactive or confiscatory in future. Interventionists saw in it an opportunity to embroil the United States with Mexico.

The previous situation had threatened President Wilson's friendly policy, out-

lined in a statement given out at the White House on March 25, 1916, which said: "Convinced that powerful influences are at work to force an inter-



DON FERNANDO IGLESIAS CALDERON  
*Special High Commissioner sent to Washington by the new Mexican Government*

(© Harris & Ewing)

vention in Mexico. Administration officials were today considering just what steps will be taken to bring the agitation to an end." On the other hand the rights acquired by American citizens deserved protection. President Wilson two years ago in a note to Carranza declared: "The United States cannot acquiesce in any procedure ostensibly or nominally in the form of taxation or the exercise of eminent domain, but really resulting in the confiscation of private property and arbitrary deprivation of vested rights."

Carranza was inclined to interpret the constitutional clause rigorously to the disadvantage of foreigners, and on March 12 signed a decree governing temporary oil concessions pending passage of legislation by Congress. This decree stated that concessions were to be granted



only to native or naturalized Mexicans or to companies organized under Mexican laws. To prevent monopolists from buying up oil lands and holding them out of use it was provided that drilling must begin within five years of the date of concession and taxes on daily production were fixed in the case of large producers as high as 20 per cent.

Although this is less than some excess profits taxes in the United States, those who were urging American intervention raised the cry of confiscation. In the case of the Tampico oil wells there was some justification for this, as the taxes were paid to General Manuel Pelaez and never reached the General Government. They were pay for "protection" and the oil companies submitted to them without question, knowing their properties would be destroyed if they objected. Pelaez, after the fall of Carranza, made his peace with the new Mexican Government and President de la Huerta invited American oil men to go to Mexico to discuss the question, at the same time promising that laws based on Article 27 should not have a retroactive effect.

General Jacinto B. Treviño, Minister of Commerce and Labor in the new Government, conferred with representatives of more than twenty foreign oil companies and assured them that all would receive equal treatment; but the laws of Mexico nationalizing petroleum territory would be carried out. They then interviewed President de la Huerta, who refused to intervene in the negotiations with General Treviño. The impression gained was that representatives of the American oil interests could not make headway with the Government owing to their reputation as ardent interventionists, but that the Government was willing to treat with unprejudiced representatives of experience and authority.

Señor V. R. Garcias, for years in charge of the oil engineering department of Stanford University, and now a consulting engineer of the United States Bureau of Mines, was appointed a Special Commissioner by President de la Huerta to study the oil situation and report on new regulations that may be necessary. On July 1 it was announced

that the Department would name a commission to confer with one representing American interests, and their recommendations, it was believed, would provide a basis for an amicable solution. Meanwhile nature may settle the controversy, for a leading well in the northern part of the State of Vera Cruz, which had been producing 60,000 barrels of oil daily, is now yielding only salt water, and other producers are in a state of apprehension regarding a possibly similar fate for their properties.

All Mexican traditions were broken on June 19 when, for the first time in the history of Mexico, foreigners who were not Ambassadors were dined by a President. American newspaper correspondents were thus entertained, and for three hours President de la Huerta frankly answered questions put by his guests. He stated that the Constitution of 1917 would prevail, as it was the legal Constitution, but present holders of property would have an opportunity to improve their holdings and would have preference. "We will go half way," he said, "and I am sure that the American business interests will come the other half."

As a further evidence of Mexico's desire for friendly relations with the United States Don Fernando Iglesias Calderon was sent by President de la Huerta to Washington as High Commissioner for Mexico with the rank of Ambassador. Don Fernando, who arrived in Washington on June 28, is the recognized leader of the Liberal Party in Mexico and one of the principal supporters of General Obregon for President. He has made an excellent impression on officials of the Administration, convincing them of Mexico's desire for full protection of life and property in Mexico, natives and foreigners alike, and of her anxiety to be on friendly terms with this country. There was a growing belief that recognition of the new Mexican Government was not far off.

Another sign of Mexico's more friendly attitude is the decline of the German influence exercised during the Carranza régime. All the members of the special missions sent to the United States and Europe are composed of men known as

pro-ally. Miguel Covarrubias, who has been named Minister of Foreign Affairs, was well known for his sympathy for the allied cause, and Cuthbert Hidalgo, one of the few pro-ally Senators, was made his assistant. President de la Huerta sent to President Wilson a very friendly message on Independence Day, expressing wishes for a "cordial union between the peoples of Mexico and the United States," and Mexico City newspapers published special Fourth of July editions praising the peace institutions, women's progress, traditions and national heroes of the United States.

All the political parties have agreed on the Presidential candidacy of General Alvaro Obregon, and he will probably be elected unopposed on Sept. 5. He favors the closest possible friendly relations with the United States and is advising de la Huerta in his administration as Provisional President. General Salvador Alvarado, the Minister of the Treasury, was intrusted with making a special visit to Washington, New York and the European capitals to discuss resumption of payments on Mexico's foreign debt, interest on which has been suspended for several years. Alberto M. Gonzalez, Justice of the Supreme Court, was also commissioned to visit the United States to study the American judicial system and explain proposed Mexican legislation relative to petroleum.

Minor revolts against the new régime have been crushed with a firm hand. A revolt occurred in the State of Chiapas, on the Guatemalan border, which lasted only one day and was crushed by Government forces, its leaders, Colonels Samado and Lotomayor, being executed. General Carlos Osuna began operations with 1,200 men in the State of Tamaulipas, but within a week was fleeing, wounded, with only eighty followers. Francisco Gonzalez, formerly Governor of the State, suspected of aiding Osuna, was captured and his execution was ordered on July 1 by General Elias Calles, Secretary of War. General Guajardo began an insurrection at Bermejillo, Durango, in June, but on July 2 was reported in flight.

General Pablo Gonzalez, who was one of the candidates for the Presidency, started a revolt on July 14, General Villareal, one of his commanders, attacking Monterey. The Obregon troops and customs guards easily repulsed the rebels, and General Gonzalez himself, with two of his subordinate officers, was captured near that city, and it was announced that he would be tried on a charge of treason.

With this exception, Villa was the sole important rebel holding out after the first week in July. Juan A. Delgado, one of his Generals, was reported on July 2 killed near Torreon, in Durango. Villa is strongest further north in Chihuahua, where he cut the railroad between Jiminez and Parral and occupied the town of Villa Ahumada, making it his headquarters. An armistice was concluded early in July, in which Villa promised to cease military operations until July 15. He offered to make peace if he were given the rank of General and a force of 500 men. In return he promised to make Chihuahua the safest State in Mexico. On July 14 it was announced that Villa had demanded the immediate resignation of General Calles as Minister of War and the withdrawal of all Federal officers from the Obregonista army in Chihuahua, threatening to reopen hostilities and begin a new reign of terror in case his terms were refused.

General Murguia, Colonel Barragan, General Montes and General Urquiza were under indictment on the charge of being responsible for the death of Carranza, because it is alleged they abandoned him when attacked. Generals Mariel and Berlanga were indicted on the charge of connection with the disappearance of Federal funds. Of the former Colonel Barragan escaped from custody on June 15 and the three others appealed from the decree ordering their detention. General Montes, who is a Deputy, was released by the President on June 29, at the request of the Chamber of Deputies, in order that he might take his seat.

Murguia is also charged with frauds amounting to 2,000,000 pesos by military invoices alleged to have contained items



such as silk stockings, perfumes, bonbons and other feminine articles. The Mexican Treasury, according to official figures, had enough money on hand to wipe out a book deficit of 2,500,000 pesos and have a balance of about 5,500,000 pesos. This is almost wholly due to the recovery from the Carranza Presidential trains of 3,733,604 pesos in gold, 1,000,935 pesos in silver and bronze, 127,290 from safety boxes, and 15,330 from women who accompanied the President's party in his flight from Mexico City.

An important movement on the Texas border about the end of June was the direct result of the fall of Carranza. While hundreds of Mexicans of the better class, exiled or in fear of confiscation, were returning home from Dallas and other cities thousands of Mexican families were surreptitiously crossing the Rio Grande to aid the farmers of the Southwest, lured by the prospect of high wages. This emigration, which began as early as last Christmas, had reached such an enormous expansion that Mexican immigration officials were ordered to forbid Mexican laborers crossing into the United States to accept work.

The outbreak of bubonic plague at Vera Cruz, noted in last month's *CURRENT HISTORY*, was reported to be under

control by the end of June, gradually dying out thereafter. European and American navigation companies resumed their services to the port.

Mexico is restoring to its owners, native and foreign, property seized by the late Government. On June 18 the Mexican Railway was turned over to its British owners, of whom Queen Mary is the principal stockholder. President de la Huerta ordered all churches and their annexes to be restored to their respective congregations. Individuals were asked on June 20 to prove ownership of any confiscated property and renounce damage claims in order to obtain its return. The only exceptions specified were those of Victoriano Huerta and his immediate family, Felix Diaz, Francisco Villa, J. W. Mayortena and Eugenio Paredes.

A parallel to the allied demand of Germany in the Treaty of Versailles for the return of the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa of East Africa is the request by Mexico of the State of Illinois for the wooden leg of General Santa Ana, lost in the battle of Cerro Gordo on April 18, 1847, and taken home by soldiers of the Fourth Illinois Infantry, which was later sent to the State Historical Library at Springfield.

## Republics of Latin America

### Conference in San Salvador—Revolution in Bolivia—Bitter Campaign in Chile

#### CENTRAL AMERICA

**D**ELEGATES from Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Nicaragua have been called to meet in San Salvador on Sept. 15 to discuss the basis of a union of Central America. Invitations to the conference were issued by the Salvador Government on June 27, and met with a unanimous response, Honduras being especially cordial in her reply.

Dr. Paredes, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Salvador, enumerates among the problems to be discussed the unification

of the different Constitutions, codification of fundamental laws, equalization of tariff duties, free trade between the States, and the adoption of a uniform monetary standard. With the full approbation of the President, the Cabinet and the people, a committee was appointed to undertake the preliminary work in Salvador, Dr. Manuel Delgado being named President and Dr. Victor Jerez Secretary.

**SALVADOR**—Although the smallest of the Central American republics, Salvador is becoming prominent in world af-

fairs and efforts for the good of humanity. She early ratified the Peace Treaty, and on July 4 President Melendez decided to instruct Dr. Arturo Ramon Avila, Salvadorean Chargé d'Affaires in London, to deposit Salvador's ratification of membership in the League of Nations. She promptly notified countries signatory to the sanitary convention at Washington of the outbreak of yellow fever in the City of Sonsonate and gratefully accepted efforts of the Rockefeller Foundation to prevent its spread. Dr. Bailey reported on July 7 that the disease had been eradicated; the quarantine against the city was lifted, and a decree was issued permitting steamers to call at Acapulco, the port of Sonsonate.

A moratorium which had been in operation in Salvador since the great war began, and which had profoundly affected the commerce and finance of the republic, was terminated on June 28 by executive decree.

**GUATEMALA**—The new Government in Guatemala was recognized by the United States on June 24 "as the constitutional successor of the Government of Estrada Cabrera" in an official proclamation issued by the State Department at Washington.

Guatemala on June 25 signed a contract to liquidate the Government's indebtedness to the International Railroad of Guatemala—amounting to nearly \$1,500,000—paying one-third immediately and the remaining two-thirds in three annual installments. Capital from the United States is largely interested.

**HONDURAS**—Honduras has prohibited the landing of all colored British subjects without a special permit. The action was taken to prevent an influx of negroes from Jamaica.

**NICARAGUA**—José Esteban Gonzalez of Diriamba was nominated for the Presidency of Nicaragua by the coalition party on July 14. He is a prominent coffee planter and exporter, well known in business circles in New York and San Francisco.

**PANAMA**—A special service squadron of nine vessels, of which the Dolphin is

expected to be the flagship, will visit Panama waters about Oct. 1, according to an announcement by Rear Admiral Coontz.

Reappearance of German ships in the Panama Canal is noted in the last monthly report to Secretary Baker, showing that four German vessels, aggregating 25,000 tons, passed through the canal in April, paying \$20,872 in tolls.

Since the installation of seismographs at the Panama Canal eleven years ago 429 earthquakes had been recorded up to June 23, an average of thirty-nine a year. Of these, 136 had their centres of disturbance from 11 to 200 miles from the observation station, but none caused injury to the canal, though many were plainly felt by the people of the Canal Zone and Panama.

## SOUTH AMERICA

An effort is being made to spread prohibition in South America, especially in Brazil, Paraguay, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina. At Punta Arenas the labor men refused to unload alcoholic liquors from ships. President Irigoyen caused to be inserted in the commercial travelers' treaty recently negotiated with Washington a clause excluding from its benefits "salesmen from the United States trafficking in alcoholic beverages in Argentina." On the other hand, when a prohibition bill was introduced in the Chamber of Deputies it was announced that President Irigoyen's Administration would not support it.

**ARGENTINA**—On July 9 Argentina celebrated the 104th anniversary of her independence, the day being marked by a parade of sailors from British, Brazilian and Uruguayan warships in the harbor of Buenos Aires. It was announced that a statue of Christopher Columbus, by Arnaldo Zocchi, was being shipped from Rome to be set up in Buenos Aires, carved from the largest block of marble used for many centuries, being twenty-one feet high and weighing forty-five tons.

Treaties between Argentina and Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia, providing for compulsory arbitration of matters at issue between them, were approved in



the Chamber of Deputies on July 6. A Government bill calculates the expenses of the republic for the next fiscal year at \$521,000,000, the appropriation for the War Department being \$24,500,000 more than last year.

Arrangements have been made by Great Britain to pay its debt of \$100,000,000 to Argentina by meeting periodically the interest on Argentina's debt held in London. Half the debt was liquidated by paying obligations which Argentina owed to American bankers.

The all-American railway between the United States and Argentina is still far off, but the intervening gap will soon be lessened by the construction of 150 miles of new railway in the heart of the Andes, bringing Arica, in the north of Chile, into direct all-rail connection with Buenos Aires. Meanwhile the Western Union Telegraph Company is establishing direct communication between Chicago and Buenos Aires, with an eye, no doubt, to the wheat pit. After Argentina had put a heavy super-tax on wheat exports it was found that England, France and Italy had already bought up most of the visible supply. As a result the Government on July 8 prohibited exports in excess of 500,000 tons.

**BOLIVIA**—By a successful revolution which took place in La Paz on the night of Sunday, July 11, the Government of Gutierrez Guerra, President of Bolivia, was overthrown, and he took refuge in the United States Legation. The revolt was accomplished by Republican Party adherents led by Bautista Savedra, the well-known historian. The cause of the uprising was the pro-Chilean policy pursued by the Guerra administration. In *CURRENT HISTORY* for May (Page 263) it was noted as peculiar that in the triangular controversy for a seaport the port which Bolivia wanted was not her former town of Antofagasta, but the former Peruvian town of Arica. "Instead of asking for her own," it was stated, "Bolivia is seeking what belonged to her former ally in the war against Chile in 1880."

That is the cause of the revolution, tersely expressed. The Guerra Government sought a Pacific outlet through

Arica, the title to which is in dispute between Chile and Peru. The Republican Party held that the outlet should be through Antofagasta. The former policy naturally would have weakened Peru, Chile's northern rival. Dr. Jose Maria Escalier, chief of the Republican Party of Bolivia, who was in Buenos Aires at the time of the revolution in La Paz and who will probably be chosen President of Bolivia at the next election, stated that Bolivia's claim for the Arica outlet, which had been presented to the League of Nations, would be withdrawn and a claim to Antofagasta substituted.

On July 14, in a special train under strong guard, ex-President Guerra was deported from Bolivia, together with the former Vice President, Ismael Vasquez, and several of their supporters. They were taken to Arica. As a precautionary measure Chile, on the same day, called to the colors the military classes of 1915 to 1919, inclusive, of the four northern provinces, the mobilization involving about 10,000 men, the call being effective on July 20 and intended to continue thirty days. A dispatch received by the State Department on July 15 said that the American Consul at La Paz and other representatives of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps accompanied the deported President out of the country. On learning of the revolution Ignacio Calderon, Bolivian Minister to the United States, resigned his position at Washington, where he had represented his country since May 27, 1904.

**BRAZIL**—Delfin Moreira, Vice President of Brazil, who was President from the death of Senhor Alves in January, 1919, to the inauguration of Dr. Pessoa in July, died in Rio Janeiro on June 30. An election to choose his successor has been ordered to take place on Sept. 5.

A bill passed by the Chamber of Deputies revoked the decree of 1889 banishing the former imperial family from Brazil and authorizes the Government to negotiate with Portugal for the return to Brazil of the bodies of the Emperor, Dom Pedro, and his consort.

Brazil has made a generous gift to France of the great hospital which Brazilians installed in the Jesuit Fathers'

building in the Rue Vaugirard, Paris, at a cost of ten million francs. The French Faculty of Medicine has accepted the gift and will use part of the hospital for teaching practical surgery to Brazilian medical students in Paris.

**CHILE**—The most bitter Presidential campaign ever waged in Chile came to an end in the balloting on June 25, as a result of which Arturo Alessandri obtained 179 electoral votes and Luis Borgono 175. The electors were scheduled to meet on July 25 and both houses of Congress will convene on Aug. 30 to receive the result. Congress has the power to declare vitiated and nullified any number of electoral votes and may leave both candidates without the required majority, in which case Congress must elect one of the two as President.

Alessandri was nominated by a combination of radical and democratic parties, Borgono by the Liberal, National and Liberal Democratic parties, three moderate groups, and later received the support of the Conservatives, the business men and the land owners. Alessandri received strong popular support from the first, the people seeing in his candidacy hope for the improvement of the workers. An attempt to assassinate him while speaking from the balcony of his house was made on June 13, but the bullets went wild.

Provincial officials were charged with not maintaining order during the campaign and were removed during its progress. Therefore the Liberal Alliance demanded the resignation of three members of the party in the Coalition Cabinet. They complied and the Cabinet fell on June 11. Another, formed on June 16, resigned without even presenting itself to the Chamber. Another Cabinet was sworn in on July 3, its head being Pedro G. de la Huerta, Minister of the Interior, who, with five other Ministers, belongs to the moderate parties or Liberal Alliance. Borgono carried Valparaiso for the Liberal Unionists, while Alessandri won in the capital, Santiago. The Unionists have a majority in the Senate, while the Liberal Alliance is the dominant power in the Chamber.

Celebration of the Fourth of July at the American Embassy was honored by the attendance of President Sanfuentes and the new Cabinet, with members of the Diplomatic Corps. Chile has sent eight army officers to the United States to complete their training.

**PARAGUAY**—Manuel Gondra, Paraguayan Minister to the United States, it was announced on June 28, had been elected President of Paraguay, and Felix Paiva, former Minister of the Interior, Vice President. Señor Gondra at the time was on the ocean on his way from Buenos Aires to New York, arriving on July 2 to resume his post at Washington, where he has represented Paraguay for nearly three years. He went at once to Washington, where he met his wife and children and saw for the first time his baby son, born a few days before his arrival. A luncheon was given in his honor on July 9 by Norman H. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, a farewell function, as Señor Gondra was about to leave for Paraguay, where his inauguration as President will take place on Aug. 15.

**PERU**—For the first time in the history of Peru the President personally called on the representative of a foreign country, July 5, during the celebration of Independence Day at the American Embassy in Lima. The date coincided with the first anniversary of President Leguia's inauguration. Hundreds of school children, headed by some from Tacna and Arica, marched to the American Embassy to present a petition to William E. Gonzales, the Ambassador, requesting the aid of the United States in obtaining the return of the two provinces taken from Peru by Chile.

President Leguia in an address on the same day referred feelingly to Peru's loss in the death in London of Major General Gorgas, who had recently signed a five-year contract to direct sanitary measures in Peru.

**URUGUAY**—The Anglo-South American Bank in Montevideo on July 2 delivered a check for \$10,000,000, the largest ever drawn in Uruguay, to the Bank



of the Republic as payment by the British Government of the first installment for credits given Great Britain by Uruguay for the purchase of products of the country.

## WEST INDIES

One of the results of the recent Canada-West Indies conference has been a plan, announced in London by Lord Milner, to transfer matters relating to the Dominions from the Colonial Secretary to a new department. The matter will be submitted to the Imperial Conference next year. On this The Jamaica Gleaner says: "We shall in future have some personal attention from a member of the Government in reality, whereas now we have it but in name." The tariff proposal agreed upon at the conference with Canada provides for three scales of preference, ranging from a moderate reduction on certain articles to a free list of others, the latter including a number of foodstuffs native to one or other of the countries. A substantial preference is proposed for West Indian sugar.

**JAMAICA**—To prevent the sending of immature bananas to the United States and Great Britain the Jamaica Government has initiated legislation providing a heavy fine for such shipments. The crop is very short as a result of dry weather, and it was stated that Jamaica would be obliged to import more food this year than in any year since 1916.

**CUBA**—Official trade relations have been established between Cuba and Canada, owing to the recent enormous development of commerce, and Cuba has named as her first Consul General to Canada Major Nicholas Perez Stable.

Riotous scenes occurred in the Cuban House of Representatives on June 21, when the sitting was suspended because of disorder. There had been a legislative strike for several weeks previously on the part of the Liberal members, who had remained away, leaving the House without a quorum, as a protest against the passage at the last session of a conservative measure amending the Crowder electoral law so that coalitions of national political parties would be permitted. A session was held on June

14 which the Liberals declared illegal, and when its minutes were approved on June 21 there were violent protests.

A crowd had gathered outside the building in anticipation of action regulating the rapacity of landlords in increasing house rents. When the sitting broke up without action on this measure there were hostile demonstrations against the Deputies and several shots were fired, but the police finally restored order.

The National Liberal Convention held in Havana on July 11 unanimously nominated former President Jose Miguel Gomez as its candidate for President, and on the following day nominated Miguel Arango, manager of the Cuban Cane Sugar Corporation, for Vice President. The platform calls for legislation to lower the cost of living, for the protection of women workers, repeal of the war stamp tax and tariff reform.

**HAITI**—Bandits recently raided Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti, but United States marines restored order after killing the leaders of the raid. A secret effort to overthrow the Government, directed from abroad, is said to exist.

Congressional medals of honor were conferred July 1 on Lieutenant Herman H. Hanneken and Corporal William R. Button of the Marine Corps, for leading the force which killed the Haitian bandit chief, Charlemagne Peralte, near Grande Rivière last October. They disguised themselves as natives and at night led a detachment against the chief's headquarters, driving off a counterattack of several hundred of Peralte's followers. Next morning the bandit leader and nine of his bodyguard were found dead.

There has been such an increase of banditry in Haiti since the armistice that the Compagnie Nationale des Chemins de Fer d'Haiti was forced into a receivership on June 23. A large amount of the company's property had been destroyed and operation had been prevented after 108 miles had been completed of the 215 projected. The great war stopped the work and revolutions and bandits made the company insolvent, although its concessions are said to be of great value.

# THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

## Story of the San Francisco Gathering That Nominated Cox and Roosevelt—Mr. Cummings's Keynote Speech

THE Democratic National Convention met at San Francisco June 28, 1920. The body was called to order by Vice Chairman Kremer of the National Committee. The National Chairman, Homer S. Cummings, was chosen as temporary presiding officer, and his keynote speech was one of the notable episodes of the convention. The speech was prepared after he had obtained President Wilson's views, and it was acknowledged that it reflected the President's position on public questions. He confined himself chiefly to a discussion of the League of Nations, very strongly supporting the Versailles Treaty and bitterly denouncing the Republican opposition to the President's attitude, and especially criticising Senator Lodge and the other Republican Senators for having failed to ratify the treaty.

Referring to the Republican National platform Mr. Cummings said:

"The Republican platform, reactionary and provincial, is the very apotheosis of political expediency. Filled with premeditated slanders and vague promises, it will be searched in vain for one constructive suggestion for the reformation of the conditions which it criticises and deplores. The oppressed peoples of the earth will look to it in vain. It contains no message of hope for Ireland; no word of mercy for Armenia, and it conceals a sword for Mexico. It is the work of men concerned more with material things than with human rights. It contains no thought, no purpose which can give impulse or thrill to those who love liberty and hope to make the world a safer and happier place for the average man.

### DEMOCRATIC ACHIEVEMENTS

Mr. Cummings reviewed at length the Democratic achievements since 1912, summarizing as the outstanding legislative acts for which the Democrats are entitled to credit, the following: The income tax, the establishment of a non-partisan Tariff Commission, the opening up of Alaska to commerce, the de-

struction of dollar diplomacy, driving out a corrupt lobby from the Capitol, an effective Seaman's act, the creation of the Federal Trade Commission, enactment of child labor legislation, development of parcel post and rural free delivery, the Good Roads bill, the Rural Credits act, making the Secretary of Labor a Cabinet officer, adoption of the eight-hour laws, the Clayton amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust act, adoption of a Corrupt Practices act, creation of Federal Employment Bureaus, establishment of Farm Loan Banks, Postal Savings Banks, and the Federal Reserve System.

He praised the Democratic Party for the Federal Reserve act, stating that if it had accomplished nothing more than that "it would be entitled to the enduring gratitude of the nation." He reviewed our achievements in the war and referred to the war legislation which the Democrats had enacted, especially praising the selective draft, which, he stated, "assured equal service, equal danger, and equal opportunity."

Mr. Cummings asserted that partisanship was put aside in the selection of General Pershing, who was given a free hand. There was no politics in selecting officers. He praised the Administration for the promptness with which American soldiers were landed in France and ascribed the great success of our troops to the "inspired and incomparable leadership of Woodrow Wilson."

### DEFENSE OF WAR POLICY

The Republicans were denounced by Mr. Cummings for their policy of carping criticism and bootless investigation. "Although over eighty investigations have been made," he said, "and over two million dollars have been wasted, the one result has been to prove that it was the cleanest war ever fought in the history of civilization. Through the hands of a





## JAMES M. COX

*Democratic nominee for  
President*

James M. Cox, Governor of Ohio and Democratic nominee for the Presidency, was born at Jacksonburg, Ohio, on March 31, 1870. He was reared on a farm and received his early education in the public and high schools. He began his career as a newsboy and later as a printer's devil. In early manhood he was a school teacher. Eventually he became a reporter in Middleton, Ohio, where his ability won him a place on *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, of which he became the railroad editor. Mr. Cox then became secretary to Congressman Sorg at Washington until 1898, when he re-entered the newspaper field as publisher and part owner of *The Dayton News*. Five years later he acquired *The Press Republic* of Springfield, Ohio, and changed its name to *The Daily News*. He was nominated for the Sixty-first Congress from the Third District of Ohio in 1909, and served also in the Sixty-second Congress until the expiration of his term in 1913. He was elected Governor of Ohio in 1913, and re-elected in 1917. Governor Cox was divorced from his first wife, and remarried in 1917. His record as Governor has been marked by numerous reform measures.

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Democratic Administration there have passed more than forty billions of dollars and the finger of scorn does not point to one single Democratic official in all America."

He defended the cost of the war, saying that "we bought with it the freedom and the safety of the civilization of the world." He answered the charge of non-preparation by asserting that democracies are never prepared for war, and affirmed that the Democratic legislation prior to the period of hostilities had prepared the country for the record that it made during the war. He criticised the Republicans for failing to pass reconstruction measures and for failing to settle foreign and domestic questions. He

asserted that the opposition to the Versailles Treaty was instigated by personal animosity, inexplicable jealousy, political malice.

## PRESIDENT WILSON DEFENDED

Ascribing the illness of the President to his superhuman labors, Mr. Cummings continued:

As he lay stricken in the White House the relentless hand of malice beat upon the door of the sick chamber. The enemies of the President upon the floor of the Senate repeated every slander that envy could invent, and they could scarcely control the open manifestation of their glee when the great man was stricken at last.

The Congress was in session for months while the President lay in the White

## FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

*Democratic nominee for Vice  
President*

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy and Democratic nominee for Vice President, was born in Hyde Park, Dutchess County, N. Y., on Jan. 30, 1882. He received his early education in Groton School. He was graduated from Harvard in 1904 and from the Columbia University law school in 1907, when he was admitted to the New York State Bar. Until 1910 he practiced law, first with the firm of Carter, Ledyard & Milburn, and then with Marvin, Hooker & Roosevelt, of which he was a member. His career in several respects has paralleled that of his famous cousin, Theodore Roosevelt. In 1910 he was elected to the New York State Senate and gained a reputation as an anti-Tammany Democrat. Despite Tammany opposition, he was re-elected to the State Senate in 1912. He resigned in March, 1913, to accept an appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. During the war, in the absence of Secretary Daniels, he was several times called upon to take charge of the Navy Department. He is married and has three children.

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House, struggling with a terrifying illness and, at times, close to the point of death. He had been physically wounded just as surely as were Garfield and McKinley and Lincoln, for it is but a difference of degree between fanatics and partisans. The Congress, during all this period, when the whole heart of America ought to have been flowing out in love and sympathy, did not find time, amid their bickerings, to pass one resolution of generous import or extend one kindly inquiry as to the fate of the President of their own country.

And what was his offense? Merely this—that he strove to redeem the word that America had given to the world; that he sought to save a future generation from

the agony through which this generation had passed; that he had taken seriously the promises that all nations had made that they would unite at the end of the war in a compact to preserve the peace of the world, and that he relied upon the good faith of his own people.

In one sense it is quite immaterial what people say about the President. Nothing we can say can add or detract from the fame that will flow down the unending channels of history. Generations yet unborn will look back to this era and pay their tribute of honor to the man who led a people through troublous ways out of the valleys of selfishness up to the mountain tops of achievement and honor, and there showed them the promised land of freedom and safety and fraternity.



Whether history records that they entered in or turned their backs upon the vision, it is all one with him—he is immortal.

There are men who seem to be annoyed when we suggest that American honor is bound up in this contest, and that good faith requires that we should enter the League of Nations. The whole Republican case is based upon the theory that we may, with honor, do as we please about this matter, and that we have made no promises which it is our duty to redeem. Let us turn again to the record.

### RECORD OF LEAGUE PROJECT

The speaker reviewed the record leading up to the creation of the League of Nations. He stated that both the Republican and Democratic Parties had declared in 1916 "for the pacific settlement of international disputes"; that "the President on Dec. 18, 1916, proposed the creation of a League of Nations in a note addressed to the nations at war. The Central powers answered this note evasively, but the Allies on Jan. 10, 1917, declared their whole-hearted agreement with the proposal." He quoted from the President's Senate speech of Jan. 22, 1917, defending a "definite concert of power, which will make it fairly impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again." From the President's war message of April 2, 1917, he quoted the phrase "a war against war" and "a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

Mr. Cummings next cited the President's address before Congress on Jan. 8, 1918, setting forth the famous Fourteen Points, the last of which, he said, "is practically identical in language with provisions of Article X. of the League covenant, providing that a general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of conferring mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

### HOW OUR HONOR IS INVOLVED

He asserted that on Nov. 11, 1918, when the armistice was agreed to, it was concluded upon the basis of the Fourteen Points, and that when the armistice was

signed all the nations renewed the pledge as set forth therein. He added:

Practically all of the civilized nations of the earth have now united in a covenant which constitutes the redemption of that pledge. We alone have thus far failed to keep our word. Others may break faith; the Senate of the United States may break faith; the Republican Party may break faith; but neither President Wilson nor the Democratic Party will break faith.

In this hemisphere the mere declaration of our young republic that the attempt of any foreign power to set foot on American soil would be considered an unfriendly act has served to preserve "the territorial integrity and the political independence" of the nations of Central and South America. The treaty pledges all of the signatories to make this doctrine effective everywhere. It is the Monroe Doctrine of the world.

The purpose of the League is to give notice that if any nation raises its menacing hand and seeks to cross the line into any other country, the forces of civilization will be aroused to suppress the common enemy of peace. Therein lies the security of small nations and the safety of the world.

### OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

Mr. Cummings challenged the objection that the League of Nations would involve our country in foreign wars. He replied that we had already become involved in foreign wars through a territorial controversy between Serbia and Austria, and that this occurred before there was a League of Nations. If, in the midst of battle, a league of friendship under unified command enabled us to win the war, he asked, why should not the association be continued in a more definite and binding form?

What plausible reason [he continued] can be suggested for wasting the one great asset which has come out of the war? How else shall we provide for international arbitration? How else shall we provide for open diplomacy? how else shall we provide safety from external aggression? How else shall we provide for progressive disarmament?

How else shall we check the spread of Bolshevism? How else shall industry be made safe and the basis of reconstruction established? How else shall society be steadied so that the processes of healing may serve their beneficent purpose? Until the critics of the League offer a better method of preserving the peace of the world they are not entitled to one

moment's consideration in the forum of the conscience of mankind.

Not only does the covenant guarantee justice for the future but it holds the one remedy for the evils of the past. As it stands today, war is the one way in which America can express its sympathy for the oppressed of the world. The League of Nations removes the conventional shackles of diplomacy. Under the covenant it is our friendly right to protest against tyranny and to act as counsel for the weak nations now without an effective champion.

The speaker criticised the Republican platform for containing a "vague promise to establish another or a different form of association among nations of a tenuous and shadowy character," and added:

There is no mental dishonesty more transparent than that which expresses fealty to a League of Nations while opposing the only League of Nations that exists or is ever apt to exist. Why close our eyes to actual world conditions? A League of Nations already exists. It is not a project, it is a fact. We must either enter it or remain out of it.

He named the states that actually signed and ratified the treaty and asserted that the only eligible nations of the world standing outside were "revolutionary Mexico, Bolshevik Russia, unspeakable Turkey and the United States of America."

#### THE "SIX VOTES" CHARGE

He replied to the charge that the British Empire has six votes and the United States one by calling attention to the fact that the Executive Council and not the Assembly is the governing body, and that the United States is one of five countries having permanent membership in the council, stating that no formative action can be taken in any essential matter without a uniform vote of all members of the council. He added:

Moreover, the United States insisted that Cuba, Haiti, Liberia, Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala should each be given a vote, as well as the nations of South America, great and small. Including the nations which are bound by vital interests to the United States, or, indeed, directly under our tutelage, we have more votes in the League of Nations than any other nation. How could we, in good faith, urge that these nations be given a voice and deny a voice to such

self-governing nations as Canada, New Zealand and the rest, which, relatively speaking, made far more sacrifices in the war than our own country? It is desirable that all countries should have an opportunity to be heard in the League, and the safety of each nation resides in the fact that no action can be taken without the consent of all.

He then bitterly assailed Senator Lodge and other Republican Senators, charging them with the defeat of the treaty, stating that they were prompted in this action because it had been negotiated by a Democratic President.

He asserted that the treaty was referred to a committee studiously prepared for its hostile reception. Had the President assented to any changes made by this committee that would have altered its nature, said the speaker, it would have been a breach of faith with the President's associates in the Peace Conference and a violation of the American pledges.

He denied that the President was opposed to interpretative reservations not incompatible with America's honor and interest. When the President came back from Paris, Feb. 19, 1919, bringing the first tentative draft of the covenant, he invited criticism and received four amendments from former President Taft, six from Senator Elihu Root and seven from former Supreme Court Justice Hughes. These amendments, said Mr. Cummings, were taken back by the President to Paris and their substance was "actually incorporated in the revised draft of the league." Senator Lodge had refused to offer a constructive amendment. The speaker denounced the Republican Senators for defeating the treaty, declaring that "the Old Guard sold the honor of America for the privilege of nominating a reactionary for President." He closed with an eloquent peroration, reasserting the ideals of peace as set forth in the covenant of nations.

#### DEBATING THE PLATFORM

The convention was permanently organized by the selection of Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas as Chairman. There was a spirited contest before the Resolutions Committee over certain features of the platform, chiefly



over the planks relating to prohibition, the League of Nations and the Irish question. These issues were discussed at all-night sessions and the committee was in session for three days. It finally reached a decision in the early hours of July 2. The original draft of the platform was slightly amended by adding the words, "we advocate prompt ratification of the treaty without reservations which would imperil its essential integrity, but we do not oppose reservations which would make more clear and specific our obligations to the associated nations."

The platform was reported to the convention on Friday, July 2, and was debated for several hours. The chief amendments were offered by William J. Bryan. He proposed a straight prohibition plank, which was defeated by a vote of 929½ to 155½. W. Bourke Cockran, acting for Tammany and the "liberal interests," offered a resolution approving a plank favoring light wines, beer and cider, which was defeated by a vote of 726½ to 356. A proposed amendment declaring for the recognition of the Irish Republic was defeated by a vote of 402 yeas to 676 nays.

#### NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

The nomination of candidates had preceded the report of the Resolutions Committee. The following were placed in nomination:

Senator ROBERT L. OWEN of Oklahoma.  
Ex-Ambassador JAMES W. GERARD of New York.

HOMER S. CUMMINGS of Connecticut.

Senator GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK of Nebraska.

Attorney General MITCHELL PALMER of Pennsylvania.

Secretary of Agriculture EDWIN T. MEREDITH of Iowa.

Governor JAMES M. COX of Ohio.

Governor ALFRED E. SMITH of New York.

Ex-Secretary of the Treasury WILLIAM G. McADOO of New York.

Governor EDWARD I. EDWARDS of New Jersey.

Senator F. M. SIMMONS of North Carolina.

Senator CARTER GLASS of Virginia.

Ambassador JOHN W. DAVIS of West Virginia.

FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON, Governor General of the Philippines.

Balloting for candidates began Friday afternoon, July 2, and two ballots were taken before adjournment. The first resulted as follows for the chief candidates:

McAdoo .....	266	Glass .....	26½
Cox .....	134	Hitchcock .....	18
Palmer .....	256	Meredith .....	72
Cummings .....	25	Owen .....	33
Davis .....	32	Smith .....	109
Edwards .....	42	Vice President	
Gerard .....	21	Marshall .....	35

On the second ballot the McAdoo vote increased 23, Cox lost 25, Palmer increased 8.

The convention was in session all day Saturday, from noon until midnight, and cast twenty ballots without materially changing the results. At the twenty-second ballot, when the convention adjourned, the McAdoo vote had increased to 372½, the Cox vote to 430; the Palmer vote had fallen to 166½, Ambassador Davis had increased to 52, and the rest of the votes were scattered.

The convention adjourned at midnight Saturday until the following Monday. The sessions were then continued the entire day, with short recesses, and the result was not reached until 1:39 A. M., July 6, San Francisco time, when Governor James M. Cox of Ohio was nominated on the forty-fourth ballot. There had been great uncertainty throughout the session, and the hopes of the various candidates had fluctuated as the balloting proceeded. On the thirty-eighth ballot Attorney General Palmer released his delegates and in the succeeding ballots Governor Cox gained steadily until, in the course of the forty-fourth, he had 690 votes. It was apparent before the ballot was completed that he would obtain the 729 votes to make the two-thirds majority required to nominate him, and the nomination was made unanimous. The forty-fourth ballot, as far as recorded, stood as follows: Cox 732½ votes, McAdoo 267, Palmer 1, Davis 52, Cummings 1, Owen 34, Glass 1½.

The convention reassembled at noon Tuesday, July 7, when nominations for Vice President were made and the following were placed in nomination:

DAVID R. FRANCIS of Missouri, ex-Ambassador to Russia.

MAJOR GEN. L. D. TYSON of Tennessee.  
GOVERNOR SAMUEL D. STEWART of  
Montana.  
EX-GOVERNOR JAMES H. HAWLEY of  
Idaho.  
JOSEPH S. DAVIES of Wisconsin.  
T. T. VAUGHAN of Oregon.  
EDWARD L. DOHENY of California.

It was apparent at the conclusion of

the nominating speeches that the drift of the convention was overwhelmingly for Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, and before a ballot was taken the other nominees withdrew and the selection of Mr. Roosevelt was made unanimous, whereupon the convention adjourned.

## Text of the Democratic Platform

**T**HE full text of the platform adopted by the Democratic Convention at San Francisco on July 2, 1920, is as follows:

The Democratic Party, in its national convention now assembled, sends greetings to the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, and hails with patriotic pride the great achievements for the country and the world wrought by a Democratic Administration under his leadership.

It salutes the mighty people of this great Republic, emerging with imperishable honor from the severe tests and grievous strains of the most tragic war in history, having earned the plaudits and the gratitude of all free nations.

It declares its adherence to the fundamental progressive principles of social, economic and industrial justice and advance, and purposes to resume the great work of translating these principles into effective laws, begun and carried far by the Democratic Administration and interrupted only when the war claimed all the national energies for the single task of victory.

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Democratic Party favors the League of Nations as the surest, if not the only, practicable means of maintaining the permanent peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments. It was for this that America broke away from traditional isolation and spent her blood and treasure to crush a colossal scheme of conquest. It was upon this basis that the President of the United States, in prearrangement with our allies, consented to a suspension of hostilities against the Imperial German Government; the armistice was granted and a treaty of peace negotiated upon the definite assurance to Germany, as well as to the powers pitted against Germany, that "a general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike." Hence, we not only congratulate the President on

the vision manifested and the vigor exhibited in the prosecution of the war, but we felicitate him and his associates on the exceptional achievements at Paris involved in the adoption of a league and treaty so near akin to previously expressed American ideals and so intimately related to the aspirations of civilized peoples everywhere.

We commend the President for his courage and his high conception of good faith in steadfastly standing for the covenant agreed to by all the associated and allied nations at war with Germany, and we condemn the Republican Senate for its refusal to ratify the treaty merely because it was the product of Democratic statesmanship, thus interposing partisan envy and personal hatred in the way of the peace and renewed prosperity of the world.

By every accepted standard of international morality the President is justified in asserting that the honor of the country is involved in this business; and we point to the accusing fact that before it was determined to initiate political antagonism to the treaty, the new Republican Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee himself publicly proclaimed that any proposition for a separate peace with Germany, such as he and his party associates thereafter reported to the Senate, would make us "guilty of the blackest crime."

On May 15, last, the Knox substitute for the Versailles Treaty was passed by the Republican Senate; and this convention can contrive no more fitting characterization of its obloquy than that made in the Forum Magazine of December, 1918, by Henry Cabot Lodge, when he said:

"If we sent our armies and young men abroad to be killed and wounded in Northern France and Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify."

The intent of Congress and the intent of the President was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur. We cannot make peace except in company with our allies. It would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make separate peace.



Thus, to that which Mr. Lodge, in saner moments, considered "the blackest crime" he and his party in madness sought to give the sanctity of law; that which eighteen months ago was of "everlasting dishonor" the Republican Party and its candidates today accept as the essence of faith.

We indorse the President's view of our international obligations and his firm stand against reservations designed to cut to pieces the vital provisions of the Versailles Treaty, and we commend the Democrats in Congress for voting against resolutions for separate peace which would disgrace the nation. We advocate the immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity, but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates.

Only by doing this may we retrieve the reputation of this nation among the powers of the earth and recover the moral leadership which President Wilson won and which Republican politicians at Washington sacrificed. Only by doing this may we hope to aid effectively in the restoration of order throughout the world and to take the place which we should assume in the front rank of spiritual, commercial and industrial advancement.

We reject as utterly vain, if not vicious, the Republican assumption that ratification of the treaty and membership in the League of Nations would in any way impair the integrity or independence of our country. The fact that the covenant has been entered into by twenty-nine nations, all as jealous of their independence as we are of ours, is a sufficient refutation of such charge. The President repeatedly has declared, and this convention reaffirms, that all our duties and obligations as a member of the League must be fulfilled in strict conformity with the Constitution of the United States, embodied in which is the fundamental requirement of declaratory action by the Congress before this nation may become a participant in any war.

### THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

During the war President Wilson exhibited the very broadest conception of liberal Americanism. In his conduct of the war, as in the general administration of his high office, there was no semblance of partisan bias. He invited to Washington as his counselors and coadjutors hundreds of the most prominent and pronounced Republicans in the country. To these he committed responsibilities of the gravest import and most confidential nature. Many of them had charge of vital activities of the Government.

And yet, with the war successfully prosecuted and gloriously ended, the Republican Party in Congress, far from applauding the masterly leadership of the President and felicitating the country on the amazing

achievements of the American Government, has meanly required the considerate course of the Chief Magistrate by savagely defaming the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and by assailing nearly every public officer of every branch of the service intimately concerned in winning the war abroad and preserving the security of the Government at home.

We express to the soldiers and sailors and marines of America the admiration of their fellow-countrymen. Guided by the genius of such a commander as General John J. Pershing, the armed force of America constituted a decisive factor in the victory and brought new lustre to the flag.

We commend the patriotic men and women who sustained the efforts of their Government in crucial hours of the war and contributed to the brilliant administrative success achieved under the broad leadership of the President.

### ACHIEVEMENTS IN FINANCE

A review of the record of the Democratic Party during the Administration of Woodrow Wilson presents a chapter of substantial achievements unsurpassed in the history of the Republic. For fifty years before the advent of this Administration periodical convulsions had impeded the industrial progress of the American people and caused inestimable loss and distress. By the enactment of the Federal Reserve act the old system, which bred panics, was replaced by a new system which insured confidence. It was an indispensable factor in winning the war and today it is the hope and inspiration of business. Indeed, one vital danger against which the American people should keep constantly on guard is the commitment of this system to the partisan enemies who struggled against its adoption and vainly attempted to retain in the hands of speculative bankers a monopoly of the currency and credits of the nation. Already there are well-defined indications of an assault upon the vital principles of the system in the event of Republican success in the elections in November.

Under Democratic leadership the American people successfully financed their stupendous part in the greatest war of all time. The Treasury wisely insisted during the war upon meeting an adequate portion of the war expenditure from current taxes and the bulk of the balance from popular loans, during the first full fiscal year after fighting stopped, upon meeting current expenditures from current receipts notwithstanding the new and unnecessary burdens thrown upon the Treasury by the delay, obstruction and extravagance of a Republican Congress.

The non-partisan Federal Reserve authorities have been wholly free of political interference or motive; and, in their own time and their own way, have used courageously, though cautiously, the instruments at their disposal to prevent undue expansion of credit

in the country. As a result of these sound Treasury and Federal Reserve policies, the inevitable war inflation has been held down to a minimum and the cost of living has been prevented from increasing here in proportion to the increase in other belligerent countries, and in neutral countries which are in close contact with the world's commerce and exchanges.

After a year and a half of fighting in Europe and despite another year and a half of Republican obstruction at home, the credit of the Government of the United States stands unimpaired; the Federal Reserve note is the unit of value throughout all the world, and the United States is the one great country in the world which maintains a free gold market.

We condemn the attempt of the Republican Party to deprive the American people of their legitimate pride in the financing of the war—an achievement without parallel in the financial history of this or any other country, in this or any other war. And in particular we condemn the pernicious attempt of the Republican Party to create discontent among the holders of the bonds of the Government of the United States, and to drag our public finance and our banking and currency system back into the arena of party politics.

### REVISION OF TAXATION

We condemn the failure of the present Congress to respond to the oft-repeated demand of the President and the Secretaries of the Treasury to revise the existing tax laws. The continuance in force in peace times of taxes devised under pressure of imperative necessity to produce a revenue for war purposes is indefensible and can only result in lasting injury to the people. The Republican Congress persistently failed, through sheer political cowardice, to make a single move toward a readjustment of tax laws, which it denounced before the last election and was afraid to revise before the next election.

We advocate tax reform and a searching revision of the war revenue acts to fit peace conditions, so that the wealth of the nation may not be withdrawn from productive enterprise and diverted to wasteful or non-productive expenditure.

We demand prompt action by the next Congress for a complete survey of existing taxes and their modification and simplification, with a view to secure greater equity and justice in tax burden and improvement in administration.

### PUBLIC ECONOMY RESULTS

Claiming to have effected great economies in Government expenditures, the Republican Party cannot show the reduction of one dollar in taxation as a corollary of this false pretense. In contrast, the last Democratic Congress enacted legislation reducing taxes from \$8,000,000,000, designed to be

raised, to \$3,000,000,000 for the first year after the armistice and to \$4,000,000,000 thereafter; and there the total is left undiminished by our political adversaries. Two years after armistice day a Republican Congress provides for expending the stupendous sum of \$5,403,390,327.30.

Affecting great paper economies by reducing departmental estimates of sums which would not have been spent in any event, and by reducing formal appropriations, the Republican statement of expenditures omits the pregnant fact that Congress authorized the use of \$1,500,000,000 in the hands of various departments and bureaus, which otherwise would have been converted into the Treasury, and which should be added to the Republican total of expenditures.

### HIGH COST OF LIVING

The high cost of living and the depreciation of bond values in this country are primarily due to war itself, to the necessary Governmental expenditures for the destructive purposes of war, to private extravagance, to the world shortage of capital, to the inflation of foreign currencies and credits and, in large degree, to conscienceless profiteering.

The Republican Party is responsible for the failure to restore peace and peace conditions in Europe, which is a principal cause of post-armistice inflation the world over. It has denied the demand of the President for necessary legislation to deal with secondary and local causes. The sound policies pursued by the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System have limited in this country, though they could not prevent, the inflation which was worldwide. Elected upon specific promises to curtail public expenditures and to bring the country back to a status of effective economy, the Republican Party in Congress wasted time and energy for more than a year in vain and extravagant investigations, costing the taxpayers great sums of money, while revealing nothing beyond the incapacity of Republican politicians to cope with the problems. Demanding that the President, from his place at the peace table, call the Congress into extraordinary session for imperative purposes of readjustment, the Congress when convened spent thirteen months in partisan pursuits, failing to repeal a single war statute which harassed business, or to initiate a single constructive measure to help business. It busied itself making a pre-election record of pretended thrift, having not one particle of substantial existence in fact. It raged against profiteers and the high cost of living without enacting a single statute to make the former afraid or doing a single act to bring the latter within limitations.

The simple truth is that the high cost of living can only be remedied by increased production, strict Governmental economy



and a relentless pursuit of those who take advantage of post-war conditions and are demanding and receiving outrageous profits.

We pledge the Democratic Party to a policy of strict economy in Government expenditures and to the enactment and enforcement of such legislation as may be required to bring profiteers before the bar of criminal justice.

### THE TARIFF

We re-affirm the traditional policy of the Democratic Party in favor of a tariff for revenue only and to confirm the policy of basing tariff revisions upon the intelligent research of a non-partisan commission, rather than upon the demands of selfish interest, temporarily held in abeyance.

### BUDGET

In the interest of economy and good administration, we favor the creation of an effective budget system that will function in accord with the principles of the Constitution. The reform should reach both the executive and legislative aspects of the question. The supervision and preparation of the budget should be vested in the Secretary of the Treasury as the representative of the President.

The budget, as such, should not be increased by the Congress, except by a two-thirds vote, each house, however, being free to exercise its constitutional privilege of making appropriations through independent bills. The appropriation bills should be considered by single committees of the House and Senate. The audit system should be consolidated and its powers expanded so as to pass upon the wisdom of, as well as the authority for, expenditures.

A budget bill was passed in the closing days of the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress which, invalidated by plain constitutional defects and defaced by considerations of patronage, the President was obliged to veto. The House amended the bill to meet the Executive objection. We condemn the Republican Senate for adjourning without passing the amended measure, when by devoting an hour or two more to this urgent public business a budget system could have been provided.

### SENATE RULES

We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the nation's legislative business.

### AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS

To the great agricultural interests of the country the Democratic Party does not find it necessary to make promises. It already is rich in its record of things actually accomplished. For nearly half a century of Republican rule not a sentence was written into the Federal statutes affording one

dollar of bank credits to the farming interests of America. In the first term of this Democratic Administration the National Bank act was so altered as to authorize loans of five years' maturity on improved farm lands. Later was established a system of farm loan banks from which the borrowing already exceeds \$300,000,000 and under which the interest rate to farmers has been so materially reduced as to drive out of business the farm loan sharks who formerly subsisted by extortion upon the great agricultural interests of the country.

Thus it was a Democratic Congress in the Administration of a Democratic President which enabled the farmers of America for the first time to obtain credit upon reasonable terms and insured their opportunity for the future development of the nation's agricultural resources. Tied up in Supreme Court proceedings, in a suit by hostile interests, the Federal Farm Loan System, originally opposed by the Republican candidate for the Presidency, appealed in vain to a Republican Congress for adequate financial assistance to tide over the interim between the beginning and the ending of the current year, awaiting a final decision of the highest court on the validity of the contested act. We pledge prompt and consistent support of sound and effective measures to sustain, amplify and perfect the rural credits statutes, and thus to check and reduce the growth and course of farm tenancy.

Not only did the Democratic Party put into effect a great farm loan system of land mortgage banks, but it passed the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension act, carrying to every farmer in every section of the country, through the medium of trained experts and by demonstration farms, the practical knowledge acquired by the Federal Agricultural Department in all things relating to agriculture, horticulture and animal life; it established the Bureau of Markets, the Bureau of Farm Management, and passed the Cotton Futures act, the Grain Grades bill, the Co-operative Farm Administration act and the Federal Warehouse act.

The Democratic Party has vastly improved the rural mail system and has built up the parcel post system to such an extent as to render its activities and its practical service indispensable to the farming community. It was this wise encouragement and this effective concern of the Democratic Party for the farmers of the United States that enabled this great interest to render such essential service in feeding the armies of America and the allied nations of the war and succoring starving populations since armistice day.

Meanwhile the Republican leaders at Washington have failed utterly to propose one single measure to make rural life more tolerable. They have signalized their fifteen months of Congressional power by urging schemes which would strip the farms of labor; by assailing the principles of the

farm loan system and seeking to impair its efficiency; by covertly attempting to destroy the great nitrogen plant at Muscle Shoals, upon which the Government has expended \$70,000,000 to supply American farmers with fertilizers at reasonable cost; by ruthlessly crippling nearly every branch of agricultural endeavor, literally crippling the productive mediums through which the people must be fed.

We favor such legislation as will confirm to the primary producers of the nation the right of collective bargaining and the right of co-operative handling and marketing of the products of the workshops and the farm, and such legislation as will facilitate the exportation of our farm products.

We favor comprehensive studies of farm production costs and the uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.

### LABOR AND INDUSTRY

The Democratic Party is now, as ever, the firm friend of honest labor and the promoter of progressive industry. It established the Department of Labor at Washington and a Democratic President called to his official council board the first practical workman who ever held a Cabinet portfolio. Under this Administration have been established employment bureaus to bring the men and the job together; have been peaceably determined many bitter disputes between capital and labor; were passed the Child Labor act, the Workingman's Compensation act (the extension of which we advocate so as to include laborers engaged in loading and unloading ships and in interstate commerce), the eight-hour law, the act for vocational training, and a code of other wholesome laws affecting the liberties and bettering the conditions of the laboring classes. In the Department of Labor the Democratic Administration established a Woman's Bureau, which a Republican Congress destroyed by withholding appropriations.

Labor is not a commodity; it is human. Those who labor have rights, and the national security and safety depend upon a just recognition of those rights and the conservation of the strength of the workers and their families in the interest of sound-hearted and sound-headed men, women and children. Laws regulating hours of labor and conditions under which labor is performed, when passed in recognition of the conditions under which life must be lived to attain the highest development and happiness, are just assertions of the national interest in the welfare of the people.

At the same time the nation depends upon the products of labor; a cessation of production means loss and, if long continued, disaster. The whole people, therefore, have a right to insist that justice shall be done to those who work, and in turn that those

whose labor creates the necessities upon which the life of the nation depends must recognize the reciprocal obligation between the worker and the State. They should participate in the formulation of sound laws and regulations governing the conditions under which labor is performed, recognize and obey the laws so formulated, and seek their amendment when necessary by the processes ordinarily addressed to the laws and regulations affecting the other relations of life.

Labor, as well as capital, is entitled to adequate compensation. Each has the indefeasible right of organization, of collective bargaining, and of speaking through representatives of their own selection. Neither class, however, should at any time nor in any circumstances take action that will put in jeopardy the public welfare. Resort to strikes and lockouts which endanger the health or lives of the people is an unsatisfactory device for determining disputes, and the Democratic Party pledges itself to contrive, if possible, and put into effective operation a fair and comprehensive method of composing differences of this nature. In private industrial disputes we are opposed to compulsory arbitration as a method plausible in theory but a failure in fact. With respect to Government service, we hold distinctly that the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike. However, we profess scrupulous regard for the conditions of public employment and pledge the Democratic Party to instant inquiry into the pay of Government employes and equally speedy regulations designed to bring salaries to a just and proper level.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE

We indorse the proposed Nineteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women. We congratulate the Legislatures of thirty-five States which have already ratified said amendment, and we urge the Democratic Governors and Legislatures of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida and such States as have not yet ratified the Federal suffrage amendment to unite in an effort to complete the process of ratification and secure the thirty-sixth State in time for all the women of the United States to participate in the Fall election. We commend the effective advocacy of the measure by President Wilson.

### WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

We urge co-operation with the States for the protection of child life through infancy and maternity care, in the prohibition of child labor and by adequate appropriations for the Children's Bureau and the Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor. Co-operative Federal assistance to the States is immediately required for the removal of illiteracy, for the increase of teachers' sal-



aries and instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign born; increased appropriation for vocational training in home economics; re-establishment of joint Federal and State employment service, with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women. We advocate full representation of women on all commissions dealing with women's work or women's interests and a reclassification of the Federal civil service, free from discrimination on the ground of sex; a continuance of appropriations for education in sex hygiene; Federal legislation which shall insure that American women resident in the United States but married to aliens shall retain their American citizenship, and that the same process of naturalization shall be required for women as for men.

### DISABLED SOLDIERS

The Federal Government should treat with the utmost consideration every disabled soldier, sailor and marine of the World War, whether his disability be due to wounds received in line of action or to health impaired in service; and for the dependents of the brave men who died in line of duty the Government's tenderest concern and richest bounty should be their requital. The fine patriotism exhibited, the heroic conduct displayed, by American soldiers, sailors and marines at home and abroad constitute a sacred heritage of posterity, the worth of which can never be recompensed from the Treasury and the glory of which must not be diminished.

The Democratic Administration wisely established a War Risk Insurance Bureau, giving four and a half millions of enlisted men insurance at unprecedentedly low rates, and through the medium of which compensation of men and women injured in service is readily adjusted, and hospital facilities for those whose health is impaired are abundantly afforded.

The Federal Board for Vocational Education should be made a part of the War Risk Insurance Bureau in order that the task may be treated as a whole, and this machinery of protection and assistance must receive every aid of law and appropriation necessary to full and effective operation.

We believe that no higher or more valued privilege can be afforded to an American citizen than to become a freeholder in the soil of the United States, and to that end we pledge our party to the enactment of soldier settlements and home aid legislation which will afford to the men who fought for America the opportunity to become land and home owners under conditions affording genuine Government assistance unincumbered by needless difficulties or red tape or advance financial investment.

### THE RAILROADS

The railroads were subjected to Federal

control as a war measure without other idea than the swift transport of troops, munitions and supplies. When human life and national hopes were at stake profits could not be considered, and were not. Federal operation, however, was marked by an intelligence and efficiency that minimized loss and resulted in many and marked reforms. The equipment taken over was not only grossly inadequate, but shamefully outworn. Unification practices overcame these initial handicaps and provided additions, betterments and improvements. Economies enabled operation without the rate raises that private control would have found necessary, and labor was treated with an exact justice that secured the enthusiastic co-operation that victory demanded. The fundamental purpose of Federal control was achieved fully and splendidly, and at far less cost to the taxpayer than would have been the case under private operation. Investments in railroad properties were not only saved by Government operation, but Government management returned these properties vastly improved in every physical and executive detail. A great task was greatly discharged.

The President's recommendation of return to private ownership gave the Republican majority a full year in which to enact the necessary legislation. The House took six months to formulate its ideas and another six months was consumed by the Republican Senate in equally vague debate. As a consequence the Esch-Cummins bill went to the President in the closing hours of Congress, and he was forced to a choice between the chaos of a veto and acquiescence in the measure submitted, however grave may have been his objections to it.

There should be a fair and complete test of the law until careful and mature action by Congress may cure its defects and insure a thoroughly effective transportation system under private ownership, without Government subsidy at the expense of the taxpayers of the country.

### IMPROVED HIGHWAYS

Improved roads are of vital importance, not only to commerce and industry but also to agriculture and rural life. The Federal Road act of 1916, enacted by a Democratic Congress, represented the first systematic effort of the Government to insure the building of an adequate system of roads in this country. The act, as amended, has resulted in placing the movement for improved highways on a progressive and substantial basis in every State in the Union and in bringing under actual construction more than 13,000 miles of roads suited to the traffic needs of the communities in which they are located.

We favor a continuance of the present Federal aid plan under existing Federal and State agencies, amended so as to include,

as one of the elements in determining the ratio in which the several States shall be entitled to share in the fund, the area of any public lands therein.

Inasmuch as the postal service has been extended by the Democratic Party to the door of practically every producer and every consumer in the country (rural free delivery alone having been provided for 6,000,000 additional patrons within the past eight years without material added cost), we declare that this instrumentality can and will be used to the maximum of its capacity to improve the efficiency of distribution and reduce the cost of living to consumers, while increasing the profitable operations of producers.

We strongly favor the increased use of the motor vehicle in the transportation of the mails, and urge the removal of the restrictions imposed by the Republican Congress on the use of motor devices in mail transportation in rural territories.

### MERCHANT MARINE

We desire to congratulate the American people upon the rebirth of our merchant marine, which once more maintains its former place in the world. It was under a Democratic Administration that this was accomplished after seventy years of indifference and neglect, thirteen million tons having been constructed since the act was passed in 1916. We pledge the policy of our party to the continued growth of our merchant marine under proper legislation, so that American products will be carried to all ports of the world by vessels built in American yards, flying the American flag.

### PORT FACILITIES

The urgent demands of the war for adequate transportation of war materials, as well as for domestic need, revealed the fact that our port facilities and rate adjustment were such as to seriously affect the whole country in times of peace as well as war.

We pledged our party to stand for equality of rates, both import and export, for the ports of the country, to the end that there might be adequate and fair facilities and rates for the mobilization of the products of the country offered for shipment.

### INLAND WATERWAYS

We call attention to the failure of the Republican National Convention to recognize in any way the rapid development of barge transportation on our inland waterways, which development is the result of the constructive policies of the Democratic Administration. And we pledge ourselves to the further development of adequate transportation facilities on our rivers, and to the further improvement of our inland waterways, and we recognize the importance of connecting the Great Lakes with the sea by way of the Mississippi River and its

tributaries, as well as by the St. Lawrence River. We favor an enterprising foreign trade policy with all nations, and in this connection we favor the full utilization of all Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific ports, and an equitable distribution of shipping facilities between the various ports.

Transportation remains an increasingly vital problem in the continued development and prosperity of the nation.

Our present facilities for distribution by rail are inadequate and the promotion of transportation by water is imperative.

We therefore favor a liberal and comprehensive policy for the development and utilization of our harbors and interior waterways.

### FLOOD CONTROL

We commend the Democratic Congress for the redemption of the pledge contained in our last platform by the passage of the Flood Control act of March 1, 1917, and point to the successful control of the floods of the Mississippi River and the Sacramento River, California, under the policy of that law, for its complete justification. We favor the extension of this policy to other flood control problems wherever the Federal interest involved justifies the expenditure required.

### RECLAMATION OF ARID LANDS

By wise legislation and progressive administration we have transformed the Government reclamation projects, representing an investment of \$100,000,000, from a condition of impending failure and loss of confidence in the ability of the Government to carry through such large enterprises to a condition of demonstrated success, whereby formerly arid and wholly unproductive lands now sustain 40,000 prosperous families and have an annual crop production of over \$70,000,000, not including the crops grown on a million acres outside the projects supplied with storage water from Government works.

We favor ample appropriations for the continuation and extension of this great work of home building and internal improvement along the same general lines, to the end that all practical projects shall be built, and waters now running to waste shall be made to provide homes and add to the food supply, power resources and taxable property, with the Government ultimately reimbursed for the entire outlay.

### THE TRADE COMMISSION

The Democratic Party heartily indorses the creation and work of the Federal Trade Commission in establishing a fair field for competitive business, free from restraints of trade and monopoly, and recommends amplification of the statutes governing its activities so as to grant it authority to prevent the unfair use of patents in restraint of trade.



## LIVESTOCK MARKETS

For the purpose of insuring just and fair treatment in the great interstate livestock market, and thus instilling confidence in growers through which production will be stimulated and the price of meats to consumers be ultimately reduced, we favor the enactment of legislation for the supervision of such markets by the National Government.

## MEXICO

The United States is the neighbor and friend of the nations of the three Americas. In a very special sense our international relations in this hemisphere should be characterized by good-will and free from any possible suspicion as to our national purpose.

The Administration, remembering always that Mexico is an independent nation and that permanent stability in her Government and her institutions could come only from the consent of her own people to a Government of their own making, has been unwilling either to profit by the misfortunes of the people of Mexico or to enfeeble their future by imposing from the outside a rule upon their temporarily distracted councils. As a consequence, order is gradually reappearing in Mexico; at no time in many years have American lives and interests been so safe as they now are; peace reigns along the border and industry is resuming.

When the new Government of Mexico shall have been given ample proof of its ability permanently to maintain law and order, signified its willingness to meet its international obligations and written upon its statute books just laws under which foreign investors shall have rights as well as duties, that Government should receive our recognition and systematic assistance. Until these proper expectations have been met, Mexico must realize the propriety of a policy that asserts the right of the United States to demand full protection for its citizens.

## PETROLEUM

The Democratic Party recognizes the importance of the acquisition by Americans of additional sources of supply of petroleum and other minerals, and declares that such acquisition, both at home and abroad, should be fostered and encouraged. We urge such action, legislative and executive, as may secure to American citizens the same rights in the acquirement of mining rights in foreign countries as are enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of any other nation.

## NEW NATIONS

The Democratic Party expresses its active sympathy with the people of China, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Poland, Persia and others who have recently established representative government, and who are striving to develop the institutions of true democracy.

## IRELAND

The great principle of national self-determination has received constant reiteration as one of the chief objectives for which this country entered the war, and victory established this principle.

Within the limitations of international comity and usage, this convention repeats the several previous expressions of the sympathy of the Democratic Party of the United States for the aspirations of Ireland for self-government.

## ARMENIA

We express our deep and earnest sympathy for the unfortunate people of Armenia, and we believe that our Government, consistent with its Constitution and principles, should render every possible and proper aid to them in their efforts to establish and maintain a Government of their own.

## THE PHILIPPINES

We favor the granting of independence without unnecessary delay to the 10,500,000 inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

## HAWAII

We favor a liberal policy of homesteading public lands in Hawaii to promote a large middle-class citizen population, with equal rights to all citizens.

The importance of Hawaii as an outpost on the western frontier of the United States demands adequate appropriations by Congress for the development of our harbors and highways there.

## PORTO RICO

We favor granting to the people of Porto Rico the traditional Territorial form of government, with a view to ultimate Statehood, accorded to all Territories of the United States since the beginning of our Government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the Government of such Territories should be qualified by previous bona-fide residence therein.

## ALASKA

We commend the Democratic Administration for inaugurating a new policy as to Alaska, as evidenced by the construction of the Alaska Railroad and opening of the coal and oil fields.

We declare for the modification of the existing coal land law to promote development without disturbing the features intended to prevent monopoly.

For such changes in the policy of forestry control as will permit the immediate initiation of the paper pulp industry.

For relieving the Territory from the evils of long-distance government by arbitrary and interlocking bureaucratic regulation and to that end we urge the speedy passage

of a law containing the essential features of the Lane-Curry bill now pending, co-ordinating and consolidating all Federal control of natural resources under one department, to be administered by a non-partisan board permanently resident in the territory.

For the fullest measure of territorial self-government with the view of ultimate Statehood, with jurisdiction over all matter not of purely Federal concern, including fisheries and game, and for an intelligent administration of Federal control we believe that all officials appointed should be qualified by previous bona-fide residence in the Territory.

For a comprehensive system of road construction, with increased appropriations and the full extension of the Federal Road act to Alaska.

For extension to Alaska of the Federal Farm Loan act.

### ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS

The policy of the United States with reference to the non-admission of Asiatic immigrants is a true expression of the judgment of our people, and to the several States whose geographical situation or internal conditions make this policy and the enforcement of the laws enacted pursuant thereto of particular concern, we pledge our support.

### THE POSTAL SERVICE

The efficiency of the Post Office Department has been vindicated against a malicious and designing assault by the efficiency of its operation. Its record refutes its assailants. Their voices are silenced and their charges have collapsed.

We commend the work of the joint commission on the reclassification of salaries of postal employes, recently concluded, which commission was created by a Democratic Administration. The Democratic Party has always favored and will continue to favor the fair and just treatment of all Government employes.

### FREE SPEECH AND PRESS

We resent the unfounded reproaches directed against the Democratic Administration for alleged interference with the

freedom of the press and freedom of speech. No interference from any quarter has been assailed, and no publication has been repressed which has not been animated by treasonable purpose and directed against the nation's peace, order and security in time of war.

We reaffirm our respect for the great principles of free speech and a free press, but assert as an indisputable proposition that they afford no toleration of enemy propaganda or the advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the State or Nation by force or violence.

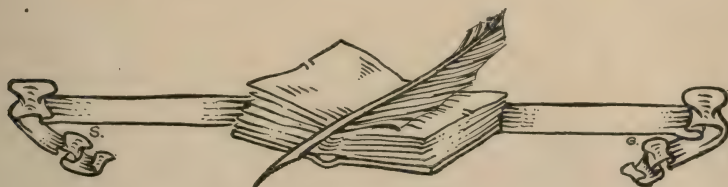
### REPUBLICAN CORRUPTION

The shocking disclosure of the lavish use of money by aspirants for the Republican nomination for the highest office in the gift of the people has created a painful impression throughout the country. Viewed in connection with the recent conviction of a Republican Senator from the State of Michigan for the criminal transgression of the law limiting expenditures on behalf of a candidate for the United States Senate, it indicates the re-entry, under Republican auspices, of money as an influential factor in elections, thus nullifying the letter and flaunting the spirit of numerous laws enacted by the people to protect the ballot from the contamination of corrupt practices. We deplore those delinquencies and invoke their stern popular rebuke, pledging our earnest efforts to a strengthening of the present statutes against corrupt practices and their rigorous enforcement.

We remind the people that it was only by the return of a Republican Senator in Michigan, who is now under conviction and sentence for the criminal misuse of money in his election, that the present organization of the Senate with a Republican majority was made possible.

### CONCLUSION

Believing that we have kept the Democratic faith, and resting our claims to the confidence of the people, not upon grandiose promise but upon the solid performances of our party, we submit our record to the nation's consideration, and ask that the pledges of this platform be appraised in the light of that record.





# The Hall of Fame of New York University

By CARSON C. HATHAWAY

RECENT metropolitan newspapers contained the announcement that "the names of Mark Twain, Grover Cleveland and Edward Everett Hale were included in the first list of nominees for the Hall of Fame at New York University. The building thus referred to is dedicated to the memory of the men and women who have made this nation great.

At about the opening of the twentieth century a gift of one-quarter of a million dollars was accepted for the purpose of erecting and maintaining a colonnade to be known as "The Hall of Fame for Great Americans." It was provided that a statue, bust or portrait of any individual elected under certain named conditions might be placed in the colonnade. The general public is first asked to submit nominations, and the names of famous Americans thus obtained are voted upon by members of the University Senate and also by 100 famous living Americans. The person elected must have lived in what is now the United States. No person can be elected until at least ten years after his death. Fifteen classes of citizens are included in the list, according to the field of activity in which the achievement was made.

Up to the present time the following men have been chosen as worthy of a place among the great men of the nation. Under the rules of the election "famous" is taken to mean "the condition of being much talked about, chiefly in a good sense; or reputation from great achievements":

*Class One, Authors*—Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, James Russell Lowell, John Greenleaf Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edgar Allan Poe, James Fenimore Cooper, William Cullen Bryant, George Bancroft, John Lothrop Motley, Francis Parkman.

*Class Two, Educators*—Horace Mann, Mark Hopkins.

*Class Three, Preachers and Theologians*—Jonathan Edwards, Henry Ward Beecher, William Ellery Channing, Phillips Brooks.

*Class Four, Philanthropists and Reformers*—George Peabody, Peter Cooper.

*Class Five, Scientists*—John James Audubon, Asa Gray, Louis Agassiz, Joseph Henry.

*Class Six, Engineers, Architects*—None.

*Class Seven, Physicians, Surgeons*—None.

*Class Eight, Inventors*—Robert Fulton, Samuel F. B. Morse, Eli Whitney, Elias Howe.

*Class Nine, Missionaries and Explorers*—Daniel Boone.

*Class Ten, Soldiers and Sailors*—Ulysses Simpson Grant, David Glasgow Farragut, Robert E. Lee, William Tecumseh Sherman.

*Class Eleven, Lawyers, Judges*—John Marshall, James Kent, Joseph Story, Rufus Choate.

*Class Twelve, Rulers and Statesmen*—George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Daniel Webster, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Clay, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, James Madison, Andrew Jackson, Alexander Hamilton.

*Class Thirteen, Business Men*—None.

*Class Fourteen, Musicians, Painters, Sculptors*—Charles Gilbert Stuart.

*Class Fifteen, Eminent Men Outside the Above Classes*—None.

In response to popular demand, provision has been made for a separate "Hall of Fame for American Women," and the following individuals have already been selected:

*Class One, Authors*—Harriet Beecher Stowe.

*Class Two, Educators, Missionaries*—Mary Lyon, Emma Willard.

*Class Four, Home or Social Workers*—Frances E. Willard.

*Class Five, Scientists*—Maria Mitchell.

*Class Fourteen, Musicians, Painters, Sculptors*—Charlotte S. Cushman.

The classes for women correspond as closely as possible with those of the men. It may be that in the years to come women will achieve fame as lawyers and Judges and take their place in Class Eleven. If they should ever be chosen for Class Twelve, we may have to coin a new word and call them "Stateswomen."

The list of those who compose the board of electors for the year 1920 includes many of the most prominent



HALL OF FAME, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY  
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names in our present national life. President Hadley of Yale, John Burroughs, Henry Watterson, Elbert H. Gary, John R. Mott, John Wanamaker, Elihu Root, William Howard Taft, Henry van Dyke and General Leonard Wood are some of the prominent members.

No name is selected for the Hall of Fame unless it is chosen by a majority of the one hundred electors. In the voting in recent years Washington heads the list with a total of 97 votes; Lincoln

and Daniel Webster each received 96 votes, Grant 93 and John Marshall 91. Emerson heads the list of authors with a total of 87 votes. In the voting for women, Harriet Beecher Stowe leads with a total of 74 votes.

The list prepared for 1920 includes the names of 100 men and 23 women. It has already been placed in the hands of the electors and the announcement of their decision will be made public about Nov. 1, 1920.

## Vocational Training for Marines

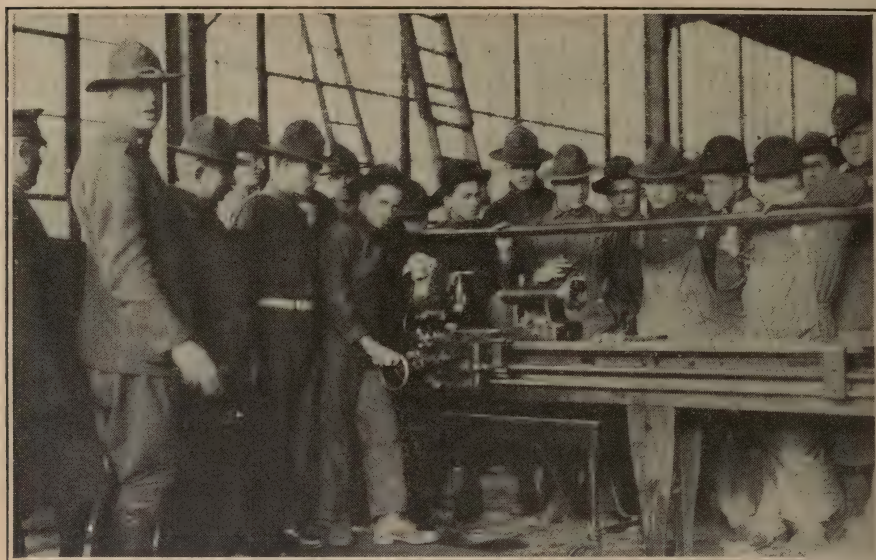
### The School at Quantico

AT the beginning of the present year a vocational and educational training school was instituted at the Marine Barracks in Quantico, Va., under the name of the Marine Corps Institute. The instructors were all members of the Marine Corps, either officers or privates; graduates of well-known universities, or former industrial executives. Twenty-two courses were offered on the following subjects: Stenography, Spanish, elementary and advanced English grammar, elementary arithmetic, advanced mathematics, bookkeeping, cook-

ery, French, administration, general law, stationary fireman, forestry, band music, draftsman, typewriting, shoe and leather trade, live stock, building foreman, automobile driving, electric lighting and short plumbing.

Captain George K. Schuler was placed in charge of the school. More than 400 students applied for enrollment on Jan. 10, out of about 800 men stationed at the post. All those enrolling are allowed to complete their drill and military duties in the morning, thus leaving the afternoon free for class work and study.





A CLASS OF UNITED STATES MARINES AT WORK IN THE MACHINE SHOP AT QUANTICO

Students are required to attend classes every afternoon except Saturday and Sunday. All proper textbooks are provided, and frequent examinations are held. On completion of the course chosen, the student is given a certificate or diploma.

Many of the classes have been crowded from the start to full capacity. The automobile course, limited because of shop space to 100 members, proved so popular as to require the construction of additional shops. Stenography, English grammar, elementary mathematics

and foreign languages have attracted many.

Since the school was founded, life at Quantico has undergone a great change. Idleness and discontent have given way to industry, and offenses against order and discipline have almost disappeared. It has been the aim of the authorities to put the post on the school basis and to treat the men as much as possible like the undergraduates of a college rather than as soldiers in a camp, and the effect is seen in the morale of the whole soldier-student community.

## Financial Resources of the United States

### A Total of Five Hundred Billions

[SUMMARY PRESENTED BY ERNEST R. ACKERMAN OF NEW JERSEY IN THE RECENT SESSION OF CONGRESS]

ACCORDING to the Census Bureau the wealth of the United States increased from \$107,000,000,000 in 1904 to \$287,000,000,000 in 1912. If we use the same percentage of increase as was shown in 1912 over 1904, which was practically 80 per cent., upon the period of 1912 to 1920, eight years, it would produce a total of \$327,000,000,000 based

on the same monetary standards of the earlier date.

Moreover, in a letter recently received by me from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, he states that in his opinion the value of the property in the United States at the present time is \$350,000,000,000. Accepting it as a fact, this is over \$100,000,000,000 in excess of any

previous estimate, and this excess alone is over four times the amount of our national debt, without taking into account the \$10,000,000,000 which Europe is bound under the agreement to return to us with interest.

The products of the farm in 1904 were valued at \$6,000,000,000, or a little over 6 per cent. of the value of all property; in 1912, at \$9,000,000,000, or 5 per cent. of the value of all property. If in 1919, seven years later and when daylight saving prevailed, the reported value of farm products were \$24,000,000,000, reasoning by analogy, as farm products consistently averaged 5 per cent. of all products, the value of all property should be \$500,000,000,000.

Let us look at the matter from another angle. Taking into account the rise in value on which the 1920 calculation should be based, it would be safe to assume that a 50 per cent. increase over the result of \$327,000,000,000 previously mentioned would not be far afield, and therefore the present market value of all property in the United States today, based on current standards, would total nearly \$500,000,000,000.

For the purpose of obtaining a proper perspective we turn back the pages of history and review the financial increase that has taken place since 1850 and succeeding years as tabulated by the Census Bureau, discarding fractional parts less than billions, and visualize it, as follows:

When the population was 23,000,000 in 1850 the wealth was \$7,000,000,000, or \$300 per individual.

When the population was 31,000,000 in 1860 the wealth was \$16,000,000,000, or \$516 per individual.

When the population was 38,000,000 in 1870 the wealth was \$24,000,000,000, or \$630 per individual.

When the population was 50,000,000 in 1880 the wealth was \$43,000,000,000, or \$860 per individual.

When the population was 62,000,000 in 1890 the wealth was \$65,000,000,000, or \$1,050 per individual.

When the population was 76,000,000 in 1900 the wealth was \$88,000,000,000, or \$1,160 per individual.

When the population was 81,000,000 in 1904 the wealth was \$107,000,000,000, or \$1,320 per individual.

When the population was 95,000,000 in

1912 the wealth was \$187,000,000,000, or \$1,990 per individual.

When the population was 110,000,000 in 1920 the wealth probably is \$500,000,000,000, or \$4,540 per individual.

In 1917, the latest obtainable date, 3,472,890 returns of income taxes, as compiled by the Treasury Department, indicated an expressed income of \$13,652,383,207. This three and a half millions of returns equals 3 per cent. of the population of the country. Would it not be most liberal to suppose that the remaining one hundred and six and a half millions of persons living here from whom no income tax was collected possessed in the aggregate at least an equal amount of wealth? Very probably they had very much more, but suppose for the sake of argument that they did not, but had only the same total which would be the incredibly small sum of \$130 income apiece, their aggregate income would be \$13,845,000,000, which, added to the \$13,652,000,000 previously mentioned, would exceed twenty-seven billions of income, or, capitalized on only a 5 per cent. basis, would indicate \$500,000,000,000 of basic wealth. They probably had several times that income each, which would in all probability allow the capitalization to be made even on a 10 per cent. basis. Why not? \* \* \*

In 1910, wealth being less than \$187,000,000,000, the income of the people was conceded to be \$30,500,000,000. That is from recorded facts. In 1918, income being conceded to be \$73,400,000,000, by the same arithmetical calculation, national wealth might not be far from \$448,800,000,000. Therefore the approximate wealth of the country based on duly ascertained facts, which no doubt are fundamentally correct and determined by the illustrations mentioned, must be close to \$500,000,000,000.

At the beginning of the World War in 1914 it was accepted as a fact that only 400,000 persons in continental United States owned a bond for the purposes of investment. Today, according to figures furnished by the Treasury Department, the number of subscribers to various Liberty and Victory loans was as follows: First loan 4,000,000 subscribers, second loan 9,400,000 sub-



scribers, third loan 18,308,325 subscribers, fourth loan 22,777,680 subscribers, Victory loan 11,803,895 subscribers, making a grand total of 66,289,900 subscribers.

This is a healthy sign of interest in the country's welfare, for, excluding duplications, it is safe to assume that one bondholder for three original subscribers still exists, therefore, 22,000,000 stockholders in the corporation of the United States, if we be permitted to describe it as such, or one bondholder for every five of our population, exists at the present time.

A contributor to Commerce and Finance declares that the money in circulation is now \$56.16 per capita, or about \$6,000,000,000. According to a prominent bank President there are about 27,000 banks in the country and their average vault holdings of cash are not more than \$20,000, or a total of \$540,000,000. This sum, plus the \$1,934,000,000 of gold held by the Federal Reserve Banks, accounts, he maintains, for less than half of the \$6,000,000,000 in circulation. It is thus clear, he asserts, that nearly three and one-half billions is in the pockets of the people or the tills of the merchants. Upon the assumption that there are about 50,000,000 adults in the United States, this means that each of them is keeping about \$70 of money out of the banks. This, he claims, is unnecessary and provocative of extravagance, and he urges that the banks of the country should join in an effort to exploit the benefits of a checking account, thereby reducing the amount of money in circulation and making the gold now held against the outstanding Federal Reserve notes available as a basis for increased loans.

According to that eminent investigator and economist Professor Irving Fisher of Yale College, the amount of money that is in actual circulation outside of banks and the United States Treasury is about two and one-half billions of dollars, and according to his estimates this volume changes hands thirty times

a year, thus making seventy-five billions of exchange. The volume of deposits subject to check was twelve and one-half billions, and changes hands, he computes, exceeding slightly ninety-five times per year, thus effecting one thousand one hundred and ninety-five billions of exchange. Adding the two together we have seventy-five plus one thousand one hundred and ninety-five, or a total of one thousand two hundred and seventy billions.

According to the professor, this paid for a volume of trade of 641,000,000,000 units (a unit of trade being that amount of goods which in the base year of 1909 represents \$1) at prices 98 per cent. higher than the prices of said base year, so that six hundred and forty-one times 198 per cent. is also 1,270 plus, thus proving the correctness of the proposition.

[The speaker gave the following figures respecting the national debts of other countries:]

	Estimated National Wealth.	Present National Debt.	P.C.
Gr. Britain...	\$90,000,000,000	\$40,000,000,000	44.4
France ...	65,000,000,000	35,000,000,000	44.4
Russia ....	40,000,000,000	25,400,000,000	63.5
Italy .....	25,000,000,000	15,000,000,000	60.0
Japan .....	28,000,000,000	1,300,000,000	4.6
Germany ..	80,000,000,000	50,000,000,000	62.5
Austria ...	23,500,000,000	17,000,000,000	72.3
Hungary...	16,500,000,000	9,000,000,000	54.5
Total...	\$368,000,000,000	\$192,900,000,000	...

If these figures are only approximately correct, the total material wealth of our country exceeds at the lowest estimate by over thirty-two billions, and perhaps by one hundred and thirty-two billions, the wealth of all these countries. In addition to that, even with a peak load as of Aug. 31, 1919, \$26,596,701,648, our entire national obligation is but the comparatively smaller sum of one-eighth of the amount that these eight nations have obligated themselves to pay. Our national debt, according to the latest Treasury statement, had been reduced on June 30, 1920, to a total of \$24,299,321,467.

# CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

## With the Best Cartoons of the Month From Many Nations

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1920]

### THE GREEK KING'S ROMANCE

THE list of morganatic marriages by Crown Princes or reigning Kings of Europe has been increased by the unofficial marriage ceremony between young King Alexander of Greece and Mlle. Manos, recently brought to public notice

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Louisville Courier

### THE OSTRICH

by the arrival of the King to see Mlle. Manos in Paris. This marriage was performed on Nov. 5, 1919, at the house of Mme. Zalocosta, sister of Mlle. Manos, by an orthodox priest, but without the Metropolitan's license or the other due legal formalities required for royal weddings. The marriage, therefore, was morganatic, and not recognized by the Greek Constitution: more than that, it was considered nullified in civil law by the absence of the Metropolitan's license. Mlle. Manos, however, took a wholly different view, and during the absence of

the young King at Saloniki, she established herself at the Royal Palace. On his return, she insisted on her right to live with her husband. The Government, however, compelled her to leave Greece with her sister, and to settle in Paris. The King visited her there late in May. Concerning this visit an interpellation occurred in the Greek Parliament on May 25. It was asked why the King had taken this journey unaccompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs or the Prime Minister. M. Venizelos, the Premier, replied that the King's journey was made with no political object whatever, "as the time was past in Greece when the King represented official state policy owing to his supposed relations with God." M. Venizelos added:

Our present King, I am glad to declare, has an accurate constitutional conception of his duties. When the King was obliged

[ENGLISH CARTOON]



—Daily Express, London

I won't rule meself, and, begorra! I'll see that no one else does!

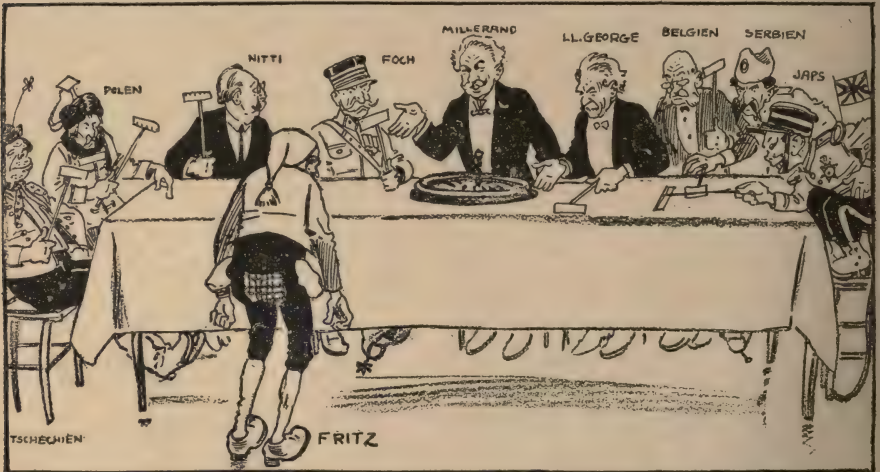


to part with his parents in the national interests, he promptly accepted the sacrifice, and therefore we are grateful. He is now entitled to a pleasure trip just as much as any other free citizen after three years of continuous work.

Meanwhile, recent issues of illustrated Paris periodicals show the Greek King strolling down the wide boulevards with Mlle. Manos radiating happiness and the observed of all observers. The romance of the Greek King has proved, thus far, more auspicious than that of Prince

of leaving the United States, unless the Secretary of State ruled otherwise. The order laid down the regulations to be observed as follows: "Such persons will be permitted to depart upon presentation of passports issued, renewed or viséd by representatives of their respective Governments within one year prior to the proposed date of departure, accompanied by certificates of compliance with the income tax law." Neither passports nor permits would be required "of persons

[AUSTRIAN CARTOON]



—Kikeriki, Vienna

## GERMANY AT THE SPA CONFERENCE

ENTENTE: "We can admit you to the game, Fritz. The entrance fee will be 280. billions in gold. You may win half of it back"

Carol of Rumania, who was compelled by his Government to renounce his morganatic wife after considerable tribulation. The Greek royal family is very much in the public eye of Europe today. Prince Christopher created a considerable sensation by marrying Mrs. William B. Leeds, widow of an American multimillionaire. The late King Constantine is exiled in Switzerland.

\* \* \*

### ALIENS FREE TO LEAVE THE UNITED STATES

**P**RESIDENT WILSON on July 1 issued an executive order to the effect that permits and passports would no longer be required by aliens desirous

traveling between points in the continental United States and points in Newfoundland and Pierre de Miquelon Islands; provided that the above exception has no application to persons traveling en route through the countries named to or from the United States."

\* \* \*

### ROCKEFELLER DONATION TO ENGLAND

**S**IX or seven months ago John D. Rockefeller visited University College, London, and displayed much interest in this branch of London University, as well as in the unit system of training in medicine which had recently been introduced in the Medical School of University College Hospital. The fruits of this visit

are now evidenced by a statement issued on June 12, announcing that £1,200,000 is to be placed, under certain conditions, at the disposal of these two institutions, the greater part of the sum falling to the hospital medical school. Among other provisions, a new obstetric unit is to be set up, a bio-chemical laboratory is to be created, a hospital wing and other buildings are to be reconstructed, and an institute of anatomy is to be attached to University College. The English press published many appreciative comments on this donation, which was declared by The London Times "to transcend the limits of nationality and to find its impulse and its sanction in that deep sympathy with human suffering which binds the civilized peoples of the world together."

ish Navy," presented the ship to the British Government with an impressive ceremony on April 26. The announcement that the ship would be sold aroused great commotion in Belgium as well as in England. All the Belgian papers expressed astonishment at the decision. The *Soir* of Brussels said on June 14:

Belgium, following her Latin inspiration, said that the Brussels, the glorious wreck sunk by the Germans and formerly commanded by the brave Captain Fryatt, must be returned to England. No discordant voice was raised to hinder the project. But we forgot one thing, and that was that the Brussels might be turned into money, like the armchair of a Hindenburg or the penholder of a Ludendorff. England has just put the Brussels up for auction. We suppose that Belgium might have done the same, but decidedly we have not the same way of envisaging things, even glorious things.

[DUTCH CARTOON]



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

## THE FANATICAL PEACE MAKERS

### CAPTAIN FRYATT'S SHIP

THE power of public opinion has again been emphasized in the case of Captain Fryatt's ship, the *Brussels*, which, according to an official announcement of June 2, was to be offered for sale at auction on the Baltic Exchange on June 23. After the *Brussels* was captured by the Germans she was sunk by them at Zeebrugge. Refloated by the British Admiralty, she was adjudged a Belgian prize. Belgium, however, "as a mark of its recognition of the heroism of the Brit-

Colonel L. Wilson, British Ministry of Shipping, defended the decision in the House of Commons on June 14. The *Brussels*, he said, had been stripped of all her fittings, and was so damaged that there was nothing remaining to her of any general interest: she was of no value for exhibition purposes, nor would she be suitable as a training ship, and if not sold to private persons would become a public charge. In taking this decision, he explained, the Government had not the slightest intention of depre-

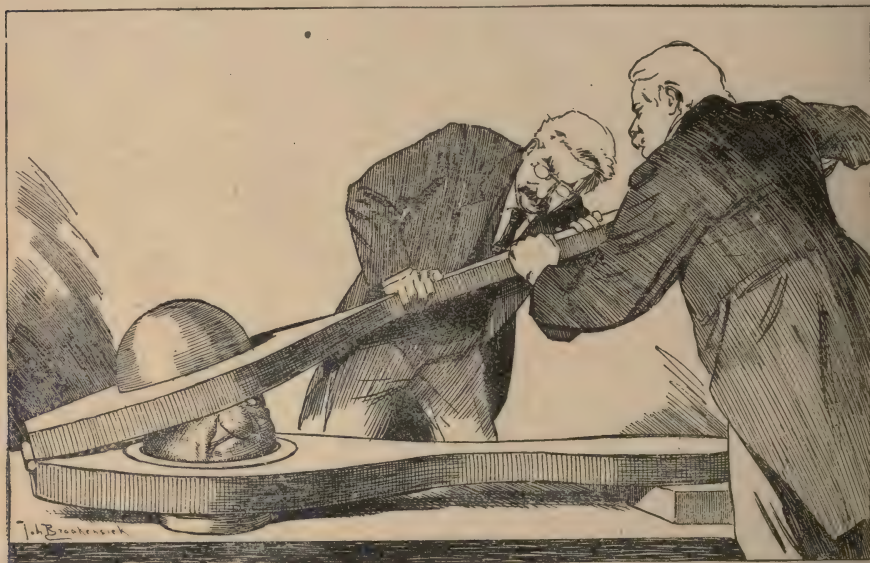


ciating the heroic action of her commander, whose name would always be associated with the ship.

Following this official explanation, however, the British Government, heedful of the force of public sentiment, revoked the decision to sell the ship, and the marine auctioneers in the last week in June received from the Ministry of Shipping a cancellation of the order.

held the Russians in check on the Carpathian front. As Commander in Chief of the Austro-Hungarian armies against Italy he successfully fought twelve battles on the Isonzo, thus preventing the invasion of Austria by the Italians. He led the Austrian advance on the Piave, which ended so disastrously. He then went to Klagenfurt, where, according to a letter written by him to a friend and

### [DUTCH CARTOON]



—De Amsterdamer, Amsterdam

### FIXING THE GERMAN INDEMNITY

LLOYD GEORGE AND MILLERAND: "We never can get more than 120 billion marks out of him"

Meanwhile the historic vessel lies in Newcastle-on-Tyne, stripped and despoiled by the Germans, and covered with barnacles from her long submersion at the bottom of the sea, and no official intimation as to her future disposition has yet been forthcoming.

\* \* \*

#### FIELD MARSHAL BOROEVIC DIES IN POVERTY

THE death of Baron Boroevic, formerly Field Marshal in the Austro-Hungarian Army, at Klagenfurt, Austria, was announced in Vienna on June 17. At the beginning of the war Marshal Boroevic was in command of the forces which

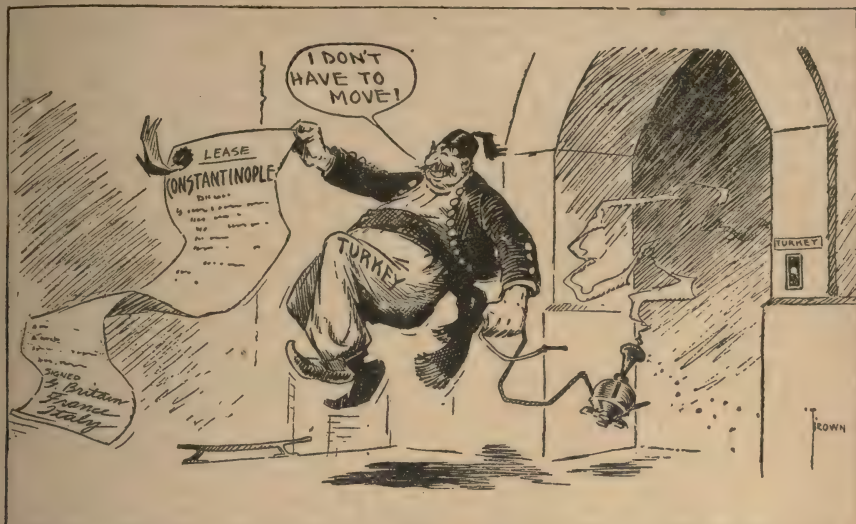
later published in Vienna papers, he underwent great humiliation, and lived in abject poverty. He was prohibited from entering Yugoslavia, the place of his birth, except on condition that he take the oath of loyalty to that country and renounce his allegiance to the Austrian Emperor, which he refused to do.

\* \* \*

#### BOY SCOUTS SAIL FOR EUROPE

THREE HUNDRED Boy Scouts from the pick of American boyhood set sail on July 6 on the United States transport Pocahontas to attend great national contests and demonstrations of scouting

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Chicago Daily News

## RENEWED HIS LEASE!

in England, and to visit Belgium and France as those nations' guests. The three hundred boys were chosen by a rigid competition from the nearly 400,000 Boy Scouts of America. The American delegation mobilized in Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor, on the morning of July 3, where they were all provided with new uniforms and full equipment for the trip. They departed under a supervisory committee of the highest grade of men leaders. Thirty-four nations, of which the United States is one, have sent delegations to this First International Convention of the Boy Scouts Organization, held from July 30 to Aug 7 at the Stadium in Olympia, near London. The party disembarked at Southampton and went immediately into training for the big international event. Opportunity to visit London and to see many of the sights of the British Isles was to be given at convenient periods. After the "meet" at Olympia, the 300 American delegates will go in a body to France, where they will visit famous cities and some of the principal battlefields. Then, as guests of the Belgian Government, they will tour the historic

points of interest in that country, and will sail from Antwerp on Aug. 17 for the return trip to New York.

\* \* \*

## RESTORATION OF ALIEN PROPERTY

**A** LIEN property estimated at \$150,000,000, seized during the war, according to an official announcement made by Francis P. Garvan, Alien Property Custodian, on June 5, will be returned on formal application by owners entitled to recovery under the amendment to the Trading with the Enemy act passed by Congress on the same date. Among those thus qualified, according to this amendment, fall the following classes: American women who married alien enemies, enemy diplomats, interned aliens, citizens of new nations created from enemy territory by the Versailles Treaty, women of allied or neutral countries who married enemy subjects, and Americans who were forced to remain in Germany during the war. The amendment also authorizes the return of property mistakenly seized and allows American creditors to bring claims against enemy debtors whose property was seized.



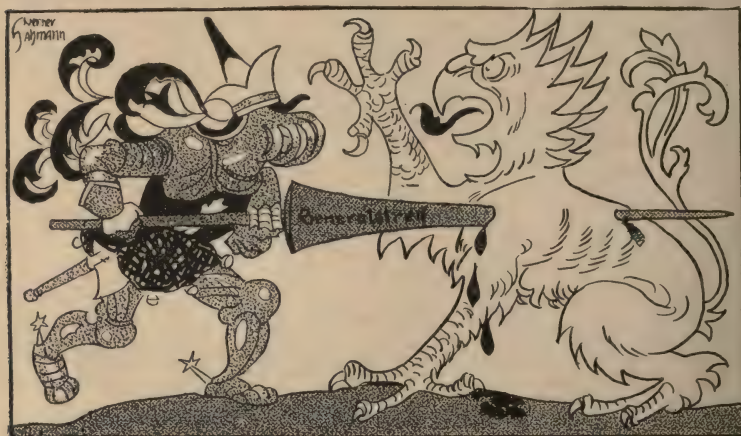
## DEAN INGE ON STATE SOCIALISM

DEAN INGE ("the gloomy Dean") on June 14 delivered the annual address to the members of the Victoria Institute at the Central Hall, Westminster. Speaking on "Freedom and Discipline," he said that the German description of the war as a trial of strength between discipline and liberalism was perhaps the truest statement of the issue that had yet been made. He contrasted the tyranny of the elaborate scientific organization of Germany with the democratic principle of England, which, he

declared, was there exemplified in both its strength and its weakness. Weak, slovenly, cumbrous and slow-moving, vacillating and inconsistent, hampered by the necessity of consulting public opinion and sectional interests, the system, as revealed by the war, he said, at least discouraged the commission of great national crimes and hostile aggressions. Dean Inge admitted that the recent developments of democracy in England, France and America had disillusioned him, though he insisted that he was "no more a pro-German than

[GERMAN CARTOON]

## THE GERMAN REPUBLIC'S FIGHTING METHODS



Combating the white dragon (the royalists)



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

Combating the red dragon (Bolshevism)

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—© Chicago Tribune

## ARMENIA

There was a time when the whole human race was interested in Armenia—  
But now the human race is interested elsewhere!

Plato was a pro-Spartan." Turning his attention specifically to the growth of socialism, he said:

There can be no greater mistake, in my opinion, than to suppose that the trend of our age before the war and in Britain was toward State socialism. State socialism is the apotheosis of discipline and the negation of freedom. It is the hardest of all hard forms of government. It ruthlessly suppresses the inclinations of the individual, subordinating him entirely to the interests of the State. It regulates every detail of his life—if it ever establishes itself it will certainly be obliged to regulate marriage and the number of births. It will crush all revolts, whether of individuals or of classes, by simply

condemning the rebels to exclusion from its organization—that is to say, to banishment or starvation. It would be a tremendous tyranny, but it might be a magnificently ordered scientific State. Now this ideal does not appeal to our contemporaries for its own sake. To the masses it is abhorrent, not only in England but to a less extent even in Germany. \* \* \*

The aspirations of our age in Great Britain have been for a fuller and freer life for the individual. Nationalism is, for the revolution, the real enemy; and it is the enemy because it logically leads to a hierarchical State socialism, in which the individual is sacrificed to the State, the form of government which above all he dreads. I will not attempt to judge



between these rival tendencies. Personally, I would rather be governed by a strong bureaucracy—honest, economical and efficient—than be a prey to the sectional fanaticisms of trade unionists, syndicalists and what not. But I believe that an omnipotent Socialist Government would soon throttle all the life out of the people. \* \* \*

\* \* \*

#### AN ARAB PRINCE IN CAIRO

THE Emir Abdullah, brother of the Emir Faisal (would-be King of Syria), reached Jeddah on May 15 on his return from a visit to Cairo as the guest of the British Government. The Emir found that British authority in Egypt had greatly increased and that it was recognized by the great majority. The broad streets of the European quarters he greatly admired, but the narrow lanes and malodorousness of the native sections of Cairo led him to remark that

Mecca and Jeddah had not so much to learn in sanitation as the metropolis of Egypt. The wealth of water, the numerous gardens, the profusion of flowers, delighted him, and his Bedouin escort was moved to incredulous envy by the broad fields of wheat, barley and clover stretching as far as the eye could see on each side of the railway line. These Bedouins (derived from the Arabic *Badi*, those who live in a desert or wild country) cried out bitterly to know what was their offense that their lot should fall amid the sandy deserts and bare and rugged hills of their native land, instead of in such an earthly paradise as Egypt seemed to their astonished eyes.

The Egyptian Army made a very favorable impression upon the Emir, but he could find only words of stern severity for the immodesty of the Egyptian women, the transparency of whose face-

[ENGLISH CARTOON]



—Evening News, London

THE STRAP HANGER

veils made them useless. The clothes of the European women of Cairo he found nothing short of indecent. The great increase of motor traffic surprised and bewildered him: the streets, he said, were never still, and he wondered how people could endure the continuous noise and movement. In the luxury and increased cost of living the Emir saw no sign of the state of world bankruptcy which he had been told was one of the results of the war.

## [GERMAN-SWISS CARTOON]



—Nebelspalter, Zurich

## IN GERMANY, THE LAND OF UNLIMITED TAXES

"What is the cost of this bag?"

"The luxury tax is 200 marks, turnover tax 300 marks, exchange value allowance 400 marks, and, allowing 50 marks for the bag itself, you can have it"

## TURKISH JEW HONORED BY ENGLAND

A YOUNG Jewish officer, a Turkish subject—Captain Alex Aaronsohn—was invested on June 6 by King George with the Distinguished Service Order. It is said that Captain Aaronsohn is the only enemy subject to receive a British distinction. Born in Palestine, he was enrolled in the Turkish Army,

but escaped on an American steamer from Beyrout in 1916 and joined the British Intelligence Service. It was in this capacity that he performed work of the most brilliant and valuable kind. A remarkable network of espionage was organized by himself and his sister throughout Palestine from the time of the entry of the Turks into the war in 1915 to the close of operations in 1918. Several times he crossed the lines personally, on one occasion disguised as a

German soldier. Through the devoted work of Aaronsohn and his sister General Allenby was kept fully informed of the movements of the Turkish Army, and it was largely due to their efforts that the British offensive of October, 1918, proved so successful. On the battlefield General Allenby, as he conferred on him the order, said: "You have helped me to conquer this country."

Captain Aaronsohn's sister, who at the age of 24 was in full charge of the whole spy system in Palestine, was captured, together with her father and brother, in September, 1917, and was tortured by the Turks, who beat the soles of her feet and placed hot bricks under her arms in an attempt to force information from her. She refused to speak and saved herself from further atrocity by committing suicide. Captain Aaronsohn stated that the British Government was intending to erect a monument in memory of his martyred sister and to rebuild the house used as her headquarters at Heiffa.

Captain Aaronsohn's brother, Aaron, was killed in a storm while flying from London to Paris last year with documents urgently needed at the Peace Conference.



## BRITISH WAR MUSEUM

THE Crystal Palace in London was re-opened on June 9 as a War Museum commemorating all phases of the great struggle. In the presence of a great assembly of people a notable speech was delivered by the King. Rarely in its long history has the Crystal Palace been decked so magnificently. In new paint of blue and white, panoplied with flags of every hue of the rainbow, its many panes gleaming like white diamonds, the great glass house became for the occasion one vast focus of light and color. In tier above tier, rising to the organ, sat the diplomatists and naval and military attachés of the allied and associated powers, forming another mosaic of color harmonies, contrasting with the white and vari-colored dresses of their wives and daughters. It was a distinguished throng that had gathered. The Archbishop of Canterbury's lawn and scarlet stood out conspicuously. Among others present were M. Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador; Mr. Davis, the American Ambassador, and Viscount Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador. Various members of the Cabinet were recognized, including Mr. Churchill, who arrived just before the King and Queen and the royal party. Indian officers, tall and impassive, uniformed and turbaned in khaki, and High Commissioners from the Dominions, had their part in the brilliant and historic scene.

The address of presentation was read by Sir Alfred Mond, who said, in part:

The collection here assembled comprises upward of 100,000 exhibits, illustrating the naval, military, aerial and civil labors of men and women throughout the empire during the period of the war. It is hoped to make it so complete that every individual—man, woman, sailor, soldier,

airman or civilian—who contributed, however obscurely, to the final result, may be able to find in these galleries an example or illustration of the sacrifice he made or the work he did, and in the archives some record of it. \* \* \* In the choice of war material, the endeavor has been made to select among suitable examples those to which a definite, honorable history can be attached, thus making them also serve as memorials of the heroic men who served them on the field of battle and too often laid down their lives beside them.

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—San Francisco Chronicle

## REACHING OUT

After expressing the gratitude of the nation to the conceivers of the plan, and their coadjutors, the King said, in his answering speech:

We cannot tell with what eyes future generations will regard this museum, nor what ideas it will arouse in their minds. We hope and pray that, realizing all we have done and suffered, they will look back upon war, its instruments, and its organization, as belonging to a dead past. But to us it stands, not for a group of trophies won from a beaten enemy, not

for a symbol of the pride of victory, but as an embodiment and a lasting memorial of common effort and common sacrifice, which, under the guidance of Divine Providence, vindicated liberty and right to the peoples of the world.

A fanfare of trumpets was blown by Guardsmen in the galleries, and the ceremony was completed. The day had a double significance in inaugurating the reopening of the Crystal Palace for public use, after four years of war, "as a place for education and recreation, and the promotion of industry, commerce and art."

[ENGLISH CARTOON]



—The People, London

### THE CONQUEROR—FOR HOW LONG?

JULIUS CAESAR: "Then I, and you, and all of us fell down, whilst bloody treason flourished over us"

### NEW FRENCH IMMORTALS

THREE new members of the French Academy—Robert de Flers, Joseph Bédier and André Chevrillon—were elected on June 2 to fill the vacant chairs of the Marquis de Ségur, Edmond Rostand and Etienne Lamy. M. de Flers, formerly editor on the Figaro, and now writing for the Gaulois, is a *littérateur* and journalist. His plays in collaboration with M. Caillavet have enjoyed wide

success. M. Bédier is noted as a student of the French language and literature, of which subjects he has been for many years Professor in the Collège de France. His work, "Les Légendes Epiques," made him famous as a student of research and philology. M. Chevrillon, a nephew of Taine, is known as a traveler and scholar.

\* \* \*

### AUTONOMY FOR MALTA

AN episode of historical importance occurred at Malta on June 14, when the British Governor, Lord Plumer, read to the Maltese Council the draft of the new Maltese Constitution. The feeling that Malta was merely an outpost of imperial defense for Britain, coupled with discontent at the high cost of living and unemployment, led a year ago to riot and pillage in the usually peaceful island. These disorders were repressed, but the core of the trouble, which lay in the Maltese desire to deal with their own problems of education, language, taxation and general local government, was cut away by the Imperial Government in the new Constitution which it is now proposed to apply. This Constitution as drafted gives Malta, with certain necessary modifications, the same measure of autonomy as that enjoyed by the British Dominions. It provides for the creation of a two-chamber representative Government, elected on a proportional basis. Though Malta will not be allowed to dictate the part she shall play in imperial plans, she will thus secure freedom to conduct her domestic affairs virtually without outside interference.

\* \* \*

### AMMUNITION SOLD TO FRANCE

IT was officially announced toward the end of June that the sale of the whole of the remaining surplus British



ammunition in France had been sanctioned by the Disposals Board at a price of £2,000,000. The purchasers were Messrs. F. N. Pickett & Son, engineers, at Wimereux, who had already entered into similar transactions with the French and Belgian Governments. With the huge ammunition dumps, containing some 50,000 British shells which must be broken down, the purchasers also took over buildings, machinery, railways, locomotives, trucks, &c. It was expected that the dangerous work of removing the explosives from the shells in the vast dumps acquired would take two years.

\* \* \*

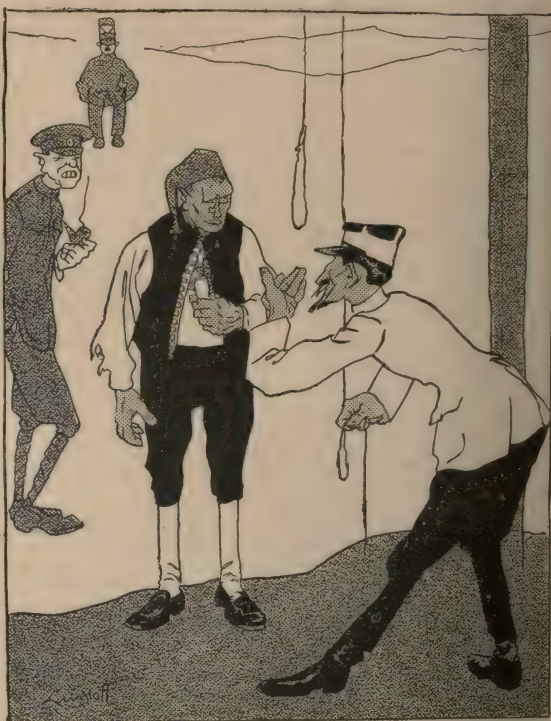
#### NATIONAL MUSEUM WAR EXHIBIT

THE National Museum at Washington opened toward the end of June a permanent exhibit of war pictures telling the story of the American Expeditionary Force. The artists who made the pictures all held the rank of Captain. They included Wallace Morgan, Ernest Peixotto, Julius André Smith, Harry E. Townsend, Harvey Dunn, Walter J. Duncan, all of New York City; William J. Aylward, Fairport, N. Y., and George M. Harding, Wynnewood, Pa., all commissioned and sent to the front for this purpose. Drawn from life in paint, pen and ink, or pencil, this collection of nearly 500 studies shows almost every phase of the army life overseas. The pictures are spread over the walls of half a dozen large, well-lighted rooms. They disclose a tale of striking action and epic tragedy.

Ruined French villages are depicted, consecrated by American bloodshed to tear them from German hands. Grim reminders of the great drama are seen in groups of huddled dead in wrecked enemy trenches, over which the tide of

victory has poured. In a hospital a twisted soldier writhing in agony from under the tumbled blanket, while a steady-eyed surgeon or an army nurse looks down on him with compassion, has caught the artist's imagination. Other pictures show the homely, appealing scenes behind the lines—Pershing's young soldiers mixing with the people

[GERMAN CARTOON]



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

#### PEACE CONDITIONS

"See, Fritz, only by quietly putting your head in the noose can you be assured of a peaceful future"

of France. These same soldiers may be seen, half glimpsed through a downpour of rain, moving onward through a sea of mud as the artist's eye caught them, dreaming, perchance, of the comfortable billets they have left behind. A slash of light from an open door shows another column passing in the night on its way to battle: just a hint, just a young face or two in the line, weary, dirty, but with

firm-set, resolute jaws. Here an endless line of weary gun teams drags forward the batteries to blast the road to triumph.

In adjoining rooms is an exhibit of guns, bombs, uniforms, allied and German; captured weapons and German wargear of different kinds—a fit setting for the war epic narrated by the artists on paper and canvas.

\* \* \*

#### A NEW FRENCH SCULPTOR

FROM shepherd boy to famous sculptor sums up briefly the life career of Paul Dardé, who leaped suddenly into fame on June 15, 1920, by winning the

much coveted national prize for sculpture conferred on him for two works exhibited in the Salon. The story of Dardé reads like a romance of old Vasari, or like a chapter from the famous biographies of Samuel Smiles. Dardé is now 28 years old. He may be said to have begun his artistic career at the age of 12. An art professor taking a holiday in the Cévennes some sixteen years ago encountered the boy, then tending sheep, and noticed the extraordinary skill with which he cut animals and figures with an old jackknife out of wood and soft stone. On being questioned, the boy

[POLISH CARTOON]



—Mucha, Warsaw

#### GOING A LITTLE TOO FAR

ENTENTE COMMISSION: "Those three are all right, but not this fourth. That word is too unpopular among the Poles!"



stated that the only books he had read were Dante, Shakespeare, the Bible and Tolstoy—a remarkable selection for a simple shepherd boy. Apart from this reading, however, he was completely ignorant and knew nothing of the outside world.

He was brought to Paris and entered the National School of Art. He soon found that he had learned there all that

this school could teach him and departed for Italy to study for himself the marvels of Michelangelo and Donatello. On his return to France he worked for a time in the studio of the great Rodin. Then came the war. Dardé was demobilized last year. He went back to his native hills in the Cévennes and there cut the two works which were placed on exhibition at the Salon and which have

[GERMAN-SWISS CARTOON]



—Nebelspalter, Zurich

### KING MAMMON AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"Now, my lad, don't get false ideas into your head about your future. The world will continue to be ruled, as in the past, by ME"

won him his present honor. The first is a fawn, crouching and meditative, strange and powerful, like a Caliban with the soul of Ariel. The other is a mighty Medusa, the beautiful head of a fainting woman tormented with the shame of a hundred serpents. This he calls "Eternal Grief." It is said to have been inspired by an episode in his early life. It is believed in French artistic circles that the author of these two works, which are pronounced to be creations of genius, will go far.

\* \* \*

#### EMMA GOLDMAN DISILLUSIONED

A CORRESPONDENT of The Chicago Tribune, writing from Paris on June 17, described an interview which he had recently with Emma Goldman, the deported American anarchist, in Petrograd. After expressing love for America, whose Government she had

spent most of her life in trying to overthrow, she is reported to have expressed her disillusionment regarding the Bolshevik Government in these terms:

It is what we should have expected. We always knew the Marxian theory was impossible, a breeder of tyranny. We blinded ourselves to its faults in America because we believed it might accomplish something. I've been here four months now and I've seen what it has accomplished. There is no health in it. It has taken away even the little freedom that one has under individual capitalism and has made men entirely subject to the whims of a bureaucracy which excuses its tyranny on the ground that it is all for the welfare of the workers.

Only one or two of the deportees who entered Soviet Russia with Emma Goldman have embraced the doctrines of Communism. Miss Goldman, Berkman and Novikov, the leaders of the group, have refused to work with the Government in any way except in performing

[ENGLISH CARTOON]

#### THE EVERLASTING STAIRS



—John Bull, London

"I keep climbing up, but I never seem any forrader!  
With higher wages things get all the 'horroder'!"

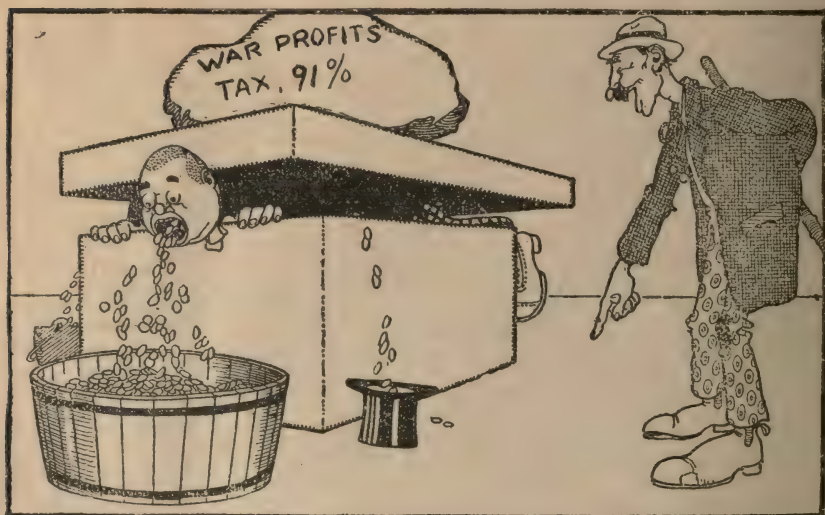


[ITALIAN CARTOON]

## THE PEOPLE AND THE PROFITEER



PROFITEER (to the people): "Give up your last cent!"



—11 420, Florence

PEOPLE (to the profiteer): "Now render to Caesar that which is Caesar's!"

purely humanitarian tasks. Meanwhile they are conducting an independent investigation of their own. Miss Goldman said:

We have investigated factories, homes and institutions as a newspaper man can be permitted to investigate them, and we have found them bad. \* \* \* We want to make a trip through the country districts and talk with the peasants. Then we will be ready to speak. We probably

substance the bill confirmed an agreement among the British, Australian and New Zealand Governments regarding the administration of Nauru and the mining of its phosphate deposits.

The Island of Nauru is about eight miles square and lies in the Pacific Ocean, south of the Marshall Islands, one degree south of the equator. It was annexed by Germany in 1880 and on

Sept. 7, 1914, was surrendered unconditionally to the commander of a British warship. At the request of Australia the administration of the island was taken over by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Its 1,700 inhabitants were said to have expressed their desire for the continuance of British rule. It had been pointed out during the war, said the mover of the resolution, how dependent the British Empire was on foreign supplies of phosphates. Discussions by the Supreme Council in Paris, he explained, had led to the proposal that the administration of Nauru should be placed under the joint control of the three British countries named above, and that the phosphate rights should be purchased from the Pacific Phosphate Company, the English company which had acquired the holdings of the original German owners. The purchase price had been fixed at £3,500,000, to be distributed as follows: United Kingdom, 42 per cent.; Australia, 42 per cent.; New

Zealand, 16 per cent., in ratio to the proportions of phosphate which each would receive. The deposits were estimated at 216,000,000 tons, probably the largest in the world, with an annual production of approximately 500,000 tons.

In the debate that followed Mr. Asquith, Lord Robert Cecil and Sir D. Maclean opposed the bill as a violation of the League covenant. The ground

[GERMAN 'CARTOON']



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

#### EUROPE AT THE AMERICAN DENTIST'S

DR. JONATHAN: "The bad tooth (Germany) has a broken crown, but the root is sound. Perhaps a gold filling would be worth while"

will go to jail when we start criticising, but that doesn't matter. We've been in jail before. We cannot be true to our principles and not speak.

\* \* \*

#### BRITISH MANDATE FOR NAURU

THE Island of Nauru bill produced a lively discussion in the House of Commons on June 16. The second reading was moved by Colonel Leslie Wilson (Secretary, Ministry of Shipping). In



taken by the opposition was summed up in the amendment moved by Major Ormsby-Gore:

That this House declines to proceed further with a bill which is in direct conflict with the articles of the covenant of the League of Nations as agreed by the Allies in the Treaty of Versailles regarding the open door and the principle of trusteeship to be imposed upon powers undertaking a mandate on behalf of the League.

This amendment was defeated. Arguments were made by Mr. Asquith against acceptance of the bill on the ground that it created a position of preference, in contradiction to Paragraph 5 of Article 22 of the League

covenant. Similar arguments were made by Sir Robert Cecil and Sir D. Maclean. Bonar Law replied for the Government. Emphasizing the vital necessity of the phosphate supplies of Nauru to the British Empire, Mr. Law defended the action of the Supreme Council in giving the mandate to Great Britain as a whole and in leaving to the mandatory the decision as to the best method of dealing with it. Charges of selfishness and immorality he deprecated strongly. If the proposed bill were objectionable, he concluded, it would be perfectly possible for the League of Nations to refuse to confirm it. A motion for rejection taken at the close of the debate was defeated

[NORWEGIAN CARTOON]

### IF THEY HAD LIVED TODAY



COLUMBUS: "What? Eggs a dime apiece! I'll not perform my famous experiment"



DIOGENES: "What? Five dollars for that old tub! The housing question has even affected me"



ACHILLES: "What? Two dollars to mend that heel! I'd rather run the risk of getting wounded"



—Karakituren, Christiania

LOT: "Turn and look back, wife; as a pillar of salt you will be more valuable than ever"

by a vote of 217 to 77. For the financial resolution on which to base the bill the vote stood as follows: For, 206; against, 62. The passage of the bill was thus assured.

\* \* \*

#### DEATH OF MME. REJANE

**M**ME. REJANE, the famous actress, died at her residence in Paris on June 14 of influenza. Mme. Réjane, whose real name was Gabrielle Charlotte Réju, was born in Paris on June 6, 1857, and had a long and brilliant career. The

daughter of an actor, she won her way up to success despite many vicissitudes and discouragements, and in 1875 made her début at the Vaudeville. Her power to create character soon won her name and fame. She gained many triumphs at the Odéon, notably as Catherine in Sardou's and Moreau's well-known play, "Mme. Sans-Gêne," and reduplicated this success in London and elsewhere. After her first season in London, Mme. Réjane came to America, where she made her first appearance at the Abbey

[ENGLISH CARTOON]



—Passing Show, London

THE WORKER



Theatre, New York, in "Mme. Sans-Gêne." She made many foreign tours from this time on, including a notable visit to South America in 1909. She opened her own theatre in Paris in 1905: an attempt to open a French repertory

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Newspaper Enterprise Association

NOTHIN' DOIN'

theatre in London the following year proved unsuccessful. During the war she devoted all her talents to aiding the allied cause, and appeared in war plays in London. Her nomination as Chevalier of the Legion of Honor was celebrated in February of the present year by a luncheon at the Théâtre de Paris, at which M. Deschanel, the President-elect, was present.

\* \* \*

#### BRINGING BACK THE AMERICAN DEAD FROM ISLAY

THE exhumation of the bodies of 489 American soldiers which were washed upon the rocky shores of the Island of Islay, off the Scottish coast, after the sinking of the transports Tuscania and Otranto in 1918, began on July 1. The Scottish clan which inhabits this lonely spot had taken the utmost care of the graves. The Chief of the clan pleaded that the bodies be left on the island, but the relatives of many of the dead wished to have them brought to

the United States, and it was decided by the Graves Registration Service to remove them all. The coast of Islay is so steep and rocky that the coffins had to be carried down trails cut in the rocks, or lowered by rope and tackle to a waiting barge, which conveyed them to a transport off shore.

\* \* \*

#### THE "COSSACKS" OF NEW YORK

THE New York State Police, a mounted constabulary of recent creation, has been accused of playing the part of "Cossacks" in suppressing strike disorders; but facts have furnished little or no substance for any such unfriendly epithet, and the work of these men who guard the Croton aqueduct and perform similar service throughout New York State has met with general commendation. The annual report of Major Chandler, Superintendent of the force, contains an addendum of laudatory opin-

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Baltimore American

"GETTING BLIMED MONOTONOUS!"

John Bull's efforts to solve the Irish home rule problem

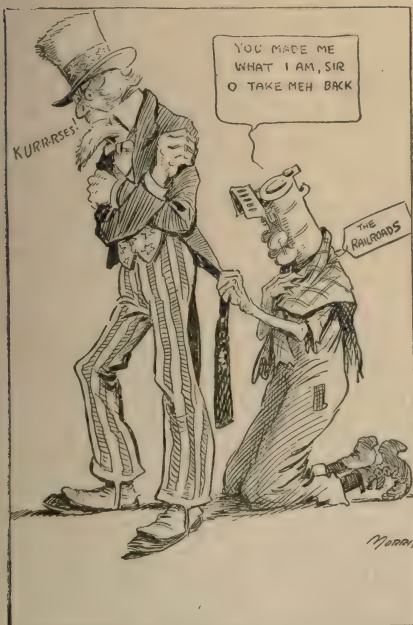
ions from various State officials, declaring that the force has acted with discretion and efficiency and has given the rural sections much-needed protection, saving the State far more than it cost. While the mounted police are occasionally called upon to preserve order where a strike is in progress, they have never given evidence of being enemies of labor. The report states that the jealous dislike at first shown toward them by country Constables and Sheriffs is now passing away, and it is coming to be realized that the State Police co-operate with the local authorities, but do not seek to supplant them.

\* \* \*

#### KOSSOVO DAY

**SUNDAY, June 27,** was Kossovo Day. It was observed by all Serbs at home or abroad. The battle of Kossovo, one of the decisive battles of the world's history, took place on June 15 (according to the old calendar), 1389. It was fought to decide whether or not the Turks should be driven back into Asia. It

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—George Matthew Adams Service

#### THE GREAT AMERICAN DRAMA!

ended in Serb defeat, and for more than 500 years the Serbs bore the yoke of Turkish oppression imposed at Kossovo. In the last Balkan war "Kossovo" was their battle cry, and with victory Kossovo Day was changed from a day of mourn-

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Cincinnati Post

#### HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL

ing to one of rejoicing. Even more significant has the day become now that the triumph of the allied arms in the great World War has reduced the Turkish power in Europe to a shadow. It finds the Serbs united with their Slavic brethren in the triple kingdom of Jugoslavia. Rejoicing in their changed fortunes, the Serbs asked all the Christian churches of the world to join with them in their celebration of this 531st anniversary of the memorable battle whose object has now been virtually attained.

\* \* \*

#### BRITISH BATTLEFIELD MEMORIALS

**I**N addition to the war memorials to be erected by the British Government over the graves of its dead in France, it is planned to erect battlefield memorials in honor of different units whose exploits made them deserving of special commemoration. Many such units are now being considered by the special committee appointed by the British Army Council. The claims of two



corps, thirty-three divisions, six brigades and forty-two lesser formations have been submitted. The Australians and Canadians have already erected their memorials, or are about to have them erected, at the following places:

#### AUSTRALIANS

Pozières,	Bellenglise,
Mont St. Quentin,	Polygon Wood, and
Sailly-le-Sec,	Villers Outreux.

#### CANADIANS

Passchendaele,	Vimy (Hill 145),
Observatory Ridge,	Caix-le-Quensnel,
Courcelette,	Dury, and
	Bourlon.

Sites required by several British divisions and other formations are at the following places:

Vieille Chapelle,	Thiepval,
Fricourt,	Pozières,
Bellenglise,	Bois des Buttes,
La Boisselle,	Vendresse à Troy-
Étreux,	en,
Bailleul,	Mont Noir,
Givenchy,	Neuve Chapelle,
Fayet,	Beaumont Hamel,
Lagnicourt,	and
Graincourt,	Villers Bretonneux.

In other theatres of war units have

registered preliminary claims for memorials to be erected at:

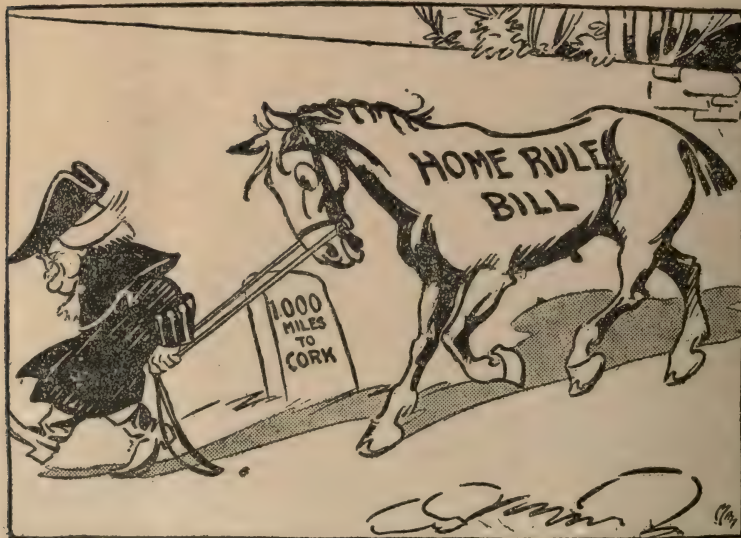
Pepedapoll Island	Nevoljen (Saloniki),
(Italy),	Aleppo, Kantara
Gallipoli,	(Palestine and
Gaza,	Suez), and Tan-
Doidzell, and the	ga (East Africa).
Doiran Front,	

\* \* \*

#### BADEN-BADEN AFTER THE WAR

THE gay life of Baden-Baden, Germany's famous watering place, is beginning again. The war has left the city practically unchanged. Though the airplanes of the Allies dropped bombs on Mannheim and Karlsruhe and in the surrounding Black Forest, not one fell in the streets of the famous health resort. Gay crowds are again thronging to Baden's capital to promenade on the spacious lawns before the Kurhaus, to listen to the concerts held within, and to drink the waters of the great Trinkhalle. Gambling has been prohibited by the Government on the ground that it might have a demoralizing effect upon the people so soon after the war. It is planned, however, to resume the horse races this

#### [ENGLISH CARTOON]



—Sunday Chronicle, Manchester

#### HOPEFUL DAVID AND HIS STEED

"Come on, my bonnie Black Bess. Only another thousand miles to Cork!"

Summer. One result of the war is evident in the changed character of the sojourners. Baden-Baden, before the war, was the favorite resort of the crowned heads, Princes, Dukes, Earls and other titled members of the aristoc-

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—New York World

THE SHIP OF THE DESERT

racy of many lands. From the eighteenth century the Court functions of the Grand Dukes were kept up in state and the etiquette was said to be stricter than at any other Court in Europe. Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century Baden-Baden became a favorite resort of wealthy Americans, of whom Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt was one of the pioneers. Since the war all the titled flock has flown and the majority of the visitors are now of the class of the so-called war millionaires. The residents bemoan the absence of the distinguished foreign guests whom they saw arrive year after year up to August, 1914; only the hotel proprietors and shopkeepers are content as they rake in the golden harvests sown by the new generation of spenders.

\* \* \*

SALVATION ARMY AS DETECTIVE AGENCY

THE Salvation Army conducts one of the most extensive and successful detective agencies in existence. Its specialty is seeking for missing persons. The work is conducted through a system

of branch offices that reaches around the world and extends even to the leper colonies in Java and the criminal tribes of India. In sixty-six countries and colonies, and in 7,000 cities, towns and villages throughout the world, it has trained workers seeking those who have disappeared. In the United States alone some 1,900 inquiries for missing persons were received by the Salvation Army last year. Out of this number the organization was successful in restoring over 50 per cent., or nearly 1,000 persons reported as delinquent or lost, to their homes and families. Some have been found only after years of patient searching.

\* \* \*

MOTOR CYCLES INSTEAD OF STREET CARS  
IN CEYLON

INADEQUACY of street railway facilities, so marked since the war in hundreds of American cities, is also being felt in far-off Ceylon. A great shortage of rolling stock exists, according to Government reports received at Washington; there is an almost total lack of new equipment and a serious scarcity of labor of sufficient skill to repair roads and equipment run down during the war. Railroad connections are quite inadequate.

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Brooklyn Eagle

I AM THE LAW



quate. These conditions, and the high cost of upkeep for automobiles, have forced many Ceylonese to adopt the motor cycle. The popularity of these vehicles has increased to such an extent that Ceylon now has about 1,200, about

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Dayton Daily News

#### ANOTHER BATTLE FOR WORLD DOMINATION

half of which are equipped with side cars. Although the roads in Ceylon are in splendid condition the heavy grade in the mountainous interior requires machines rated from four horse power upward. Recent importations have included motor cycles up to sixteen horse power.

\* \* \*

#### SPANISH DRAMATIST AWARDED THE NOBEL PRIZE

JACINTO BENEVENTE, the Spanish playwright, has been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature and the Royal Spanish Academy has been requested to prepare a memorial in honor of the event. The winner of the prize is a prolific and successful dramatist, with more than eighty plays to his credit, some of which

have been published and produced in translation in the United States. Señor Benevente is a member of the Cortes, Director of the National Theatre (Teatro Español), and Director of the National Conservatory of Acting. He is himself a noted actor and is taking a leading part in the motion-picture industry in Spain. One of his plays, "La Malquerida"—translated as "The Passion Flower"—was produced in New York recently by Nance O'Neil.

\* \* \*

#### DEATH OF LORD FISHER

THE death of John Arbuthnot Fisher, Admiral of the British Fleet, former First Lord of the Admiralty, occurred in London on July 9. In Lord Fisher the British Navy lost one of its most picturesque and original figures. His career was a continuous tale of service. Born on the Island of Ceylon on Jan. 25, 1841, the son of Captain William Fisher of the 78th Highlanders, he entered the navy in 1854. Six years later he had reached the rank of Lieu-

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Washington Star

#### ONE POINT OF AGREEMENT

[Neither party platform mentions prohibition]

tenant. The main features of his career may be summed up as follows:

He took part in the capture of Canton and Pieho and served in the Crimean War of 1855, the China War of 1859-60 and the Egyptian War of 1882, as commander of the Inflexible in the bombardment of Alexandria. He was Director of

Naval Ordnance from 1886 till 1891, and was made Rear Admiral in 1890. He was Admiral Superintendent of Portsmouth Dockyard in 1891, and then became Controller of the Navy. He served as Lord of the Admiralty from 1892 till 1897, and then spent two years at sea as Commander in Chief of the North American and

[DUTCH CARTOON]



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

### THE INTERNATIONAL SCARECROW

REACTIONARY STETESMAN: "Look out, good people, or this goblin will get you"

West Indies Station. He was delegate to the Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899, and then commanded the Mediterranean Fleet for two years. Then his two years' shore duty found him first as Second Sea Lord and then as Commander in Chief at Portsmouth. When the war came he had served one term as First Sea Lord, from 1904 till 1910, and was in retirement.

During this long term of service on sea and land, Lord Fisher had distinguished himself as an administrator of the highest type, and as a man of great initiative and inventive genius. The dreadnought as a super-fighting machine was due to Lord Fisher. During his first term as First Sea Lord he "scrapped" no fewer than 162 warships as obsolete. The "Father of the

Dreadnought" also became the "Father of the Battle Cruiser," a war vessel of the speed of a light cruiser and the armament of the dreadnought. Lord Fisher also revolutionized the old strategy completely. Among his many

achievements—all of the greatest value in the development of the British Navy, to whose interests he remained devoted throughout his whole career—may be mentioned the following: The adoption of the water-tube boiler, which reduced the time of getting up steam from seven or eight hours to twenty minutes; the adoption of the Parsons turbine in the teeth of the bitterest opposition, with the result that 80 per cent. of the horse power on the seas today is turbine; the introduction of oil as fuel against an equally bitter opposition, so bitter that it led to his retirement from the post of First Lord of the Admiralty.

When the war began in 1914, Prince Louis of Battenberg was First Lord of the Admiralty. After having organized the important mobilization of the British Fleet in the North Sea (in which he but carried into effect a previous plan of Lord Fisher), Prince Louis, in answer to attacks because of his German birth, retired from office. Admiral Lord Charles Beresford was a popular candidate for the position, but Lord Fisher was even more popular, and as First Lord of the Admiralty he directed Britain's naval warfare against Germany until May, 1915, when he was again compelled to withdraw, largely because of his hostile attitude to the Gallipoli expedition. During his tenure he destroyed the fleet of von Spee off the Falkland Islands, and completed plans for destroying the German submarines which proved to be highly effective.

In the early Winter of 1916 there



was a popular movement to have him recalled, but the violent opposition of the Northcliffe press prevented this. Before the movement subsided, however, it brought to public notice the great accomplishments of Lord Fisher, which had long been hidden in the archives of the Admiralty. For these accomplishments the two volumes of memoirs, which he began publishing last year, furnished a popular background. They were undertaken as a means of lulling his grief over the death of his wife. These memoirs proved him to be a writer of great wit and distinction.

\* \* \*

#### SECRET DOCUMENTS ON THE WAR

THE publication of alleged "secret documents" and other retroactive data bearing on the war continues, especially in France. In line with M. Briand's attacks on the policy pursued by M. Clemenceau while in office, the *Matin* on June 17 printed material to show that the former Premier's Balkan policy had led to the favoring of England at the cost

of France. In the course of an interview, M. Bénazet, who was "reporter" of the budget of the Ministry of War during the whole duration of the struggle, and who is now Vice President of the Army Commission of the Chamber, was asked whether if, in October, 1918, General Franchet d'Esperey (Commander in Chief of the Army of the East) had continued to advance on Austria and Hungary the conditions of the treaty would not have been very different and France's situation with regard to England much improved. He replied as follows:

Yes, France's present situation would have been magnificent if we had marched on Vienna. \* \* \* It was the solution of genius. \* \* \* You must know that the whole plan of campaign and all General Franchet d'Esperey's orders were drawn up in view of an uninterrupted march on Budapest and Vienna. His left wing, consisting of Italians, was even to advance finally as far as Munich. But suddenly, at the beginning of October, in the full tide of victory, his plan was completely overthrown. On Oct. -8, 1918,

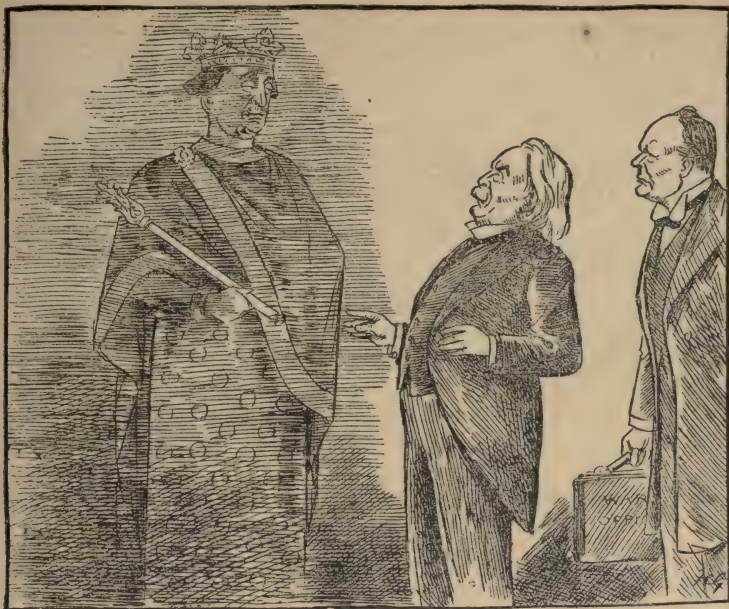
[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—Sioux City Tribune

"AND THE OLD CAT DIED"

## [ENGLISH CARTOON]



—Westminster Gazette, London

## SLOW PROGRESS

SHADE OF HENRY II.: "Sending troops to Ireland, are you? That's what I began to do 750 years ago! You don't seem to have got much 'for'ader' since I left!"

a month before the armistice, General Franchet d'Esperey received from Paris formal orders to devote the British division forming the right wing to marching upon Constantinople under the command of a British General.

The *Matin* also reproduces a letter from M. Clemenceau to General Franchet d'Esperey, dated Oct. 27, 1918, proposing for his army a plan of campaign in Southern Russia with which both the Italian and French Governments were said to be in agreement. The *Matin's* comment implies that this step was wholly in the interests of England, and seeks to draw a contrast between the alleged political blindness of M. Clemenceau and the political perspicacity of M. Poincaré, the former French President.

The *Paris Eclair* on the same date published what purported to be a secret letter addressed by General Ludendorff, a week or two after the armistice was

signed, to General Hoffmann, Chief of Staff to Prince Leopold of Bavaria, who commanded the German Armies of Occupation in Russia. The letter reveals the design of the German General Staff to use the Red Armies of Bolshevik Russia as a weapon of revenge. It reads in part as follows:

The experience of past months has shown that we can hardly reckon on the victory of the anti-Bolshevist elements. Our Astrakhan Army, which we formed in the Kiev region, and our armies on the north and south and in the region of Pskov have not justified our hopes. It can be confidently affirmed that the future belongs to the Bolsheviks, or in any case to the monarchical elements which are in the service of the Bolsheviks—that is to say, to the Red Armies, which perhaps, at a given moment, will seize power. That is why, having as a future aim an alliance in Russia—because it is only by means of this alliance that it will be possible to destroy the consequences of our defeat and realize in the



## [ENGLISH CARTOON]



—John Bull, London

## RICHES HAVE WINGS

JOHN BULL: "But you promised me a bird in the hand!"

BIRD CATCHER DAVID: "Did I? Well, never mind; you can have two in the bush instead!"

## [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—New York Times

## THE RIGHTS OF THE PUBLIC

"What if these things do belong to him! Let's not have him butt in!"

near future the idea of revenge by advancing the Red Armies themselves toward the Rhine—I think it necessary now to take the following measures. \* \* \*

Seven different means of organizing propaganda for encouraging such an alliance are enumerated under this head. The principal aim, it is stated in the concluding part of the letter, "is to attract the sympathies of the leading Russian classes." No limitation is placed on

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—New York World

#### FRISKING FRITZ; OR, THE STORY OF THE SPA CONFERENCE

expense, and Prince Leopold is asked to begin the work at once. A reference to the "German Soviets working in good condition at Moscow" shows that the plan must have been conceived before the armistice.

\* \* \*

#### BRITAIN'S TAXES HEAVIEST OF ALL

A TABULATED statement of per capita taxation levied by the principal allied nations for the present fiscal year was given out in June by Austen Chamberlain, British Chancellor of the

Exchequer. It shows that of the four nations listed Great Britain has the heaviest per capita taxation. The table follows:

	Present	Exchange.
Great Britain .....	£22	£22
United States .....	\$49.41	£12 7s.
France .....	450 francs	£9 11s.
Italy (1919) .....	134 lire	£2 2s.
Germany .....	444 marks	£3 1s.

In addition to this heavy rate of taxation each individual in Great Britain bears the burden of an increase of about 150 per cent. in the average retail price of food, clothing, fuel, light and rent, above the level of July, 1914, as indicated in statistics prepared by the Ministry of Labor. For food alone the average increase is 155 per cent. Life for the average British citizen is not a bed of thornless roses when he undertakes to strike a balance between income and outgo.

\* \* \*

#### DEATH OF EX-EMPRESS EUGENIE

IN the July issue of CURRENT HISTORY appeared a sketch of the romantic career of ex-Empress Eugénie, famous consort of Emperor Louis Napoleon, the only great survivor of a dead epoch. The present issue must chronicle her death, which occurred in Spain—the country of her birth and early girlhood days—on July 11. The venerable woman, whose wit and beauty were once the marvel of France and of the world, whose influence over European destinies lasted through three generations, passed away quietly in the presence only of her lady-in-waiting. Her nephew, the Duke of Alba, at whose home she died, was in France, and the other members of the family were absent at the time. Before her death she showed happiness at the consciousness that she was dying in her native land.

So the last link between the stirring



era of the Third Empire and the present was broken. Hers had been a career full of years, honors, hopes, despairs and, above all, patience to endure. Ex-Empress Eugénie was a woman who had lost everything she held dearest: her throne, her husband, her only son; she lived on, a white-haired, tragic figure, moving about bent and wrinkled, like a somnambulist, plunged in her inner world of memories and regrets. Her recent return, when 94 years of age and nearly blind, from England—the home of her maternal ancestors—

to Spain—the land of her birth—was greeted even in war-stricken Europe and reported as if it had been the triumphal progress of a reigning Empress.

\* \* \*

#### RENT PROBLEM SOLVED IN SPAIN

**R**ENT profiteering has been forbidden in Spain. All arbitrary increases in rents were prohibited by a decree signed by King Alfonso shortly before June 21, controlling rents in all the towns and cities of the country. Normal increases, by the terms of this decree, are to be confined within certain specified limits.

#### [AMERICAN CARTOON]



—© New York Tribune

**OH, NOT AT ALL, NOT AT ALL. DON'T MENTION IT**

The G. O. P. returning the compliment after eight years of subsistence on the scraps from the Democratic Party table

# CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS

CURRENT HISTORY undertakes in this department to publish such open letters as it considers of general interest. No letter will be used without the name and address of the writer. On controversial questions it will be the aim to give all sides an equal chance at representation; CURRENT HISTORY, however, aiming to record events as nearly as possible without comment or bias, does not necessarily indorse opinions contained in these letters.

## PREDOMINANCE OF ANTI-GREEK SENTIMENT IN THRACE

To the Editor of Current History:

I presume that the object of CURRENT HISTORY, as its name shows, is to serve as a record of what is really happening in the world, not of misrepresentations of events. To the July number, N. J. Cassavetes, Director of the National Pan-Epirotic Union in America, has contributed an article on "Thrace and Greece," which is anything but a contribution to current history or a truthful representation of events.

Pretending that Turkish and Bulgarian reports by misrepresentations have tried to show that the occupation of Western Thrace by the Greeks was unwelcome to the inhabitants, Cassavetes cites a cable of May 30 sent from Xanthi to the League of Friends of Greece and the Pan-Epirotic Union in America by a certain W. A. Lloyd, correspondent of The Liverpool Courier, who accompanied the Greek troops upon their advance into Western Thrace. In this cable the correspondent says that the Greek Army was received with popular rejoicing, that triumphal arches were erected to greet its coming, and that the Turks openly express their preference for Greek to Bulgarian rule. Additional information since May 30, according to Cassavetes, says that Bulgarian irregulars have attempted to cross the frontiers from Bulgaria, but were repulsed with heavy casualties; that the Turks are elated over the new Greek administration, and that Turkish communities from Eastern Thrace are sending delegations to ask the Greek troops to advance and occupy their districts.

Having stated the case of the Greek occupation of Western Thrace as represented by Cassavetes, let us now turn to the real facts, which will show how much truth there is in his statements.

Premier Stambolisky of Bulgaria has declared officially to the foreign representatives at Sofia, and reiterated emphatically his declaration in the National Parliament of Bulgaria, that the Bulgarian Government will not allow the formation of any irregular bands in Bulgaria to take part in opposing the Greek occupation of Thrace. He stated that he had addressed a note to the commander of the allied forces that were in occupation of the province, by which, in the name of the Bulgarian Government, he had protested against the iniquitous decision of the San Remo Conference to hand over

Thrace to the Greeks; but beyond that he did not propose to go. The assertion that Bulgarian irregulars have attempted to cross the frontiers from Bulgaria is not, therefore, true, for no such attempt has been made.

Since the Autumn of 1918 when Bulgaria concluded an armistice with the Allies and went out of the war, Western Thrace has been occupied by allied troops, the larger part of which were French, and the Commander in Chief of which was a French General. The administration of the province was practically in French hands, and according to all accounts this administration gained the sympathy, confidence and respect of all the population except the Greeks, by its fairness and justice. The Greeks were not pleased with it, because, soon after having occupied the province, the French found out that the overwhelming majority of the population was not Greek, as Venizelos and his associates had claimed in their memoranda and statistics. Under the freedom which the people of Thrace enjoyed under the French administration, they held imposing public meetings and drew up petitions to the French authorities in the province and the Peace Conference at Paris, protesting against Thrace being given to Greece and demanding autonomy for the province. Out of the ninety communes which constitute Western Thrace, eighty-four presented such petitions, insisting upon the principle of self-determination. The Turks appointed even a delegation to proceed to Paris and plead their cause; but, thanks to the intrigues and influence of Venizelos with the Supreme Council, the delegation did not go beyond Rome. The council refused to listen to their demands.

Last March the French military authorities in Western Thrace took a census of the population, which showed a total population of 204,000 (of whom 12,000 were Pomaks, i. e., Mohammedan Bulgarians), Greeks 56,000, Bulgarians 54,000, Armenians and Jews 8,000. This census, taken by French authorities, which cannot be accused of any bias for Turks and Bulgarians, and after all the Greek refugees from the province had regained their homes, is the best proof of the falsity of the Greek claims that Western Thrace is predominantly Greek. Were a similar census to be taken in Eastern Thrace, the result is sure to be the same.

On May 15 of this year the Turkish and



Bulgarian population of Gumuldjina presented a petition to the French General Charpy, Governor of Western Thrace, in which they declared that Greek domination is "execrable" to them and they will never submit to it. In a letter dated April 27, and addressed to the Greco-French paper *Opinion de Saloniki*, Hussein Husni, President of the Mussulman Community of Western Thrace, makes the following statement: "In what concerns the Mohammedans of Thrace, it is well to declare that, without being partisans of the Bulgarian régime, they are avowed enemies of the Greek occupation. \* \* \* The inhabitants of Thrace feel toward Greek administration an unbounded contempt, and they are unanimous in their firm determination never to submit to Greek domination." Notwithstanding the assertion of Cassavetes and W. A. Lloyd to the contrary, what really happened at Xanthi, when the Greek troops entered the town, was this: the Turks and Bulgarians hung out black flags on their houses as a sign of mourning, and took no part in the demonstration of rejoicing, staged by the Greek minority of the town population. The general exodus of both Turks and Bulgarians from Western Thrace is another proof of the "elation" with which the Greek occupation has been received.

Cassavetes charges the Turkish and Bulgarian reports about Thrace with attempting to confuse public opinion by misrepresentations. The following incident shows plainly who is guilty of such a charge.

One of the principal Paris newspapers, the *Journal des Débats*, which all along has manifested no tender feelings for either Turks or Bulgarians, sent last Spring its correspondent, Count Begouën, to study conditions in the Balkan Peninsula. During his travels in Western Thrace the correspondent visited the town of Gumuldjina, and had an interview with Vamvacas, the official Greek representative in Thrace. The Greek paper, *Phos*, of Saloniki, in giving an account of the interview, stated that Count Begouën had expressed himself to Vamvacas in favor of Greek domination of Thrace. In a letter of April 28, addressed to the Greek paper, Count Begouën flatly denies the statement, because, he says, "I cannot favor a project of annexation contrary to the two principles currently admitted in France: the principle of nationalities and the right of people to self-determination." Then, referring to the census taken by the French authorities, which shows that the Greeks constitute one-fourth of the population of Western Thrace, he affirms that the remaining *three-fourths* have unmistakably pronounced themselves against Greek rule in Thrace. THEODORE VLADIMIROFF, Roosevelt Boulevard, Frankford, Philadelphia, July 8, 1920.

## THE FARMERS' PARTY OF BULGARIA

*To the Editor of Current History:*

The Farmers' Political Party is now the ruling element in Bulgaria. Mr. Stamboliski, the Prime Minister, a man of strong personality, won the fight over the Socialist Party. The Moderate Socialists proclaimed a general strike at the end of last December, in which railroad, telegraph and telephone unions, also teachers and the clerks in almost all offices, were included. The Government, however, stood firm and did not yield to the demands of the Socialists. Last February the strike was settled, and each striker signed an application for readmission to Government service, forfeiting his salary for the time he had been on strike.

At that time some American papers printed dispatches from Belgrade (Serbia) saying that Bulgaria was in revolution. We wrote at once to a professor, a Moderate Socialist himself, in Bulgaria, asking him about the real conditions, and sending him some American newspaper clippings. He answered in substance as follows:

"I thank you for the clippings, from which I understand you are very wrongly informed over there about our condition. There is no revolution here at all—only an incidental strike of railroad and telegraph men, which has affected some other State officials. The strike is almost at its end; the Government is strong, and will become stronger in the future elections."

And in the last election, March 28, 1920, the Stamboliski Government actually became stronger by gaining twelve members in the House of Representatives.

If the Farmers' Party is strong politically, it is even stronger economically. It is organized economically into a large co-operative association known as *Naroden Magazin*, which means *People's Warehouse*. It has a central warehouse and office in Sofia, with branches throughout the country, and belonging to this association are thousands of members. The organization deals mostly in farm machinery and implements, but also supplies almost everything the farmer consumes, such as sugar, coffee, tea, leather, shoes, rice, cotton, yarns, soda caustic, spikes, wire nails, galvanized sheets, &c.

At the party's congress last June it was decided to establish a co-operative bank, which opened formally on Jan. 1 of this year. The Co-operative Association, *Naroden Magazin*, has sent its own representative to this country, who has located in New York City.

EM. ANASTASSOFF,

505 World Building, New York City, June 28, 1920.

# Toward a New War: The Horthy Regime in Hungary

By EUGENE S. BAGGER

ON June 4 the Treaty of Peace was signed at Versailles by representatives of the allied and associated powers, on the one hand, and the delegation of the Hungarian Government on the other. Formally, at least, the last of the major partners of the Teutonic Alliance has thus submitted to the will of the victorious western nations. Yet only those utterly ignorant of the situation in Southeastern Europe would assume that the signing of the treaty actually means the restoration of peace in that section of the world.

For Hungary is still ruled by the unregenerate junker class, which, more than any other group in Europe, was immediately responsible for the attack on Serbia in July, 1914, and thus for the outbreak of the World War at that particular moment; and today Hungary is the danger point of Central Europe, where chauvinistic reaction works overtime in plotting the next war of nations.

It is one of the tragic ironies of fate that of all the countries of the former Teutonic Alliance, Hungary alone should witness the return, in an aggravated form and with an enhanced prestige, of the old régime, and must pay a heavier price than any of her erstwhile comrades-at-arms for the folly of her rulers. Yet the fact is there, incontestable, and the peril for the peace of Europe and the world lies in the lack of realization, on the part of the major Allies, of the aims and implications of the Horthy dictatorship. Those aims can be summarized as the three R's of Magyar jingoism: Restoration, Revenge, Reconquest.

Such realization is not absent in the countries most directly concerned with the developments in the Magyar State. They know that it is impossible to settle down to the task of reconstruction as long as the revanche-mad militarists at Budapest are left in the position to up-

set, at a moment's notice, the new balance created by the liberation of the races oppressed under the late unlamented Hapsburg monarchy. The conclusion of a Czech-Yugoslav-Rumanian entente last February and the subsequent signing of a defensive-offensive alliance between the Republics of Czechoslovakia and Austria indicate that the new democracies are losing no time in meeting the menace of Magyar imperialism. But the new States need and are entitled to protection from their senior associates; therefore an understanding of the Hungarian situation is an international necessity.

## THE MAGYAR PROGRAM

Like the Bourbons, the Magyar aristocracy and gentry, now restored to power at Budapest, have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. As far as international policy is concerned, their one, obsession is what they call the integrity of ancient Hungary. They emphasize, in propaganda scattered broadcast in all idioms of the globe, that the Treaty of Neuilly sentences the Magyar State to death by depriving it of about three-quarters of its territory and two-thirds of its population, of most of its forests, practically all its mines, and a considerable portion of other resources and economic facilities. They invoke considerations of history, geography, political economy and ethnology to support their stand against the dismemberment of the country.

Any unbiased student of the Hungarian problem will agree that the Treaty of Neuilly inflicts a series of grave injustices and needless penalties on the Magyar people. Similarly, it may be argued—as the New Statesman pointed out recently—that if the Czechoslovaks and other claimants of historically Hungarian territory are so sure of popular



sentiment in the contested areas as they pretend to be, they might just as well accept the Magyar suggestion for a plebiscite under international supervision.

The tragedy is that the present Government at Budapest, imbued as it is with an obsolete spirit of romantic nationalism, unable to face in a realistic mood the bitter exigencies of defeat, regards the act of signing the treaty much in the light of a "military necessity," as a measure to gain time for the reorganization of the Hungarian Army. Bowing before the "vis major," the Magyar Government has signed the Treaty of Neuilly, but it has done so with the mental reservation that the provisions will not be adhered to, and that the injustices imposed upon Hungary must be righted by force of arms at the first opportunity.

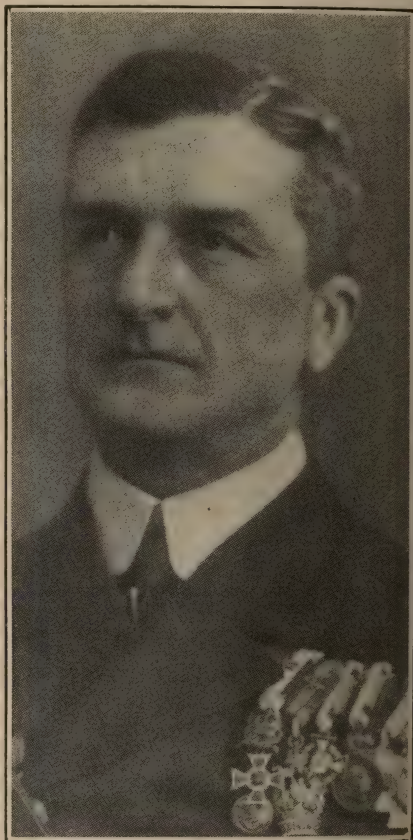
This is no guess or surmise; the Regent of Hungary, Admiral Horthy, has said as much in so many words. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of Jan. 31 quotes his declaration that "Hungary will sign whatever terms of peace are submitted to her, because it is only in this way that time can be gained for the reorganization of the Hungarian Army."

#### PROFESSOR JASZI'S PLAN

Yet there is another way out for Hungary and the Magyars: the expedient of peace and progress. Professor Oscar Jaszi, leader of the Magyar radicals and member of the Karolyi revolutionary Government, who has a lifelong record as a champion of the oppressed nationalities and of a genuine Hungarian democracy, writes from his Viennese exile and states in the *New Europe* for Feb. 26, 1920, the program of Magyar democracy as follows:

In the field of foreign relations the spirit of international solidarity must be evoked. The cry for revanche, so eagerly fanned by the counter-revolutionary forces (the Horthy Government), must be replaced by the hope in international justice. Not renewed war, not the blind hatred of the nations, will correct the great injustices of the peace treaty, but a reconstructed Europe which accepts the principles of a friendly confederation between independent States. The new States which have arisen upon the ruins of the Hapsburg monarchy would, if economically isolated,

racially hostile and morally suspicious of one another, become a permanent source of disintegration and warlike complications. But linked together by free trade principles, nationally appeased by the



ADMIRAL NICHOLAS HORTHY  
*Regent of Hungary*

mutual guarantee of full autonomy for each national minority, and partaking in a common effort toward economic, social and scientific progress, they might substitute for the old feudal and clerical monarchy a beneficent co-operation of free and independent States, among whom racial and religious antipathies and disputes might soon become as much an anachronism as between the States of the American Union.

These are the words of reason and equity. Unfortunately for Hungary and the peace of Europe, the Magyar statesmen and publicists who subscribe to this platform are today either refu-

gees in foreign lands, like Jaszi himself, or else rotting in the prisons and internment camps of the Hungarian Government of the late imperial naval aid, Admiral Nicholas Horthy of the Austrian Navy, who promises to obtain justice for his people, not through conciliation and mutual aid, but via another European war.

### RESTORING THE MONARCHY

Commenting on Horthy's election as Regent, the *Präger Tageblatt*, a usually well-informed and conservative organ of German-Bohemian opinion—in other words, a newspaper hardly accusable of Czech chauvinistic or alarmist tendencies—wrote early in March:

In Hungary \* \* \* a piece of the Middle Ages has suddenly established itself in the midst of a Europe given over to revolutions. \* \* \* Horthy's very title (*Reichsverweser*), quaint and reminiscent of the days of chivalry, reminds us what a remarkable specialty this new Hungary forms among the States of the new Europe. While everywhere else the class to which the authors of the war belonged has been deprived of the possibility of deciding the fate of the people, the new Magyar State penitently turns back to its officers and nobles. \* \* \* That Hungary is going to have a King seems certain. \* \* \* Horthy does not trouble to conceal that he stands for the re-erection of the old Hungarian Kingdom within its historic frontiers. This program, if carried out, would lead to conflict with all Hungary's neighbors.

Since this—an obvious understatement of the situation—was written, two important events have transpired quietly in Hungary which go far to validate the apprehensions of the Prague newspaper. One was the formal restoration of the Hungarian monarchy; the other, the taking of the oath of allegiance by the Hungarian Army. How little Hungarian developments are appreciated in America is proved by the scant notice attracted by the restoration of the monarchical form of government by the National Assembly.

### MOVEMENT TO RESTORE CHARLES IV.

On March 25 that body enacted a bill replacing the word "royal" in the names of all Governmental institutions and the

titles of all public officials. Accordingly, the new Premier, Dr. Alexander Simonyi-Semadam, is head of the Royal Hungarian Ministry; the mails are again Royal Hungarian Mails, and sentences are proclaimed in the name of his Majesty the King.

Here a question is raised. What would be the allied attitude toward the "fait accompli" of a Hapsburg restoration? To be sure, the Supreme Council has repeatedly vetoed such restoration. But the Magyar imperialists are playing a desperate game advisedly and with gusto. They gamble on the distance between Paris and Budapest, on the reluctance of the allied peoples toward new military enterprises, even on possible disunion within the Entente, on the chance of playing off one ally against the other. "Suppose we bring Charles back from Switzerland, what are the Allies going to do about it?" is a question fairly expressive of the state of mind prevalent in Hungarian royalist circles.

### GERMAN SUPPORT

But the main hope of the Magyar Tories is, of course, Germany. The exultation at Budapest over the Kapp expedition is instructive in this connection. One of the royalist leaders was quoted by *The Associated Press* as saying:

The news demonstrates that the Allies are going on the wrong track in suppressing the natural inclination of peoples. \* \* \* Sooner or later the German people doubtless will restore the dynasty to the place where it legally belongs.

This statement opens up a long vista of possibilities. It is obvious that a militarist, revancheist Hungary cannot stand alone. Her natural ally would be a militarist, revancheist Germany. The Magyar royalists are well aware of this; so are their Prussian brethren. The combination would work both ways. The Hungarians are politically a much more alert and determined people than the Germans. East Prussia or the land of the Pomeranian squires may be yet the nucleus of a monarchist revival in Germany; Hungary may be another. Herein lies one—but not the only—danger of a Magyar restoration.

At a reception given by the Hungarian



Prime Minister on Feb. 19 [reports the Nemzeti Ujsag of Budapest] among the distinguished foreign guests one Mr. I. T. T. Lincoln made himself conspicuous. Mr. Lincoln, it will be remembered, is the Hungarian Jew who, after a highly diversified career as Protestant clergyman, jewelry thief and British member of Parliament, created a sensation in New York by revealing himself as a spy in the Imperial German service who disguised his activities by ostensibly doing yeoman work for the British military intelligence. That was in May, 1915. Later he was extradited to England and sentenced for forgery to three years' imprisonment. Last Fall he suddenly bobbed up at Amerongen as emissary of Prussian monarchists.

Within three weeks from his visit at the Hungarian capital, Mr. Lincoln, known also as Herr Trebitsch, swept British and American correspondents in Berlin off their feet by appearing on the scene as chief censor and boss of the Committee on Public Information for the Kapp "Government." Of course it would be a mistake to attach too much importance to Mr. Lincoln's movements. He should be regarded as a symptom rather than a cause. But even he has his use as an indicator of the wind's direction.

That a certain co-ordination between the monarchists in Germany and Hungary exists is hinted, also, by the Geneva correspondent of The New York Times, who reported on April 2 that King Charles was receiving, in his exile at Prangin Castle, urgent appeals to return to Budapest, but that he is "awaiting future events, especially in Berlin."

The victory of the German nationalist parties in the general elections gave another boost to the agitation of the Magyar reactionaries. And in the middle of June we find General Lüttwitz, commander in chief of the Kapp forces, with his faithful aids, Colonel Bauer (Luden-dorff's confidant) and Captain Ehrhardt, at Budapest establishing, in co-operation with Mr. Friedrich, the former Hungarian Premier and noisiest of chauvinist fire eaters, the Committee of the Downtrodden Nations. Another distin-

guished visitor in the Magyar capital in June was Dr. Heim, leader of the Bavarian clerical peasants, whose plans include the arming of the royalist Catholic peasantry of South Germany, Austria and Hungary, a hunger blockade of the large cities with their republican and Socialist population, and the setting up of a militaristic Austro-Bavarian-Hungarian monarchy, with a Wittelsbach or Hapsburg for King. Dr. Heim is urging this "Green International" of the Catholic peasants to take vengeance on the workers of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia for their trade union boycott against White Hungary.

### ALLEGIANCE TO THE REGENT

Another important event in Hungary, one that means a good deal more than would appear on the surface, was the taking of the oath of allegiance by the troops of the national army in the middle of April.\* Loyalty was pledged to the Kingdom of Hungary and to the Regent, Admiral Horthy.

Now from the legitimist point of view such an oath is an anomaly. The legitimist, above all the legitimist soldier, regards his oath to King Charles as still binding. In fact, a considerable number of officers objected, in the beginning, to rendering the oath to Horthy, but the difficulty was surmounted.

Horthy's insistence on the oath would invest with probability the rumor for some time current among the Magyar liberal and Socialist refugees in Vienna, to wit, that the Regent, once having tasted supreme power, likes the flavor only too well and is contemplating a slight deviation from his legitimist program. In other words, Horthy, whose person has been declared sacrosanct, and who resides in the wonderful Royal Palace overlooking the Danube, is suspected of himself aspiring to the Hungarian crown. There is nothing inherently impossible in the surmise. The Regent has

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\*The Prager Tagblatt quotes the oath which Hungarian recruits must take, as follows: "I swear in the name of the Holy Virgin Mary that I will fight against Czechoslovakia and Rumania for the liberation and reunion of the occupied territories with the mother country, and I will fight for the suppression of every socialistic movement."

the unlimited backing of the officers' army, which is largely his own creation. He may count upon the age-long aversion of the Magyar peasantry to the Hapsburg name and the ancient Magyar aspiration to have a King of pure Magyar blood; also, he might capitalize the Entente protest against selecting Charles or the Archduke Joseph, or the possible third choice, a Bulgarian Coburg.

The fact of crucial importance, in any event, is that—as Hungarian royalist leaders take pains to emphasize on all occasions—a restoration of the Hungarian Kingdom can only mean a restoration within the old frontiers, that no King is acceptable to the Hungarian people—or rather to the officers' army—who will not undertake to re-establish the integrity of millenary Hungary—in a word, that monarchy and war mean one and the same thing in Hungary.

#### PLOT FOR ALLIES' SUPPORT

Startling revelations as to the mentality of the Horthy régime were made in *The London Times* of Feb. 23, when the Vienna correspondent of that paper disclosed a plot, engineered by Admiral Horthy himself, to wage war on Hungary's neighbors with the aid of one of the major allies! The correspondent wrote:

Last month Admiral Horthy, the Hungarian Commander in Chief, made a confidential report to the Hungarian Cabinet upon negotiations which he carried on with an allied representative. It is not known whether the negotiations were conducted seriously by the representative in question, or whether they were merely engaged in for the purpose of discovering the plans of the Hungarian Government. \* \* \* The proposals made by Admiral Horthy to the allied power were that Hungary should be given a kind of mandate to destroy Bolshevism with the help of Poland, or eventually Rumania; that Hungary should raise an army of 100,000 men as an expeditionary force, this force to be completely equipped and armed by the allied power; that, inasmuch as the Polish Army was not disciplined, the command of the anti-Bolshevist force and also of the Polish or Rumanian Army should be given to Hungary under the general supervision of allied officers.

It was proposed that the allied power should, in return, lend its support to

Magyar claims for a plebiscite in the territories allotted by the Peace Treaty to Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, or, if this were impossible, that the allied power should, at least, do its utmost to obtain for Hungary the cities of Pressburg, Komarom, Kassa, Nagyvarad, Temesvar and Sopron, together with the salt mines formerly belonging to Hungary; that the allied power should persuade its other allies to give moral support to the present Hungarian Government, should not oppose the restoration of a Magyar monarchy, should construct a great Danubian port at Budapest and make it the centre of Danubian navigation, should give Hungary a big loan, and should furnish raw material for Hungarian industry. \* \* \*

Admiral Horthy expressed his conviction that the allied power in question might already be regarded as an ally of Hungary. Naturally, he continued, these things must not be mentioned in public, but all preparations must be made, beginning with propaganda, to show that Hungary must be ready to fight Bolshevism, even outside her own frontiers. The argument should be that Bolshevism must be crushed in order that it might not return to Hungary. At the same time he asked the Minister of War, M. Berzeviczy, for authority to call up the classes of recruits born in '86, '87 and '88 for two months' training.

It was absolutely necessary to keep up the warlike spirit in the country, so that Hungary might possess a well-trained army when the moment came to strike. The Hungarian propaganda organizations, working in the territory formerly Hungarian but now allotted to neighboring peoples, had already done excellent work, and in a very short time all would be ready. \* \* \*

The correspondent then adds the following comment:

This information confirms the belief held in well-informed quarters that the Magyar authorities are using the proposal to organize, or to join in, an expedition against the Bolsheviks merely as a pretext for creating and arming, at the expense of the Allies, if possible, a considerable Magyar force ready to attack and to attempt to reconquer the Slovak, Rumanian and Yugoslav territories which the Peace Treaty has assigned to Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The Magyar propagandist organizations, which have been very active in those territories since the armistice, are prepared to create disturbances at the right moment in order to give the Magyar military authorities a pretext for intervention.

On March 4 *The New Europe*, in an editorial article entitled "A Magyar Plot



and Its Abettors," exposed the mission to England of Felix Valyi, editor of the Swiss *Revue Internationale*, a Magyar-Prussian propaganda organ, and confidante of Count Julius Andrássy. The London weekly quoted the Viennese newspaper *Der Abend* to the effect that Mr. Valyi was "engaged in trying to secure munitions in London for the Hungarian White Army, and that the bribe offered by Admiral Horthy is the control of the Hungarian State Railways by a British syndicate."

The New Europe then gives a summary of The Times revelations, and proceeds:

It is high time that this whole matter was taken up in Parliament, for we have every reason to believe that the "Allied Power," which The Times discreetly refrained from naming, was no other than Great Britain. It is fortunately quite true that the initiative did not come from London, and that the scheme in no way represents the views and policy of the British Government. But the fact that certain influential Englishmen have been taken in by the misstatements of the beaten but still arrogant Magyar jingoes, and that prominent members of the British Military Mission in Budapest and of the Danubian Commission are said to have been actively concerned in this affair, makes it necessary that London should tighten the reins and restore discipline among its subordinate agents. \* \* \*

It would appear that the early successes of the Polish offensive against the Bolsheviks have raised new hopes in the breasts of the Magyar militarists. On May 12 The London Telegraph reported that Regent Horthy had proposed to the Magyar army that it should serve as a reserve to the Polish forces. Acceptance of this offer, The Telegraph pointed out, would postpone the reduction of the Hun-

garian Army to 35,000 men (the number prescribed by the treaty) from thrice that number. "But the Magyar 'reserve' to the Poles," The Telegraph continued, "might easily be converted into a menace to the Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs and Rumanians, when these three peoples endeavored to carry out the clauses concerning their own interests in the Hungarian Treaty."

In this connection it might be mentioned that *Rzecz i Wojsko*, an influential military review at Warsaw, advocates in a recent editorial close military co-operation with Hungary, not only against Bolshevik Russia, but also against Czechoslovakia, the "common enemy" of both Poles and Magyars.

These disclosures testify clearly as to the dangers which menace Europe on the part of the militarist plungers of Budapest. The hope of the Magyar people as well as of other nations lies in the restoration in Hungary of a genuinely liberal and democratic régime, such as the Karolyist republic of October, 1918, aspired to be. Shattered by war, by two revolutions and the sufferings of six years' blockade, the Magyar people today lies prostrate at the feet of the army of 100,000 depraved and blood-thirsty adventurers, led by a small group of militarists and feudal landowners. Yet the salvation of Hungary must come from within, even though the nation in its present condition must expect a helping hand from its neighbors and the great nations of the West. That such help should not be forthcoming is inconceivable; for Europe cannot settle down to a peace basis with the torch of war still aflame on the Middle Danube.



# International Labor Boycott of Hungary

## Blow Aimed at the "White Terror"

THE severe measures adopted by the Horthy Government in Hungary against Communists and the "Red Terror" that prevailed under the Bela Kun régime, coupled with many lawless acts of reactionary groups of ex-soldiers, have created a situation in Hungary which is said by many observers to amount to a "White Terror." Against the Horthy régime and its methods the organized labor of neighboring countries has raised a vehement protest. The British labor unions sent a delegation to Hungary to investigate, and one of these delegates, F. W. Jowett, addressing the Labor Party Congress at Scarborough on June 23, said they had satisfied themselves that there had been murder, atrocities, imprisonments, and every other form of terror.

Against this state of affairs the International Federation of Trade Unions finally declared a boycott, beginning June 20, intended to cut off Hungary from all communication with the world until the Government should have changed its policy of repression. All labor organizations of Austria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Italy were ordered to participate, and the boycott was planned to include railways, post, telegraph, telephones, and transport by water as well as land. The passenger traffic alone was to be allowed to continue, but passengers were to be permitted to carry only a limited amount of luggage.

### APPEAL FOR THE BOYCOTT

The text of the appeal through which the federation dealt this blow is as follows:

*To the workers of all countries:*

The International Federation of Trade Unions has decided to boycott Hungary and to stop all communication with that country beginning June 20, 1920.

Nearly a year ago the so-called friends of order seized power in Hungary. From that day the labor movement has been the target for oppression and persecution unexampled in the annals of the labor movement, far surpassing the atrocities of Czarism in Russia.

One need only be a member of a non-religious trade union to be thrown into prison, and an anonymous denunciation is sufficient to have one seized and imprisoned in prison camps.

At the beginning of this year there were in the concentration camps: at Hajmasker, 9,000 men and women; at Csepel, 4,000; at Zalavorgszog, 2,400; at Eger, 2,000; at Coglod, 3,000, and at Homaron Sandborg, 2,000 men and women. In all, 50,000 men and women were imprisoned. The city jails are overflowing. The prisoners are victims of the most atrocious and subtle tortures.

Five thousand workers had been "executed" by the beginning of the year. Thousands had been assassinated by bands of officers without formal trial. Thousands more are dying slowly of hunger, of under-nourishment and of sickness. Detachments of reactionary officers hold supreme power; whoever falls into their hands is lost; their victims are tortured and beaten. There are cases, affirmed under oath by witnesses, where people have been scalped alive, where their arms and legs have been crushed, where men have been crushed or had their genital organs crushed between stones, where they have been forced to eat their own excrement, or human flesh. Fathers have been killed before the eyes of their wives and children, and young girls violated in sight of their husbands or fathers. Every day men and women belonging to the militant working class disappear, later to be discovered as corpses, clubbed to death, drowned, and often horribly mutilated.

The International Federation of Trade Unions has protested to the Hungarian Government and to the Supreme Council of the League of Nations against these atrocities, and has demanded that steps be taken to end them. All in vain. The White Terror reigns absolute in Hungary. It is plain that the Supreme Council of the League of Nations either will not or can not exercise the necessary pressure upon the Hungarian Government. That Government either can not or will not stop the atrocities in its domain; it closes its eyes or encourages them.

Official documents of the Hungarian Government which are in the possession of the International Federation of Trade Unions prove that it instructed its judges to condemn prisoners even in cases where the proof of what it calls "culpability" is not clear, and that it pays rewards varying from 20,000 to 250,000 crowns for making labor leaders who have sought refuge abroad incapable of injury—which



means assassinating them. These facts are known and proved. The Governments which know them have refused to intervene, and probably rejoice that the labor movement is reduced to impotence and overwhelmed in Hungary.

The International Federation of Trade Unions will assume the task of the Governments, and it appeals to the workers of all countries to refuse, beginning June 20, 1920, to do any work which might directly or indirectly benefit the Hungary of the White Terror.

Beginning June 20, 1920, no train shall cross the Hungarian frontier, no ship shall enter Hungary, and no letter or telegram shall enter or leave Hungary.

All traffic should be stopped. No coal, no raw material, no foodstuffs, nothing shall enter the country. The ruling class fought its adversaries during the war by means of the economic boycott. After the war it used the same method, and is still attempting to use it to crush the Russian labor movement.

The International Federation of Trade Unions appeals to the working class of all countries to have recourse to the same instrument when it is a question of ending the bloody régime of the Hungarian Government and of saving the life and liberty of thousands of comrades.

Comrades, transport workers, sailors, railwaymen, postmen, telegraphers and telephonists, workers of all trades without exception, reply as one man to the appeal of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

No more work for Hungary, beginning Sunday, June 20, 1920.

Against the White Terror, the boycott of the working class!

Long live international solidarity!  
The International Federation of Trade Unions:

W. A. APPLETON, *President*,  
L. JOUHAUX, C. MERTENS, *Vice Presidents*,  
EDO FIMMEN, J. OUDEGEST, *Secretaries*.

## EFFECTS OF THE BOYCOTT

The boycott to a considerable extent became effective at midnight of the 20th. Postal and telegraphic communication between Austria and Hungary was almost completely suspended. At Austrian railway terminals the workmen sidetracked all cars destined for Hungarian cities, and the sidings were soon filled with this interrupted traffic. Similar action was taken in Yugoslavia and Poland. The Czechs to some degree ignored the boycott because of unfriendliness for Austria, so that mail and telegraph communications between Vienna and Budapest continued to be carried on through

Prague. The other countries, however, including even the labor unions of Great Britain, joined vigorously in the boycott, and within a few days it was apparent that Hungary was feeling its effects to a more serious extent than the Government admitted.

Hungary almost immediately began an energetic counterboycott against Austria, whose workmen had taken an aggressive part in the movement. By June 23 Hungary was stopping all railway and river communication with Austria, and food barges on the way up the Danube from countries to the east were halted in Hungarian waters. The Austrian Government sought to end the economic war by ordering that railway men refusing to transport goods to Hungary be discharged and replaced with men willing to do so. The conflict took on a political aspect, and the Social Democrats called a meeting for the purpose of stopping even the passenger traffic with Hungary. Meanwhile Hungary was making reprisals by stopping the shipment of fruit and fresh vegetables and of coal from the Zellingdorf mines.

At the middle of July, when this article went to press, the boycott was still tightening its grip on Hungary, but the cessation of mail communication, coupled with the significant silence of the Horthy Government, prevented the receipt of fuller details on the subject.

## REPORT ON WHITE TERROR

The British Joint Labor Delegation to Hungary, consisting of Colonel Wedgwood and Messrs. Jowett, Harris, Bunning and Williams, issued a report that was summarized by The London Telegraph of June 7. It stated that executions for political offenses had been carried out by the military, that men and women had been tortured and ill-treated in prison, that large numbers of persons had been imprisoned and detained for long periods without trial, and that trade unions had been suppressed and their members denied the right to strike. Specific instances of torture were cited—for which military officers are alleged to have been responsible—of a peculiarly revolting character. It is against a force

called the gendarme reserve, which is very generally known as the Brachial-Gewalt, that the most specific and detailed charges of atrocity are made.

The following is a summary of the evidence on which, in addition to the specific cases given, the delegates have formed the opinion that a state of terror exists:

The Hungarian Government admits that there is a rigorous censorship of newspapers.

It is admitted that the trade unions formed under the Karolyi Government have been suppressed, and that for the present the right of workmen to strike has been taken away.

It is admitted that over 27,000 informations have been laid against alleged Communists, and that over 6,000 persons are imprisoned. This latter total does not include those interned or in military prisons. Our own estimate of the total is that, taking the three classes together, there are at least 12,000 persons detained or imprisoned. It is admitted that many of them have been in prison for months awaiting trial, and the overcrowding of the prisons may be judged from the instance of Szolnok. We were informed by the Governor, in response to our comments on the overcrowding, that he was helpless, as he had 350 prisoners in a prison intended for only fifty. We were later informed at the Ministry of Justice that the actual number of prisoners at Szolnok was 535. Detailed allegations were made to us that the total number of persons arrested and detained of all three classes was over 25,000.

It is admitted that there are, and indeed we met, a large number of exiles in Vienna, some of whom are not Communists, and that thirty-nine Communists have been executed under the authority of the civil power since December last.

It is admitted that on April 28 nineteen men were taken by the military from the prison at Szolnok and killed at Abonyi. It is significant that, despite the official admission, two persons to whom we were directed as having knowledge of the affair simply declined to speak. It was suggested that we should visit Hajmasker, the internment camp, but we were informed that after the Italians visited the camp prisoners who ventured to complain to them were most brutally beaten. As a consequence we did not feel justified in visiting Hajmasker.

In view of the evidence supplied to them the delegates believe that there is a "Terror" in Hungary, that the Hun-

garian Government is unable to control it, and that many of its own acts are of so rigorous a character as to merit the name of "terror."

### CRIMES OF THE COMMUNISTS

The other side of the question was presented by a writer in The London Morning Post of June 23 in these words:

The Labor Party, so sensitive when a Communist is punished, even for murder, never protested at the atrocities committed under Kun's régime. Documents of undoubted trustworthiness give the names and standing of prominent men who were slowly tortured to death in the cellars of the Houses of Parliament in Budapest. In the district beyond the River Tisza, where Kun's bloodhound, Szamuely, held his sway, 900 persons were murdered. Two thousand persons are known to have been slain by the "Reds" in suppressing the first anti-revolutionary movement; the names of those still missing brings the number up to 3,000. \* \* \* And recently, when the bed of the Danube was dredged at Budapest, the depths told the tale of the massacre of children, Red Cross nurses and other women, as well as of aged people.

The Labor Party made no outcry against the "Red Terror" that was doing these and other unspeakable things, but now that the populace, stung to fury by such cruelties, here and there takes the law into its own hands, there is a cry of "White Terror."

The proved facts are that since the first Government was formed after the "Red" régime 26 persons were executed as common criminals for offenses that would have involved the death penalty in any circumstances, while 198 were court-martialed and their execution was demanded by the irresistible will, not of a privileged class or clique, but of the whole people that had been shaken to its depths by indignation and wrath at the sight of unspeakable horrors done to members of their families and to the best of their public men.

Since the overthrow of the Kun régime 5,569 have been tried. Most of them have already been set free; 1,617 are still under trial. They are all at the Hajmasker internment camp, the management of which has been declared excellent by foreign authorities.

Meanwhile, whether Red radicalism or White reaction be most to blame, the labor boycott aimed at the life of the Horthy Government is making existence harder for all classes of people in Central Europe.



# Denmark's New Dual Election System

## A Landmark in Political Progress

THE election, held April 26, 1920, of members of the Danish Folkething, the lower house of the Rigsdag, which wrought so overwhelming a defeat to the Red radical elements, was doubly momentous in the political history of Denmark. To a republic like the United States this election had special interest as testing out a revolutionary piece of electoral legislation. This election settled normally the constitutional crisis that had been precipitated by the King's dismissal of the Zahle Ministry; at the same time it proved the adequacy of the election law, passed April 11, 1920, to secure fair representation in a small country of many political parties.

The old Danish electoral law was based on the absolute majority principle and the single-member-district method, the same as that of the United States. In the amended Danish Constitution of May, 1915, another electoral law was incorporated in which the single-member districts were retained, but twenty-three supplementary mandates (seats) were added for distribution among the parties which did not obtain a representation in proportion to the number of votes cast for them. Also the principle of election by proportional representation was introduced in the district of Copenhagen, with the object of obtaining adequate representation of minorities. It was on this altered basis that the Folkething election of 1918 was held.

Under the new Danish electoral law the principle of proportional representation was carried beyond the Copenhagen district and extended throughout the realm, so as to bring the electoral system of the capital into conformity with the rest of the country. Copenhagen, instead of remaining one election district, with twenty-four representatives elected by the list ballot, was divided into three constituencies, each of which elects six members by the proportional representation method. To the eighteen members

thus elected were added six supplementary mandates (seats) distributed to the parties which may not have obtained a representation in proportion to the total number of votes cast for them in the capital.

The country outside Copenhagen was divided into twenty constituencies, which elect ninety-three representatives by the proportional election system, corresponding to the number of the old single-member districts; in addition there are twenty-three supplementary mandates (seats), thirteen of which go to Jutland and ten to the Islands of Seeland, Funen, Lolland-Falster, &c., for distribution to the parties which may not have obtained a just proportional representation.

By the new law all the single-member districts were replaced by large constituencies which elected members by the list ballot (*scrutin de liste*) method according to the proportional election system. To make the representation of the different parties conform absolutely to their voting strength, the supplementary mandate system was retained with certain modifications. The close personal relation between the representative and his constituents was to some degree conserved by the retention of the single-member districts as nomination areas, as nobody can offer himself for election without having been nominated for a nomination area by at least twenty-five voters.

In conformity with the amended Danish Constitution of 1915 the number of members of the Folkething was fixed at 140. Of these, 24 are elected in the capital and 116 in the country outside of Copenhagen.

Election committees are appointed for the election districts and the nomination areas. If a nomination area consists of several communes, a polling booth is set up in each of them. The election committee in each area makes all preparations and receives the names of all the

candidates. The election committees receive the lists of the parties indicating the order in which they desire the candidates to be entered. The lists and the candidates nominated in the nomination areas, together with their party designations, are noted on the ballots distributed to the voters, and the voter may indicate, by means of a cross, either the candidate or the party he desires to vote for.

When the election is over and the election committee in the nomination area has collected and counted the votes, the results are forwarded to the Ministry of the Interior, where the number of mandates (seats) to be apportioned to the respective parties is calculated; thereupon the election committee of the election district decides which candidates on the lists shall be regarded as elected. Finally the Ministry of the Interior determines the distribution of the supplementary mandates.

Automatically the law takes the distribution of seats out of the hands of the political parties. As soon as the district election returns are in, if a party is given, say, six of the supplementary mandates, this party's candidates are declared elected in the six districts where it has the largest unrepresented minorities.

It is interesting to see how the new Danish electoral law works in practice compared with the old electoral laws. At the election in Denmark, April 26, 1920, the votes were cast as follows (the election on the Faroe Islands, which elect one representative to the Folkething, has not yet taken place):

Tradesmen's Party .....	29,765
Conservatives .....	201,918
Radicals .....	122,122
Socialists .....	300,394
Left Party .....	350,437
Free Socialists .....	7,257
Centrum .....	9,059
Left Socialists .....	3,859
Total .....	1,024,811

As there were 1,024,811 votes cast and 139 mandates (the Faroe Islands mandate not being included here or later), 7,373 votes should elect one representative. The following figures show the mandates the different parties should

have obtained according to the strictest mathematical justice, and the mandates they actually obtained as a result of the new electoral law:

	Mandates	
	Should Have	Actually Obtained.
Tradesmen's Party.....	4.0	4
Conservatives .....	27.4	28
Radicals .....	16.6	17
Socialists .....	40.8	42
Left Party .....	41.5	48
Free Socialists .....	1.00	0
Centrum .....	1.2	0
Left Socialists .....	0.5	0
Total.....	139.0	139

The foregoing figures are proof that the new Danish electoral law works with almost mathematical accuracy. The two small parties, Centrum and Free Socialists, were each entitled to one mandate, but did not obtain them because they failed to poll a minimum of between 7,000 and 8,000 votes inside one of the large constituencies, Copenhagen, the islands and Jutland, which would have given them supplementary mandates. The 2.7 mandates lost by the three smallest parties were divided among the larger parties and benefited especially the Socialists and the Conservatives. The supplementary mandates were distributed as follows:

	Members Supple- Elected mentary in Constit- Man- uencies. dates. Total.		
Tradesmen's Party....	0	4	4
Conservatives .....	18	10	28
Radicals .....	8	9	17
Socialists .....	36	6	42
Left Party .....	48	0	48
Free Socialists .....	0	0	0
Centrum .....	0	0	0
Left Socialists .....	0	0	0
Total.....	110	29	139

In the old Danish electoral law, before 1915, nothing was known of the proportional representation method, nor did it provide for supplementary mandates. If that old law had been in force the recent election would have resulted as follows:

Mandates.	
Tradesmen's Party .....	0
Conservatives .....	9
Radicals .....	5
Socialists .....	36



	Mandates.
Left Party .....	60
Free Socialists .....	0
Centrum .....	0
Left Socialists .....	0
Total.....	110

Thus, with only one-third of the total vote, the Left Party would have had more than a majority of the mandates, 60 out of 110, although entitled to only 38; while the Conservatives, with one-fifth of the total vote, would have had 9 instead of 22 mandates, the Radicals 5 instead of 13 and the Tradesmen's Party none at all, although they would have been entitled to 3. The Socialists would have had 36 mandates, but would have been entitled only to 32. Mutual inter-party sympathies, however, would probably have rectified this situation to some extent.

The new Danish electoral law is considered a great improvement on the electoral law of 1915, which introduced the supplementary mandate system, but not

the proportional representation method in large constituencies (except in Copenhagen). It left Copenhagen in the position of a gerrymander. If the law of 1915 had been in force in the April election the mandates would have been divided among the parties as follows:

	Members	Supple-	
	Elected	mentary	
	in Single	Man-	
Districts.	dates.	Total.	
Tradesmen's Party....	1	2	3
Conservatives .....	11	12	23
Radicals .....	7	7	14
Socialists .....	36	2	38
Left Party .....	61	0	61
Free Socialists .....	0	0	0
Centrum .....	0	0	0
Left Socialists .....	0	0	0
Total.....	116	23	139

The Left Party would thus have obtained thirteen members more than they were entitled to, while the Conservatives would have lost five, the Socialists four, the Radicals three and the Tradesmen's Party 1.

## ARMENIA

(From Talbot Mundy's "The Eye of Zeitoun")

First of the Christian nations; the first of us all to feel  
 The fire of infidel hatred, the weight of the pagan heel;  
 Faithful lest down the ages tending the light that burned,  
 Tortured and trodden therefore, spat on and slain and spurned;  
 Branded for others' vices, robbed of your rightful fame,  
 Clinging to Truth in a truthless land in the name of the ancient Name;  
 Generous, courteous, gentle, patient under the yoke,  
 Decent (hemmed in a harem land ye were ever a one-wife folk);  
 Royal and brave and ancient—haply an hour has struck  
 When the new fad-fangled peoples shall weary of raking muck,  
 And turning from coward counsels and loathing the parish lies,  
 In shame and sackcloth offer up the only sacrifice.  
 Then thou who hast been neglected, who hast called o'er a world in vain  
 To the deaf deceitful traders' ears in tune to the voice of gain,  
 Thou Cinderella nation, starved that our faults might live,  
 When we come with a hand outstretched at last—accept it, and forgive!



# THE MARCH OF SCIENCE

Motion Pictures Produced in Natural Colors, Accompanied  
by the Actor's Voice

**F**OR giving motion-picture plays a "speaking" likeness to real life, two French scientists have partly perfected each a radically different process. M. Gaumont recently made practical for everyday exhibition in Paris a wonderful three-color process for showing the moving pictures in their natural colors and has gone on to take the final step in the reconstitution of real life by adding the attraction of speech and song. For this purpose he synchronizes the action of his trichromatic cinematograph and that of his "chronophone" (a sort of phonograph). Both function exactly together while the play or opera is being enacted, and this assures automatically the seeing of the picture simultaneously with the hearing of the speeches or songs.

Another French scientist, Professor Edouard Branly, an expert in wireless telephony, has an invention that not only reproduces the voice along with the moving picture, but also projects the voice as far as the marvelous resources of wireless telephony will carry it. One of his first triumphs was Mme. Melba's recent concert, sung at Chelmsford, England, to all the wireless telephone listeners in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome and Christiania. With this apparatus any person having the right radiophone instrument soon can stay at home and hear any concert he chooses. Likewise, one orchestra and one troupe of actors can play and speak for large groups of moving-picture theatres, which will throw the same film on the screen at the same instant. By watching the film at one theatre, the actors can read their rôles into wireless telephone instruments, suiting their words to the action in the movements shown on many screens; at least so long as there are no breaks in any of the films.

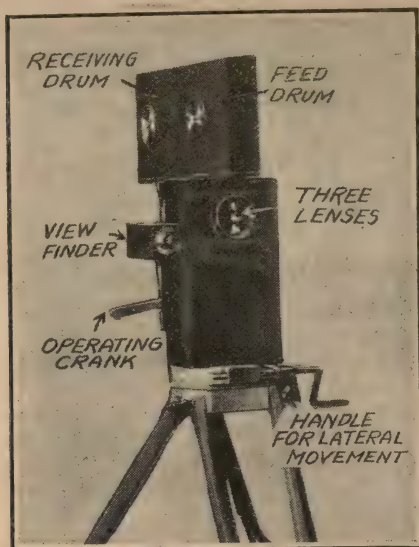
This projection of the spoken word is merely one of the many new applications

of wireless telephony, whose workings have been described in recent issues of *CURRENT HISTORY*, especially in May. The present article is more concerned with the Gaumont process of producing moving pictures in the natural colors, a feature which has become a prominent form of entertainment in Paris.

The principle of the ordinary system of producing moving pictures "in black and white" consists in recording on a negative original film an unlimited series of little stereotype plates (18x24 millimeters), each corresponding to a position of the subject. These little stereotypes are recorded as the film unrolls itself from a reel and passes behind the object-glass of a special photographic apparatus for taking views. One takes at least fifteen stereotype plates a second, and even many more; a certain electric-preparatory principle permits the taking of 20,000 images a second, when it is a question of films for the study of ultra-rapid movements, such as the flight of insects, projectiles, explosions, &c. To get perfectly clear images the movement of the film is intermittent, and "conjugated" with that of the shutter of the object-glass. In other words, the film quickly leaves its place as far as the height of an image (18 millimeters) while the shutter is closed; then stops while the shutter is open. A crank turned by the operator gives a principal axis a nearly uniform movement in rotation, which movement a simple mechanism transforms into an intermittent movement of the film. Sometimes, instead of a crank, an electro-motor is used.

The exposed film, usually 120 meters long by the reel, is developed in great, open photographic bath troughs and in other troughs containing intensifiers, reinforcers and fixers; then it is washed in pure water. During all these operations the film is rolled up on





THE CAMERA THAT TAKES MOVING PICTURES IN NATURAL COLORS

wooden frames, which cause the whole emulsioned face of the film to be bathed freely. The workshops which do this work permanently on a large scale have highly perfected installations to manipulate simultaneously miles and miles of films, either in clear halls or in halls lighted only by lamps with inactinic light.

The sensitized emulsion is disposed

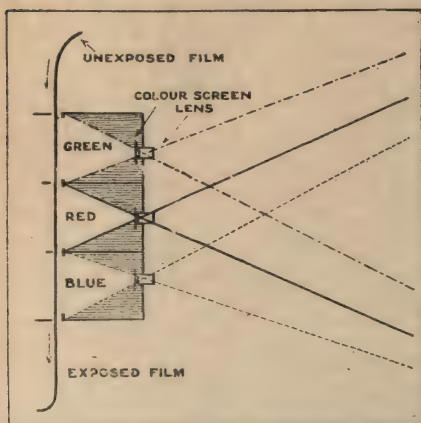
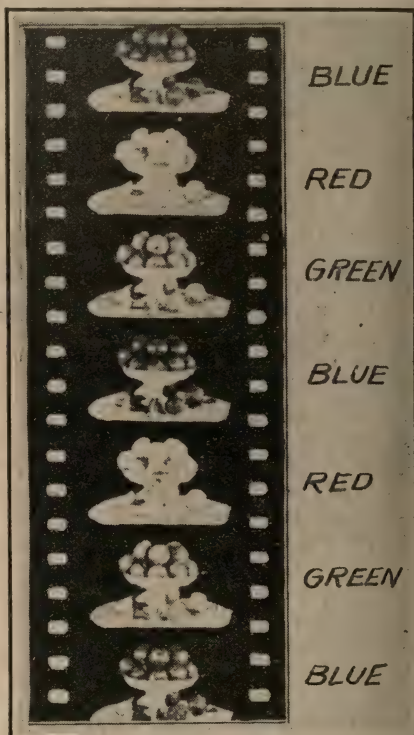


DIAGRAM SHOWING PRINCIPLE ON WHICH THE THREE COLOR-SCREEN LENSES WORK IN MAKING THE BLUE, RED AND GREEN NEGATIVES ALL AT THE SAME TIME

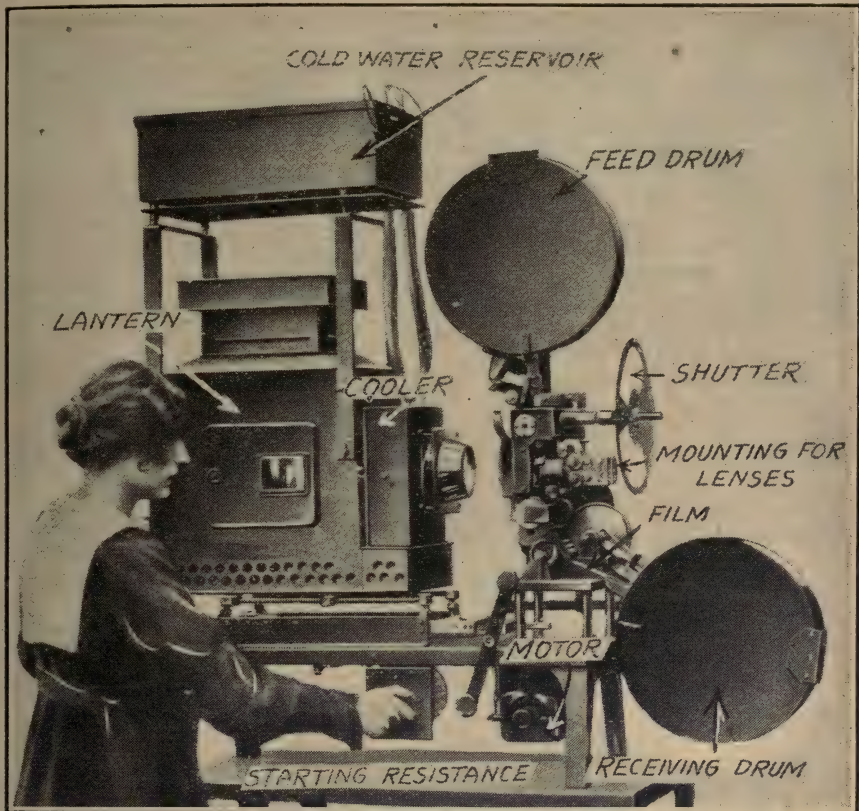
over a single face of the film of celluloid or an acetate of cellulose, in studios similar to those of manufacturers of photographic plates and films. The greatest care is taken to avoid pinholes and streaks of the emulsion; for in the projection the enlargement of the images is practically in the proportion of 100 to 400 times in length, or 10,000 to 160,000 in surface, and the least pinhole imper-



COLOR CINEMATOGRAPH FILM, SHOWING TRIPLE REPRODUCTION OF THE SUBJECT IN THREE COLOR GROUPS

ceptible on the film seriously mars the projected picture on the screen.

The celluloid film has the grave defect of being very inflammable. As every image that passes before the object-glass is lighted as strongly as possible by an electric arc, the film takes fire as soon as its unrolling is interrupted by any cause whatsoever. In the beginning this danger caused some terrible accidents. A trough of water is



APPARATUS FOR PROJECTING MOTION PICTURES ON THE SCREEN IN THEIR NATURAL COLORS

now interposed between the electric arc and the optical condenser, to absorb the greater part of the heat rays; a safety shutter, kept open by centrifugal force, also comes between the light and the film during the halts of the film. Besides, there are "extinguishers," little metallic strainers, very much flattened, in which the film slides without rubbing, at the issue from the "debit" reel and at the entrance to the "receiving" reel, so as to prevent an accidental spark on the free part of the film from getting to the reels.

Since 1913 this danger has been avoided by using a film made of acetate of cellulose, which is non-inflammable. Unfortunately, films of this material are less durable than those of celluloid. It

remains for chemists to invent a durable, fireproof film.

So much for the ordinary film process, which gives a monochrome projection. Scientists have long sought to enliven this with colors. The obvious plan of painting the images on the film was costly, slow and unsatisfactory. The use of autochrome plates was found equally unavoidable for moving pictures, owing to limitations which need not be detailed here. Success has been attained, however, by using the three-color process, which was given to the world in 1868 by Charles Cros and Ducos de Hauron, and which is universally employed today in printing pictures in colors. This process is based on the fact that all tints are variations or combinations of



the three primary colors—yellow, blue and red. The object is photographed three times, through three transparent selector screens, each made so as to kill the other two colors and reproduce the third alone. In book making the final effect is obtained by printing the three plates with yellow, blue and red ink on the same sheet of paper—on top of each other. In motion-picture work it is done by tinting the three film negatives with the corresponding colors and laying them on top of each other in strict coincidence. Thus, if the coloring has been rightly done, one looks through the triple film and sees the picture in its real colors; and when it is projected on the screen the colors are there as well.

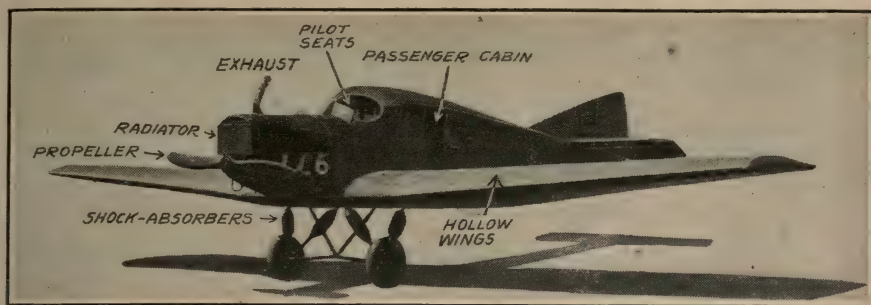
Only after several years of study and struggle have scientists at last overcome the difficulties that lay in the way of applying this simple principle to the motion picture with commercial success. One serious difficulty lay in the manufacture of a "panchromatic" emulsion for films—an emulsion that would take the deepest reds without being too sensitive to the blues and violets. To photograph in a studio, without sunlight, subjects in which red predominates, there is needed an emulsion of a sensitiveness hitherto unknown. Having overcome this difficulty with a secret process, the Gaumont Company chose, as the next step, the simultaneous recording of the three images upon the screen by three superposed object glasses, each provided with its tint-selecting screen. But this taking of three images at a time entailed some mechanical and optical difficulties—which have also been solved.

It was necessary to adapt the apparatus, both in taking views and in projecting them on the screen, for the intermittent drawing along of the film through three image lengths at a time. From this resulted a jerky movement of the film. That trouble was overcome by re-

ducing the height of images from 18 to 14 millimeters on the film "in black." This smoothed and steadied the movement by reducing each displacement of the film from 54 to 42 millimeters.

For taking views it was necessary to place one above another three little object glasses fixed at focal distances strictly equal, each provided with its selector screen, or "color filter," and to have all three covered or uncovered at once by the same shutter. For the projection apparatus the arrangement is a little more complex. The three object glasses, equally provided with color filters of the same shades as those of the apparatus for taking views, form a system susceptible of several adjustments. This faculty of adjustment, which makes all the commercial value of the process, is realized by means of an ingenious corrective apparatus. In these conditions every experienced operator can obtain a very good projection with the positive film delivered to him by the manufacturer. Without this regulative adjustment, the least variations of texture in each film would infallibly produce defects in superposition of the images, with fringes colored with red and green edging the subject and annulling the whole aesthetic effect. Such variations result from the play which the parts of the projection lantern always make when subjected to incessant tremors, and when carried at a temperature that varies according as the source of illumination is lighted or not. Precision is here essentially *de rigueur*, on account of the magnification of the images 10,000 times or more.

The union of wireless telephony with the epochal invention just explained will unite the stage actor's trained voice with the excellencies of dumb show and by-play, in which the film players begin where the stage actors leave off. In such union lies a great enhancement of the message of the film.



LARSEN'S ALL-METAL MONOPLANE, WHICH SET A NEW RECORD FOR SUSTAINED FLIGHT

## A New Marvel in Aircraft

The Larsen all-metal monoplane, JL-6, which flew from Omaha to Pine Valley, N. J., on June 26, in sixteen hours, breaking the non-stop flight record in this country, is declared by the highest authorities to represent the greatest stride forward in the manufacture of heavier-than-air types and a new era in aeronautics. In simplicity and durability of structure and in all-around economy this aircraft presents striking advantages over the best biplanes of wood and fabric, also in speed and dirigibility in high winds. The metal used in the wings and body is an aluminium composition which is a secret of the manufacturer; but it makes the new monoplane both fireproof and weatherproof.

This metal construction dispenses with the need of a hangar, which represents so great an expense in the upkeep of the familiar type of airplane. Sun and rain play havoc with the wooden fuselages and fabric wings of ordinary airplanes, but no amount of exposure to weather has any effect on the JL-6 so long as a canvas is drawn over the cockpit. The expense of a hangar adds \$4,000 to \$6,000 to the cost of an ordinary airplane, exclusive of the cement floor and other necessities in the housing. So strong is the 48-foot spread of metal wing that eighty-five men are reported to have stood on it at a time without causing any ill effects.

The fuselage, or body, rests on the single plane, without the need of struts or wire bracing. In a biplane the

fuselage rests between the upper and the lower plane, and the bracing and wiring are necessitated. Metal wings not only obviate these braces, but also carry the gasoline tanks, which hold enough fuel to keep a monoplane in the air over ten hours. The consumption of gasoline for the JL-6 is very low. It requires only five gallons to fly 100 miles. Its motive power is furnished by a 160 horse power Mercedes engine, giving it an average speed of over 115 miles an hour. As against this, one of the leading types of non-metal airplanes requires the propulsion of two 400 horse power Liberty motors, which use up forty-six gallons of gasoline to fly 100 miles.

For Mr. Larsen's sixteen-hour flight from Omaha to Pine Valley, N. J., he removed two seats from the tonneau and installed emergency gasoline tanks. Thus he carried 140 gallons of gasoline. He had not intended to stop that day short of his landing field at Central Park, L. I., but he had made so much leeway in high side-winds that darkness overtook him too soon. Three passengers made the trip, John M. Larsen, the designer and owner; Bert Acosta, the pilot, and Walter Bugh, the mechanic, whereas ordinarily the plane carries six passengers besides two pilots. An average height of a mile was maintained and much of the time a speed of 125 miles an hour. The tonneau is inclosed in glass and luxuriously upholstered. The passengers can raise and lower the insin-glass windows, change seats, write let-



ters and eat meals. On each side of the cabin there is a door, and behind the cabin there is a baggage compartment.

The JL-6 makes all other airplanes seem so frail in comparison that experts declare that aircraft builders throughout the world will have to change their ideas to meet this new departure in construc-

tion. Army officials consider it ideal for an inspection plane. Its capability of development to much larger size and carrying capacity makes it important to both military and commercial aviation. Though German inventors are developing an all-metal plane, the JL-6 type is Mr. Larsen's own creation.

## A Fuel That Widens Cruising Radius

A composite of oil and pulverized coal has been made to produce a colloidal fuel of greater steam-raising power than either coal or oil, as described by its inventor, Lindon W. Bates, at the recent Exposition of the National Marine League of the United States, and by speakers before the American Chemical Society. It can be used on ships equipped to burn oil and can compete in price with straight oil when oil costs more than 2 cents a gallon and coal is at its usual price. It utilizes the sizes of coal too small for use in grates, including

earth-crushed anthracite and river washings, and saves 25 to 35 per cent. of the oil, now so scarce and expensive. It is described as the most compact fuel known. It sinks in water and can be kept in fireproof storage under water seal. Without adding a pound of weight to the vessel, it can be congealed in certain tanks on battleships into an asphalt-like underwater armor plating twenty feet thick. This armor can be transmuted into fuel as needed. Colloidal fuel increases both the coal and oil resources of any country.

## Navigating Ships by Sound Waves

Means of preventing such disaster as that of the Titanic have resulted from the study of sound for practical purposes, which was first necessitated by the submarine menace. Before the war no important effort was made to utilize the fact that the length and form of waves producing the sensation of sound depend on the nature of the transmitting medium. Whether the sound medium be air, water, the ground, wood, or metal, each bears an important relation to the intensity of the sound and to the certainty and speed of transmission. As none of the senses could be directly brought to bear in accurately locating the presence of the U-boats, every possible line of research was followed out that seemed likely to afford a solution.

The investigations brought to light the fact that all bodies moving through water give forth a tone characteristic of their composition and means of propulsion. A steamer with paddlewheels was

found to give forth a tone different from that of a vessel driven by a screw propeller. So does the tone of twin screw propellers differ from that of a single screw. Again, a ship with reciprocating engines produces a sound different from that of a turbine ship or one having internal-combustion engines. To detect these various sounds the experimental principle of the tuning fork bringing response from others of like pitch was practically applied.

How powerful a medium is water for the transmission of sound is fully appreciated by many who recall experiences of their youth when diving at "the old swimmin' hole" and being nearly stunned when some mischievous companion held two stones under water and struck them together.

In fitting a vessel to receive the vibratory waves transmitted through the sea, steel diaphragms (sounding drums) are set in the ship's plating well below the water line, in contact with the water.

These disk-shaped diaphragms are carefully insulated from all internal vibration by means of rubber sheeting, and are tuned to respond to a certain pitch. At the back of each diaphragm is a microphone made like that used in the ordinary telephone transmitter and packed with carbon granules. It is inserted into the circuit of an electric battery and head telephones. So any sound waves from the water which strike the surface of the diaphragm produce corresponding vibratory electric currents in the microphone, which are heard at the telephone receivers as a musical tone.

Not only do sound waves transmitted through water surpass those through air in speed and intensity, but also they have a highly directional character. This enables the hearer to locate the source of the sound within two or three degrees by the use of two diaphragms. One diaphragm is fitted on either side of the vessel and so arranged with switches that they can be used alternately. By swinging the ship and listening first through one diaphragm and then the other until the sound received by both is of equal intensity, the listener ascertains that the source of the vibration is right ahead.

But more important than this receiving system of hydrophony is the Fessenden method of sound telegraphy on ship-board, for both transmission and receiving, invented in America and highly developed both during the war and since. Instead of the listening diaphragms, the ship is fitted on each side with sound-

producing oscillators. The diaphragms of these oscillators are larger and relatively thicker than the hydrophones and require no insulation with rubber. They are riveted directly to the hull, the surface of the disk being flush with the plating, so as to preclude water noises. The disks are vibrated electrically, and by means of a Morse key messages can be communicated 100 miles at a rate of over twenty words a minute. The same instrument can both transmit and receive signals, and for receiving head telephones are used as in the case of hydrophones.

When German submarine flotillas were going over to England to surrender, the crews were astonished at being thus led safely through an intricate channel to an east coast naval base at full speed in a dense fog.

The presence of icebergs is detected with this invention by applying the principle of reflection and defraction of sound waves. This is known as the "echo effect." Questing signals sent out from a ship in the danger zone are caught when reflected or refracted from the sides of the iceberg, which is thus located.

This sound telegraphy is free from the atmospheric disturbances encountered in wireless signaling and from the zones of silence which interfere with communication by means of the steam whistle. The highly directional character of sound waves in water renders the use of sound telegraphy more effective in fog than that of either wireless or steam whistles.

## Corncobs Yield a Base for Dyes

Getting cheaply from corncobs so important a basic intermediary for dyes as furfural marks a great stride in the progress of the chemistry of commerce. Heretofore furfural has been so rare as to be regarded as a laboratory curiosity. Distilled with difficulty from wood at a cost of \$17 a pound, it has been sold only in small quantities, chiefly for scientific purposes. Now a series of experiments made by the Bureau of Chemistry of the United States Department

of Agriculture has resulted in the discovery of a process by which furfural can be produced from corncobs at a cost of from 15 to 20 cents a pound.

Furfural is an adjectival noun made from *furfur*, the Latin word for bran. The previous scarcity and high price of furfural have limited the knowledge of what uses it can be put to. Its greatest value is as a base for dyes, including vivid greens, and the difficult brown and blue vat dyes for men's shirts. By inter-



action with various coal-tar products, a whole series of dyes can be prepared from furfural, the bureau having already made and tested over a dozen shades for cloth. It is highly useful also in the manufacture of many paints and lacquers and in the making of bakelite, the hard resin used in pipestems and similar articles. That furfural has a great future as an insecticide is indicated by the fact that a considerable number of people have paid \$20 a pound for it for this purpose.

By the new process corncobs yield thirty pounds of furfural to the ton. Still further experiments have shown that even much greater quantities of furfural can be obtained by comparatively simple chemical treatment of the adhesive recovered from corncobs as a by-product. Two grades of adhesive are

recovered from corncobs by these Government processes. The more valuable amounts to about 45 per cent. of the weight of the cobs.

Of the 2,500,000,000 to 3,000,000,000 bushels of corn produced every year in the United States, 18,000,000 to 20,000,000 tons of cobs have been going to waste, except in so far as the cobs were used as fuel and for making cob pipes. Within less than two months after publication of the foregoing discovery, commercial plants are being equipped to bring the wealth of the cob to bear on the solution of the dye question and to manufacture all its products. One plant in the Ohio Valley, to manufacture furfural, adhesive, acetate of lime and cellulose, is to have a capacity for handling 100 tons of cobs a day.

## An Instrument for Recording Tree Growth

One of the most difficult problems of forestry has been to find accurate means of ascertaining the yearly rate of the growth of species of trees in different regions and localities and at different stages of their life history. Such data are essential for determining which are the best regions for the growth of certain valuable species so as to know where to favor them in reforestation and afforestation.

The dendrograph is an apparatus for giving a continuous record of all the changes in the diameter of a tree trunk. It records these changes with extreme accuracy. The machine is the invention of Dr. D. T. MacDougal, Director of the Botanical Research Department of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and former Director of the Laboratories of the New York Botanical Garden in Bronx Park. One of these instruments was installed recently in the New York Botanical Garden on a young sugar maple about a foot in diameter at breast height (four feet and a half from the ground). Others have been installed in various parts of the United States to get comparative data.

This instrument consists essentially

of a belt of blocks to be clasped around the trunk of a tree in such a way that it is believed that no modification of the growth action of the tree is caused except where the blocks actually touch the tree. This belt of blocks serves as a stable support for the recorder and other parts of the apparatus. An essential feature of the apparatus is a yoke made up of slotted bars of bario, an alloy with a very low temperature coefficient. Upright "fingers" of brass wire hold the yoke in place. Then there is a recording drum for holding a sheet of paper, and on this a recording rod automatically marks the growth of the tree. The record thus traced shows the changes between the contact screw on the opposite side of the tree and the arm of the bearing lever, these changes in distance being the increase of the trunk's diameter from hour to hour and from day to day throughout the growing season. A small tin shelter is supported on a bracket over the recording drum to protect it from the weather. There is clockwork in the apparatus, which has to be wound up once a week, when a new record sheet is placed on the cylinder. No other attention is necessary, once the dendrograph is properly installed.

# Anti-Typhoid Vaccination in the American Army

By WILLIAM H. COLE\*

ONE of the many important achievements of the Medical Department of the United States Army during the World War was the confinement of certain diseases within unusually narrow limits, contrasted with the spread of a few other diseases almost beyond control. Typhoid fever was practically absent from the American Army during the war, as it has been since 1911. In all previous wars this disease took nearly as many lives as the cannon and rifle. During the Franco-Prussian war there were 73,396 cases of typhoid, causing 8,789 deaths in the German Army, which was 60 per cent. of that army's total mortality. In the civil war on the Northern side there were over 80,000 cases of typhoid fever. During the Spanish-American war there were 20,738 cases of typhoid out of 107,973 American officers and men, or a case incidence of 192.65 per 1,000 men—approximately 20 per cent. The loss from this disease was 1,580 deaths, or a mortality rate of 14.63 per 1,000.

Today the Medical Department of the United States Army has as complete control over typhoid fever as human beings may ever expect. During the recent war, among the 4,000,000 men in the American Army, from April 6, 1917, to Nov. 11, 1918, there were only 1,065 cases of typhoid, or 0.26 per 1,000. The total deaths were 156, or 0.039 per 1,000.† Table 1 shows the number of cases and deaths that would have occurred in the American Army from Sept. 1, 1917, to May 2, 1919, if the rates in

the civil war and the Spanish-American war had obtained.

This remarkable control over one of the most infectious diseases known to man has been attained by the use of anti-typhoid vaccine. How this has been accomplished, and who is responsible, must be of deep interest to all Americans. Interesting, also, must be an account of the work of the few men who produced the vaccine during the war.

TABLE 1—RELATION OF MORTALITY IN THE WORLD WAR TO THAT OF PREVIOUS WARS

Number of deaths in World War, Sept. 1, 1917, to May 2, 1919. Average strength, approximately 2,121,396.	
Typhoid .....	213
Malaria .....	13
Dysentery .....	42
Number of deaths that would have occurred if the civil war rate had obtained:	
Typhoid .....	51,133
Malaria .....	†13,951
Dysentery .....	‡63,898
Number of deaths that would have occurred if the Spanish-American war rate had obtained:	
Typhoid .....	68,164
Malaria .....	11,317
Dysentery .....	‡6,382

†Includes malaria, remittent and congestive fevers.

‡Includes dysentery and diarrhoea.

It must be remembered that the control of typhoid fever belongs to preventive medicine. The disease is prevented by introducing into the system an anti-typhoid vaccine or a suspension of killed typhoid bacilli in some fluid, a process called anti-typhoid vaccination or typhoid prophylaxis. It has been found that the introduction of a foreign protein into the blood stream of an animal causes the formation of a substance in the blood which destroys that protein or neutralizes its harmful effects. This phenomenon furnishes the basis for the production of artificial immunity from bacterial diseases.

The foreign protein thus introduced,

\*For twenty-two months ended Aug. 16, 1919, the writer was stationed at the Army Medical School, Washington, D. C., engaged in the manufacture of typhoid vaccine.

†These figures are quoted from Colonel Russell's article in the Journal of the American Medical Association, Dec. 20, 1919, Vol. 73, No. 25, Page 1863.



whether it be a bacterial extract or a live or killed suspension of the bacteria, is called an "antigen," and the substance produced in the blood is an "antibody." The formation and distribution of the antibodies in the blood stream render the animal immune to the disease caused by the corresponding bacteria. If at any time the system is infected by the bacteria the antibodies destroy them, or neutralize their poison, and the disease is prevented.

### HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY

In 1896 Pfeiffer and Koller,\* bacteriologists in Germany, announced their discovery that the introduction of a suspension of killed typhoid bacilli into human beings conferred on them an immunity to typhoid fever. As far as could be determined, this acquired immunity was the same as that resulting from an attack of the disease. A few months later Wright,§ an English bacteriologist, announced an identical discovery. After he had inoculated seventeen persons with a suspension of killed typhoid bacilli he found that their blood reacted to tests in the same way as the blood of those who had previously had the disease. He therefore suggested that this was a means of preventing typhoid fever and expressed his confidence in the method.

Following these discoveries, experiments with the use of such a vaccine were successfully performed by several English and German scientists. During the Boer war the British Government authorized the vaccination of all men willing to submit to it. Sir William Leishman assisted Wright in supplying the vaccine, and later conducted experiments which contributed valuable information to the subject. Approximately 100,000 men received at least one dose of this vaccine. From the results Wright concluded that the number of cases of typhoid fever had been reduced one-half and the death rate more than one-half. His conclusions were not generally accepted, however, because of incomplete data and false reports that the inoculation made the men more sus-

ceptible to the disease. It was left to Leishman to establish beyond a doubt that typhoid prophylaxis was practicable. His experiments at Aldershot, during which nearly 20,000 men were vaccinated, gave convincing proof. In 1909 he made a full report to his Government, showing that inoculation against typhoid reduced the case incidence per 1,000 men about 600 per cent. and the mortality about 1,200 per cent.

Between 1904 and 1907 the Germans used a typhoid vaccine in their colonial army in Southwest Africa. The results were entirely favorable, and the use of the vaccine was authorized by the War Office. Their partial success was due to the work of such men as Wassermann, Kock, Gaffky, Heisser-Shiga and Kolle, who were members of the staff of the Institute for Infectious Diseases. The German vaccine differed considerably from the English. The latter was a suspension of the killed typhoid bacilli in nutrient broth, while the former was a suspension in salt solution, the bacilli having been grown on agar-agar. A summary of this early German vaccination shows that the case incidence per thousand men was reduced one-half, and the mortality considerably more than one-half. These results compare favorably with the English.

### ADOPTED BY OUR ARMY

In 1908 the Medical Department of the United States Army recognized the value of typhoid prophylaxis and decided to investigate the method, with the intention of applying it to our troops. Colonel F. F. Russell was sent to London to learn from Leishman the English method of preparing the vaccine. After he had learned the technique, he proceeded to Berlin, where, at the Institute for Infectious Diseases, he became acquainted with the German methods of preparation and use of their vaccine. Colonel Russell, upon his return to this country, began the preparation of a typhoid vaccine, introducing several improvements in the technique. Associated with him were Lieut. Cols. H. J. Nichols and C. F. Craig, and to these three men belongs the credit for first establishing

\*Deutsch, med. Woch., 1896, Bd. 22, S. 735.  
§Brit. Med. Journal, Jan. 30, 1897, P. 16.

on a firm basis the practice of typhoid prophylaxis in our army.

Here is a technical account of Colonel Russell's method of producing the vaccine, which may be skipped by the lay reader:

The American vaccine as perfected by Colonel Russell<sup>||</sup> was made from a single strain (Rawlings) of the typhoid bacillus, grown on agar-agar in Kolle flasks for eighteen hours. The culture used for the vaccine was transferred from plates to agar slants and Russell's double sugar medium. These transfers were tested for purity by macroscopic agglutination and by Gram's stain. If no contamination occurred, the growth on the agar slants was suspended in broth to be used for inoculation. The Kolle flasks were then inoculated with this suspension and incubated eighteen hours. If no contaminations appeared, the growth was washed off with salt solution, and after a sample had been removed for counting the collected suspensions were heated in a water bath for one hour at 53° C. to 54° C. This vaccine was then diluted with salt solution to the desired strength, 1,000,000,000 bacilli to the cubic centimeter. To prevent subsequent contamination 0.25 per cent. trikresol was added, and the product stored in large bottles until ready for ampuling. The finished vaccine was inoculated into mice and guineapigs to determine the absence of tetanus spores, and into rabbits to determine its immunizing power. Careful tests and controls were made at each step in the process in order to avoid all danger of contamination, and no vaccine was released for shipment unless every test had been satisfactory. Because of his development of this technique, which has made the American typhoid vaccine so successful, Colonel Russell has been called "the father of typhoid vaccine."

In 1909 voluntary vaccination against typhoid fever was authorized by the Surgeon General's office. The laboratory force volunteered, as well as the medical officers stationed in and around Washington, and their families and friends. Later members of the hospital corps received the vaccine, and by the end of 1909 1,887 persons had been vaccinated. During 1910 16,073 more persons volunteered, and in 1911 so many men from the various camps of the country had offered themselves that the practice became well known to all the officers and enlisted men. The results proved beyond doubt that the treatment was practicable and actually preventive.

In March, 1911, all the men engaged in manoeuvres in Texas were compelled to be vaccinated against typhoid. From among the several camps along the border at that time, the one at San Antonio presents typical figures. During the four months of the encampment 12,801 troops were located there, and among this number there were only two cases of typhoid, and no deaths. In the nearby City of San Antonio among the civilian population there were reported forty-nine cases of typhoid, with nineteen deaths, during the same period. The medical officers correctly concluded that the absence of typhoid among the troops was not due to lack of exposure, but to the preventive measure of vaccination.

This success led to an order from the War Department on June 9, 1911, that all recruits must be vaccinated against typhoid, and another on Sept. 30, 1911, that all persons in the service under 45 years of age must be protected against typhoid. By the 1st of January, 1912, this last order had been executed throughout the United States.

A comparison of the data on the number of cases of typhoid fever and the deaths resulting, for the years previous to 1911, and those since then, shows clearly the value of compulsory vaccination. Table 2, quoted from Colonel Russell's article, presents these figures:

TABLE 2—RATE OF TYPHOID FEVER IN THE ARMY FOR THE PAST EIGHTEEN YEARS

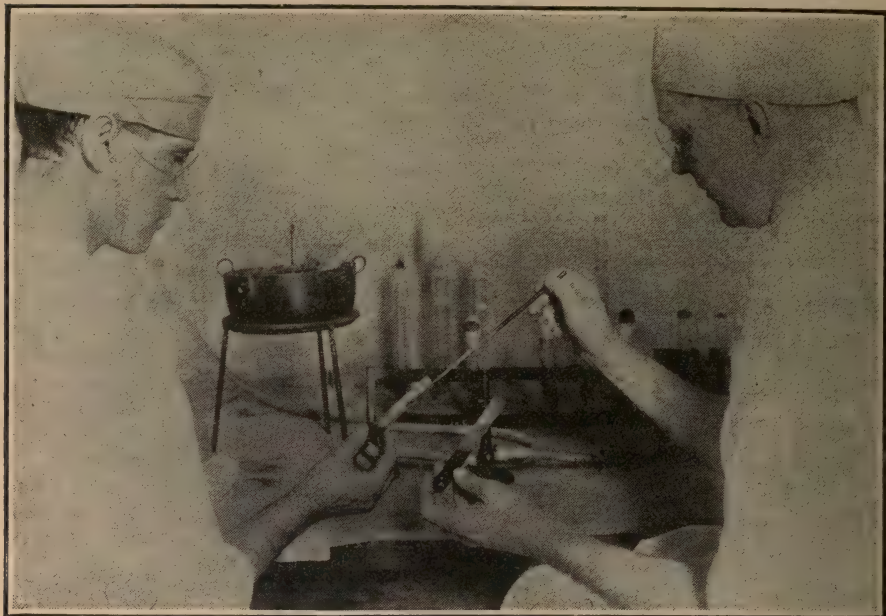
Year.	No. of Cases.	Ratio		Ratio	
		Per 1,000.	No. of Deaths.	Per 1,000.	
1900 .....	531	5.75	60	0.43	
1901 .....	594	9.43	78	0.64	
1902 .....	565	8.58	69	0.86	
1903 .....	348	5.82	30	0.28	
1904 .....	247	5.62	12	0.27	
1905 .....	193	3.57	17	0.30	
1906 .....	347	5.66	15	0.28	
1907 .....	208	3.53	16	0.19	
1908 .....	215	2.94	21	0.23	
*1909 .....	173	3.03	16	0.28	
1910 .....	142	2.32	10	0.16	
†1911 .....	44	0.85	6	0.09	
1912 .....	18	0.31	3	0.04	
1913 .....	4	0.04	0	0.00	
1914 .....	7	0.07	3	0.03	
1915 .....	8	0.08	0	0.00	
1916 .....	25	0.23	3	0.03	
1917 .....	297	0.44	23	0.03	
1918 .....	768	0.30	133	0.05	

\*Voluntary vaccination against typhoid.

†Compulsory vaccination.

<sup>||</sup>F. F. Russell, Jour. Med. Research, Boston, 1911, 23, 217.





*Making "stock plates" for anti-typhoid vaccine. The bacilli are suspended in a tube of broth, and the suspension is then diluted by transferring one loopful of it to a tube of melted agar, another from that to a second tube, and so on. After incubation for forty-eight hours, the typhoid colonies which then appear are transferred to agar slants and Russell's double sugar medium. On the right is Lieut. Col. Snow, on the left Lieutenant Paxton.*

These figures show that typhoid fever has been brought under control to a remarkable degree. The slight increase in the ratio per thousand for 1917 and 1918 has been determined to be due to cases of typhoid which were in the incubation stage at the time of the patient's vaccination, and which, therefore, could not have been prevented by the vaccine; or to exposure to overwhelming doses of infectious material which could not possibly be overcome by the action of the vaccine. Including these cases, there was only one death from typhoid out of every group of 25,641 men. This is truly a remarkable record, in view of the hurried mobilization of the troops in 1917 and 1918, and of the vaccination of these men by officers not particularly trained in this work. During the Spanish-American war there was one death from typhoid in each group of seventy-one men, and in civil life one death in each group of 4,255 persons.

After the technique of making the vaccine had been perfected by Colonel Russell in 1911, it became a routine at the typhoid vaccine laboratories in the Army Medical School at Washington, D. C. Our army at that time was small and the task of manufacturing the vaccine was not large, even though it was very important.

At the approach of our entrance into the World War, early in 1917, it was evident that the amount of typhoid vaccine soon to be required would greatly exceed that of former years. In those early months of preparation, Colonel E. R. Whitmore and Lieut. Cols. Nichols and Reasoner devoted unstinted labor that the army vaccine should go forth in any amount required with the high standard unchanged. When the necessity that these men should be engaged in other work came, Lieut. Col. Snow took charge of the vaccine laboratories. During those strenuous days the assistance



*Inoculating ("planting") the Kolle flasks. A cotton swab, after immersion in the inoculating suspension of typhoid bacilli, is used to cover the surface of the agar in the Kolle flasks. The flasks are then incubated for twenty-four hours.*

rendered by Second Lieutenants Paxton, Byrne and Carroll should not be left unmentioned. It was due to the untiring efforts of these four officers and a small group of enlisted men that the unprecedented amount of typhoid vaccine was successfully prepared during 1917.

The fourth floor of the Army Medical School was turned over to the vaccine laboratories and the work divided into three departments—preparation, bacteriological and shipping—all under one head, Lieut. Col. Snow.

The preparation department was in charge of the veteran Master Hospital Sergeant, A. Tracy. All the material used in the production of the vaccine was assembled and put in the proper condition by his men. The medium used for typhoid was ordinary nutrient agar made with beef extract and peptone, the reaction being adjusted to about 1 per cent. acid. After the medium was prepared it was placed in Kolle flasks and sterilized. The salt solution was made from chemically pure sodium chloride

and distilled water, its strength being 0.85 per cent. This was then sterilized in the autoclave. Following an incubation period of twenty-four hours, the Kolle flasks containing the agar were ready for inoculation with the typhoid suspensions prepared in the bacteriological department.

The vaccine used was a triple vaccine containing one typhoid strain—the one obtained from England in 1911—and two strains each of paratyphoid "A" and "B." All were selected because of their particular properties valuable in making an effective vaccine, and were mixed in the proper proportions.

#### ENLARGING THE LABORATORY

When the amount of vaccine needed was so greatly increased in 1917, runs of from 2,000 to 3,000 flasks were made instead of the former 100 or 200 flasks, and it became necessary to construct a larger, completely insulated room, 8 by 19 by 12 feet, heated by fourteen electric stoves controlled by a thermostat and a





*The Incubator: Interior view of the incubator room, which is heated by electric stoves, maintaining a temperature of 37.5 degrees Centigrade. Its capacity is 8,000 Kollé flasks.*

solenoid. A second vaccine room was also arranged to accommodate the twelve men necessary to handle that number of flasks. Each of these rooms opened directly into the incubator. Because of the facts that the best growth on the flasks was obtained after a minimum incubation of twenty-four hours and that the washing stage required about fourteen hours, it was necessary to begin the inoculating of the flasks not later than 4 o'clock in the morning. This meant that the men must report for work at 3 o'clock in order to make the necessary preparations.

The 3,000 Kollé flasks were inoculated by the twelve men under as complete asepsis as possible. Fifty flasks were stacked in a rack, making sixty racks in all, or five for each inoculator. The men were clothed in sterile cap, gown and rubber gloves, and the rooms kept tightly closed during the operation to prevent the entrance of any air-borne contaminating organisms. Since about five hours were required for the process, the temperature of the rooms often rose to

100 degrees Fahrenheit. Due to the use of Bunsen burners and to the lack of ventilation, the atmosphere of these rooms became heavy with carbon dioxide, occasionally causing a man's collapse.

When all the flasks had been inoculated, the racks were placed in the incubator, which was kept at a temperature of 98.6 degrees Fahrenheit for twenty-four hours. At the end of the incubation period the flasks were "washed," or freed from their bacterial growths.

#### STANDARDIZING AND SHIPPING

While the suspensions were being heated in the water bath, standardization was performed in another room, according to Wright's method. This involved a mixture of equal parts of the suspension to be tested and fresh human blood. This mixture was smeared on to a glass slide and stained. The ratio between the number of bacilli to red blood corpuscles was then obtained through the microscope. Since the number of red blood cells per cubic centimeter in humans is a constant in normal individuals, the strength of the

suspension, or the number of bacilli per cubic centimeter, was easily determined. When the heating and standardization of the sixty suspensions had been completed, each one was cultured in the vaccine rooms to test its purity. They were then ready for diluting to the proper strengths.

The ampuling and shipping department observed the same rules and care for making all the operations aseptic as in the bacteriological department. The vaccine was put into small glass ampuls of from one to twenty-five cubic centimeters' capacity and the end of each was sealed off in a blast flame. The ampuls representing each bottle of the mixed stock vaccine were packed in separate containers to facilitate the tracing back of any error.

Although typhoid vaccine made in this way is supposed to retain its immunizing power for one year, it was ruled by the army that none of its vaccine over four months old should be used. This avoided all possibility of deterioration. The time limit of the vaccine was plainly marked on each package of ampuls.

As orders for the triple vaccine came in from all over the world (the navy and Marine Corps also used this army vaccine, it having been made compulsory in January, 1912) the ampuls were packed and prepared for shipment within twenty-four hours after the receipt of the order. At no time did the supply of typhoid vaccine at the Army Medical School fall below the demand for it, a remarkable record for those few men who were responsible for its preparation. During the year 1917 15,400 liters of triple typhoid vaccine, or 18,000,000 doses, were produced, representing a commercial cost of \$4,500,000. The actual cost to the Government, however, was determined to be only \$900,000, or a saving of \$3,600,000. The amount produced during 1918 was still greater, approaching 25,000,000 doses. The actual figures for 1918 have not yet been made public.

In the Spring of 1918 the force of assistants was augmented to about twenty-five. These men, instead of the former

three runs a week, produced six runs of 3,000 Kolle flasks a week, or just twice as much as in 1917. And, further, they maintained the record of supplying the demand at all times.

### AN IMPROVED VACCINE

It was at this time that the experimental production of an improved vaccine was begun, which meant much additional work. This new vaccine was an oil suspension, a form of cottonseed oil taking the place of the salt solution; it required many new processes and an almost entirely new technique. For its development credit should be given to Colonel Whitmore, Major Fennel, Lieutenant Petersen and the enlisted men employed in the vaccine laboratories. Its preparation allowed the use of several mechanical aids. The dried bacilli, for instance, were placed in specially designed grinding jars containing steel balls. The jars were fastened to a grinding machine and allowed to revolve for from eighteen to twenty-four hours. At the end of this time, when the bacilli had been ground into a flour, the jars were removed from the machine, and after further treatment and more grinding the proper amount of cottonseed oil was added.

Successful experiments led to the temporary adoption in October, 1918, of the oil, or "lipovaccine," in place of the saline. In March, 1919, however, the use of the latter was restored to allow further experimentation with the oil product. The outstanding advantages of the lipovaccine are, first, that it may be inoculated in a single dose, instead of in three doses; and, second, the slow rate of absorption of the lipovaccine renders the reaction of the individual to it much less severe than that of the saline. In a military sense the first advantage saves much time in preparing troops for duty, and it was for this reason that the lipovaccine was temporarily adopted. It is gratifying to know that Colonel Russell, the pioneer in American typhoid prophylaxis, is again in charge of the typhoid vaccine laboratories at Washington, and will supervise the further experiments with lipovaccine.



Out of the twenty-five men who actually performed the work of making the vaccine in 1918 only two were commissioned officers, these being Second Lieutenants in the Sanitary Corps. Excepting one Sergeant and one Corporal, the others were privates. Twenty-three of them were college-trained men holding a Bachelor's degree. Two of these had pursued graduate work and had attained their degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Four others had nearly completed their work for a doctor's degree, while the remaining seventeen were graduate students working for advanced degrees, or medical students who had temporarily abandoned their studies to serve their country. They were selected by the authorities to do that work and performed their arduous tasks without receiving any publicity, suitable promotion or reward, except that which comes from a knowledge of duty well done. To their efforts was due the fact that the families and

friends of the men in service during the war could feel sure that their boys would be adequately protected from the infectious disease of typhoid fever. Of all the men who wore the white chevron, they certainly deserved the praise and commendation of the American people.

The Medico-Military Review, issued by the Surgeon General's office Dec. 15, 1919, summed up the whole matter in these words:

Those who have first-hand knowledge of sanitary conditions in the combat and billeting areas occupied by our troops in France, of the general pollution of water supplies, and of the frequently continuous exposure to infectious material, can fully realize the rôle played by prophylactic vaccination, chlorination of water supplies, and other preventive measures in the control of typhoid. Had such preventive measures not been in force, and more particularly prophylactic vaccination, without doubt the case incidence of typhoid between June, 1918, and June, 1919, would have been greatly in excess of 100,000 cases.

## Italy's Greatest Victory in the War

### Authorized Summary of Official Report of the Battle of Vittorio Veneto

*Through the courtesy of the Italian Military Attaché at Washington—Marquis Vittorio Asinari di Bernezzo, Colonel in the General Staff of the Royal Italian Army—CURRENT HISTORY is able to present the official story of Italy's last and greatest victory over the Austro-Hungarian Armies in the World War. It was translated from the official report of the Italian Supreme Command by Captain Carlo Huntington, Marquis di Bernezzo's assistant, and is now made available to the general public for the first time in the English language.*

THE main idea of the Comando Supremo had always been that the decision of the world conflict would be brought about more rapidly by putting the Austrian Army hors de combat, so as to isolate Germany and force her to surrender. After the retreat of Caporetto and the marvelous stand on the Piave, all energies were directed to the preparing of the morale of the troops and to obtaining a moral ascendancy on the enemy, who was in the Spring of 1918 in great numerical superiority and excellently prepared. A first offensive of ours, which was to be carried out at the end of May, was put off, because we heard of the intense

preparation for a decisive Austrian offensive in June; also because our allies were hard pressed on the western front and could not spare any troops to reinforce our front. The Austrian offensive, which was supposed to be the decisive one of the war, was launched, and failed, being met and foreseen by our counter-preparation and by our men, who were ready for attacking, and with high offensive spirit. Thus the Austrian failure was the turn of the tide in the World War.

### PART I. PREPARATION

After the failure of June the state of the enemy was such that an offensive

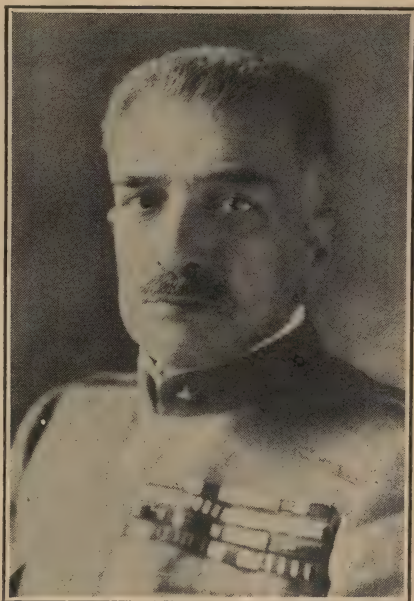
on our side would have brought about a decisive victory. But we had suffered losses of 90,000 men in the June battle, and our allies could not send any aid, having their hands full on the western front. To pursue more extensive operations, it was necessary to prepare men and means afresh. Meanwhile the brilliant French counteroffensive of the Marne opened a new phase of the conflict. The Germans, having lost all hope for victory on the western front, might now attempt a final effort by concentrating all their energies against the numerically weaker of the Allies, that is, Italy. And a rapid concentration of the German forces on our front, which could be carried out twice as fast as the allied movements, was a possibility which we had to consider, more so as we received much information to that effect. So while preparing for an offensive we also never lost sight of the defensive.

The plan for the offensive had to aim in assisting the general efforts of the Allies to the utmost according to two different solutions: To drive the attack home with all possible forces, throwing the last available man into the scale, so as to gain a decision at one blow, or else to make a preparatory attack as a first phase of a more complex effort if the enemy succeeded in establishing a new solid defensive front on all the theatres of war.

We found ourselves in a delicate situation regarding drafts, having little more than was strictly necessary to make good the normal losses of units. This is not surprising, considering the effort which we had already sustained, the fresh units which had to be formed after October, 1917, the contingents in Albania (about 100,000 men), in Macedonia (55,000 men), in France (eleven corps, 48,000 men), and also the fact that there remained in France 70,000 men of the Italian Labor Corps, to say nothing of the forces in the colonies, in Russia and even in Palestine. To organize reserves we combed out every available man in the country who had been used for the lines of communication, for ammunition factories, &c., and completed their instruction.

In the early days of July a plan of operations for an attack on the Asiago Plateau, which would have relieved the pressure on our front and which had been agreed upon with the Allies, was prepared. But at the same time as this plan of operations, of limited extent, another and bigger scheme, intrusted to a few men and guarded with the strictest secrecy, was being matured in the interior of the Comando Supremo.

This was held in readiness in case a change in the general situation should render it possible to risk all for all in a



GENERAL ARMANDO DIAZ

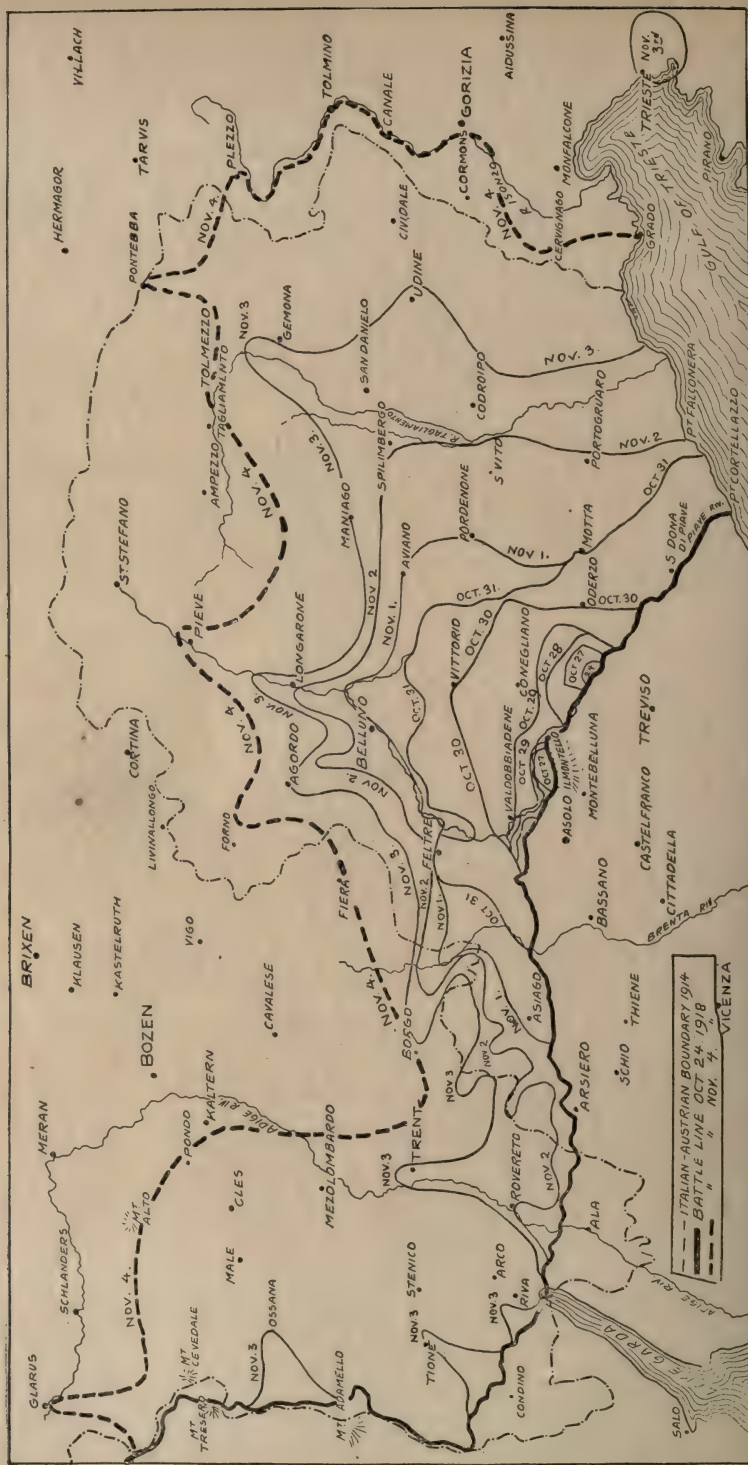
*Commander in Chief of the Italian armies  
at the time of the final victory*

(© Western Newspaper Union)

supreme thrust in a direction vital to the enemy, even at the cost of serious losses, so as to overwhelm him in a definite rout. Troops and commands were in the meantime intensely trained and prepared for open warfare.

During August the general military situation, though better, did not show any such improvement as to justify the carrying out of this plan, so the prepara-





MAP SHOWING PROGRESS OF THE ITALIAN TROOPS IN THE BATTLE OF VITTORIO VENETO, IN WHICH THE ENEMY WAS DRIVEN FROM THE LINE OF THE  
PIAVE RIVER TO THE ALPS AND THE ISONZO, CAUSING AUSTRIA-HUNGARY TO SUE FOR PEACE.

tions for the attack on the Asiago Plateau were continued.

But in September fresh events developed. The allied attack in Macedonia brought about the collapse of the Bulgarian resistance, opening a break on the Austrian flank, and this gave us the hope of creating the favorable situation, long prayed for, which would allow us to launch our forces in a dangerous but decisive direction and so end the war. On Sept. 25, four days before the conclusion of the Bulgarian armistice, orders were given for the concentration of forces on the Middle Piave instead of the plateau, this being the sector chosen for attack.

### STRATEGIC PLAN OF THE BATTLE

The fundamental idea of the action planned by the Comando Supremo was to separate the Austrian mass in the Trentino from that on the Piave by a decisive break through, and then, by an enveloping action, to cause the fall of the whole mountain front, which would necessarily bring about the yielding of the enemy front on the plain.

For this plan we bore in mind that the Sixth Austrian Army, the northern one of the two deployed between the mountains and the sea, had its line of communication running: Vittorio-Conegliano-Sacile. To reach Vittorio meant to sever this vital artery, to stop all supplies of food and ammunition and so place the Sixth Army completely at our mercy.

After reaching Vittorio the Comando Supremo proposed to concentrate its effort against the heights, with the twofold object of: 1. Advancing on Feltre in the rear of the Grappa, bringing about the fall of this imposing bastion. 2. By reaching the Delluno Valley, advancing from there up the Cadore and Agordino, while the troops which had caused the fall of Grappa advanced up the Val Sugana, thus creating a threat of irreparable disaster to the whole Austrian organization on the Trentino front.

The success of this manoeuvre was based essentially on surprise and on rapidity of action. On the rapidity of action we could count because of the long and careful training of the troops

and because every man, from the last soldier up, was convinced that a determined break in the enemy front would give us definite victory. The surprise was assured by the character of the intended action, which differed from all others which had been carried out in the war, and by the care that was taken to keep the enemy absolutely in the dark as to our proposed action.

On the other hand, the Comando Supremo had not failed to take all necessary measures in consideration that the passage of a river subjected to floods in the rainy season is subject to many unforeseen circumstances. The presence of a river can, under certain circumstances, be of enormous help to the defender. Therefore all kinds of supplies and a mass of artillery capable of guaranteeing the holding of bridgeheads were prearranged. To increase the elasticity of the manoeuvre two fresh armies were formed at the last moment (to insure secrecy). These were the Tenth, under General the Earl of Cavan (G. O. C. B. E. F.), and the Twelfth, under General Graziani, Commander French Forces. These were inserted between the armies holding our line between the Brenta and the sea (Fourth, Eighth, Third), the Twelfth between the Fourth and Eighth, from Monte Tomba to Pederobba, which was to operate astride the Piave after capturing the Alano Basin and the Valdobbiadene heights; the Tenth, between the Eighth and Third, was to cross the Piave opposite the Grave of Pappadopoli and advance on the Livenza, covering the right flank of the Eighth Army and attracting the enemy reserves, which were assembled in the lower part of the plains.

The formation of these two armies came into effect on Oct. 14.

### THE ARRANGEMENTS MADE

The orders to concentrate troops and supplies for the battle were issued on Sept. 25. Between then and Oct. 10, in fifteen days, 1,600 guns of all calibres and 500 trench mortars were transferred to the new front, coming from our general reserve, but in great part from distant mountain fronts; positions were selected and occupied, and fire was



registered. At the same time there were collected 2,400,000 rounds of ammunition. Fully twenty-one divisions were concentrated on the new front in the same period, coming from the rear or from other sectors by night marches. All this under torrential and continuous rain. All movements were completed by the 10th and we could have begun our action on the 16th, as planned, if the weather had not become even worse, and the rise in the Piave obliged us to postpone for at least a week.

As the general military situation now was such that an effort of ours, well executed, would bring about a decision in the war, we thought it necessary to stake all for all, and so in the extra time we denuded every possible sector of our front of reserves and another 400 guns were brought to reinforce the sector of the Fourth Army, which was now ordered to push its attack home instead of only co-operating with the main action, so as to precede and prepare for the main offensive and draw the enemy reserves of the Feltre region.

By the evening of the 23d the attack was ready to be launched also on the Grappa.

To allow us all possible means of crossing the river, and also of repairing the losses sure to be caused by floods and bombardments, extraordinary preparations, most carefully thought out, had to be made. When they were ready we had twenty regular pontoon bridging equipments, 5,000 yards of tubular foot-bridging of a special type on boats built for the purpose, and another 5,000 yards of regulation bridging. Hundreds of boats and barges had been built or requisitioned in upper Italy, and anchors were provided for thousands of boats, as it was reckoned that the violence of the current required using two for each boat. At the same time 700,000 cubic feet of timber was prepared for the repairing of the permanent bridges on the Piave and the other streams, together with the necessary iron work and accessories.

#### THE OPPOSING FORCES

The enemy held the front from the Stelvio to the sea with 63½ divisions, of

which at the beginning of the battle 39½ were in the front line, 13½ in second line and 10½ in reserve. In the sector chosen for attack there were deployed 23 divisions, as follows: Eleven from Brenta to Pederobba, 9 from Pederobba to Ponte della Priula, and 3 from Ponte della Priula to Ponte di Piave. In the back areas he had 10½ divisions of reserves. All these divisions were among the best of the Austrian Army.

The enemy defensive system was formidable. He had the advantage of dominating positions on the Grappa, in successive lines. On the plain he had constructed "battle-belts," grouped in two successive positions, the "Kaiserstellung" and the "Königstellung." Powerful masses of artillery (about 2,000 guns) were concentrated on the flanks and rear of the sectors, so as to deliver the most effectual front and enfilade fire. The area north of Grappa was defended by 1,200 guns, to which we opposed about 1,800 guns. Opposite our sector, Pederobba to Palazzon, were grouped about 500 guns, to which we opposed an imposing mass of about 2,150 guns, as this was the principal front to be broken through. The enemy could use about 350 guns on the Grave di Pappadopoli front, to which we opposed about 800 guns.

Altogether on our side over 4,750 weapons of all calibres, including about 600 heavy trench mortars, could concentrate their fire on the front of attack; 5,700,000 rounds of ammunition were accumulated near the front for action (eight days' supply).

The front was held by us, altogether, with fifty-one Italian, three British, two French and one Czechoslovak divisions, and the 332d American Regiment.

The mass intended to break through the enemy front line and follow up the success was composed of twenty-two infantry divisions in front line, of which two were British and one French. The armies were: Fourth, General Giardino; Twelfth, General Graziani; Eighth, General Cavaglia; Tenth, General Cavan.

Nineteen Italian divisions (fifteen infantry and four cavalry) and the Czechoslovak division were in second line

as reserve or as powerful striking force. Of these the Ninth Army, General Morone, and the Cavalry Corps, General Count of Turin, were under direct orders of General Headquarters.

## PART II. THE BATTLE

It was decided that the battle should commence at dawn on Oct. 24 by an attack of the Fourth Army in the Grappa area, carried out in co-operation with the left wing of the Twelfth Army and with the support of artillery of the Sixth Army (Asiago Plateau). The Tenth Army was to take possession of the Grave di Pappadopoli, thus crossing, as a preliminary action, the main stream of the river.

Between Brenta and Piave our artillery fire began at 5 A. M. on the 24th. The infantry moved to the attack at 7:15 A. M. A dense fog, changing later into pouring rain, came on, limiting the artillery effectiveness on both sides, but it did not hinder the infantry struggle, which in this area soon became of a most desperate character. The Asolone was taken in a rush, but had to be abandoned under violent fire and desperate counterattacks. The Pertica and Prassolan were taken and had also to be abandoned under the terrific fire of artillery and machine guns. The summit of Solarolo and the Valderoa were captured, after violent struggle, and held. The left wing of the Twelfth Army, supporting this action, descended from M. Tomba and Mofenera and succeeded in establishing itself on the north banks of the Ornic stream in the Alano Basin. In these sanguinary actions 1,300 prisoners and numerous machine guns were taken.

At the same time assault detachments of the Sixth Army, on the Asiago Plateau, had raided and occupied enemy trenches, thus causing alarm in the Austrian lines, and taking prisoners.

The desperate resistance met with on the Grappa caused no change in the general plan, but the attacks were to be continued, so as to wear down the enemy and force him to use his reserves.

On the Piave the British and Italian troops of the Tenth Army had occupied in the morning of the 24th the islands

of the Grave, but the crossing of the river had to be put off for that night, owing to heavy rain, which came on suddenly, making the river rise, so that in the area chosen for bridging, even at the fords, the river reached a height of five feet two inches, and in many places the speed of the current exceeded three yards a second. The crossing was put off to the evening of the 26th.

On Oct. 25 the Fourth Army renewed its attacks with the utmost vigor, capturing, with heavy losses, M. Pertica and Forcelletta and trying again for the Solarolo, which was swept by the most terrific fire. During this day 1,400 prisoners were captured and such heavy losses inflicted on the enemy that he was shaken and used his reserves for the defense of the Grappa sector, bringing up also those which he was keeping around Feltre and Biluno. Thus he used the very reserves we wished to have neutralized, so as not to be used against the Eighth Army.

During the day of the 26th the battle on the Grappa continued to be desperate and close; 1,200 prisoners were captured. The enemy had now nine divisions in the line against our attacking seven, who continued to fight and wear him out.

## BREAKING OF THE ENEMY'S FRONT

When the weather conditions improved on the evening of the 26th, the task of throwing bridges across the Piave was commenced. One was thrown in front of the Twelfth Army at Molinetto (Pederobba), seven on the front of the Eighth Army and three in front of the Tenth Army at the Grave di Poppadopoli. Of these, owing to the strong current and the accurate enemy fire, only six could be completed, the one at Molinetto, two in front of the Eighth Army and the third on the Grave. Crossing the bridges and using ferries and boats, the first detachments gained the left bank of the river and, assisted by the effective fire of our artillery, rushed the enemy's lines and captured them.

At daylight the troops which had crossed the river formed three bridge-heads.

The first, near Valdobbiadene, was



held by troops of the Twelfth Army (three battalions of French and three battalions of Alpini, with a regiment of the Eighth Army, which had used that bridge). At evening these troops had reached the line Osteria Nuova-Madonna di Caravaggio-Funer-Ca' Settolo.

The second bridgehead, in the Serenaglia Plain, was held by troops of the Eighth Army. On the left elements of the 27th Corps, which had not been able to establish its own bridges, in the centre the 57th Division, on the right the 1st Assault Division and part of the 22d Corps, with three mountain batteries. To the right of the 22d Corps the 8th Corps had failed to establish any crossing, owing to the current and the accurate fire of the enemy artillery, which continually cut the bridges.

While the troops of the Eighth Army, on the far side of the river, struggled gallantly and carried one enemy position after the other, all the bridges were destroyed behind them. Notwithstanding the precarious situation, they fought gallantly and repulsed many counterattacks, delivered in some cases by forces three times as numerous.

The third bridgehead was formed by the Tenth Army, which had taken the enemy defenses and extended in the plain of Cima d'Olmo. The 11th Italian Corps (right wing) encountered serious resistance, was counterattacked and had to retire slightly in the evening. The 14th British Corps (left wing) had strenuous fighting around Borgo Malanotte, which was captured, lost and retaken; 5,600 prisoners and 24 guns were taken.

Night 27th-28th—The work of repairing bridges continued feverishly, notwithstanding the difficulty caused by the rain and by the enemy, who was intensifying his fire with H. E. and mustard-gas shells. The 8th Corps was unable to complete any bridge on its front between Falze and Nervesa. A wide gap was thus left on the far side of the Piave between the Eighth and Tenth Armies. To fill this gap the reserve corps of the Eighth Army, the 18th, was ordered to cross the Piave on the bridges of the Tenth Army and operate

the next day from the south, in order to relieve the front of the 8th Corps.

Oct. 28—The 18th Corps began to cross on the bridges of the Tenth Army, which had been destroyed during the night and hastily repaired; at the same time fresh troops of the Eighth Army were able to cross between Pederobba and Falze.

The Twelfth Army attacked astride the Piave in a northerly direction, storming Alano and the heights of Valdobiadene and capturing several thousand prisoners.

The bridges of the Eighth Army were again destroyed, but our troops, completely isolated, resisted all counterattacks. They were supplied with food, ammunition and blankets by airplane.

The 18th Corps, who had been able to cross part of its troops on the Tenth Army bridges, attacked, moving up on the left bank of the river, and by the evening had passed beyond the Susegana Railway, thus clearing the way for the 8th Corps.

Further south the Tenth Army (11th Italian and 14th British) had widened the breach opened in the Kaiserstellung and reached the Monticano.

By this time the enemy formation on the left bank of the Piave was broken into two large masses and the Eighth Army regained its liberty of action.

#### SUCCESS IN SIGHT

During the early hours of the 29th the 8th Corps, having at last bridged the river, advanced in its turn to the attack. It carried the enemy lines at Marcatelli, took possession of Susegana, and while the 18th Corps occupied Conegliano it pushed forward a flying column (Florence Lancers and Bersaglieri Cyclists) to occupy Vittorio, which was reached in the evening.

At the same time the Twelfth Army, particularly the 52d Alpini Division, took the most important position of M. Cesen; they occupied Segusino and reached Quero. Later, columns of the Eighth Army passed beyond Follina. The Tenth Army crossed the Monticano on a wide front. Altogether over 8,000

prisoners and 100 guns were captured up to Oct. 31.

Meanwhile, on the front of the Fourth Army, becoming more and more committed in the battle, the enemy had on the 27th passed to the counteroffensive; he launched attack after attack against the Pertica and Valderoa, with tremendous losses, but in vain. On the 28th and 29th we attacked again on the Col della Berretta, on the Solarolo and Prassolan, meeting desperate resistance and untiring counterattacks. The enemy threw his last reserves into the fray, bringing up the number of divisions to eleven.

Thus the Fourth Army, though it did not immediately obtain its objective, that is, the interruption of the enemy communications between hills and plains, succeeded by its tenacity in the immediate co-operation, by exhausting the reserves, which were in the Feltre Basin, rendering impossible to transfer them to the plain to fill the gap opened by the Eighth, Tenth and Twelfth Armies.

The enemy's defeat was precipitated on the 30th. His new front, hastily prepared on rear positions, was again broken at several points. The Eighth Army brilliantly carried out the task assigned to it, swung to the left, occupied the Fadalto Gorge and advanced toward Belluno. The 1st Cavalry Division was pushed forward between the Eighth and Tenth Armies, toward the Livenza and further the Tagliamento.

Now the Comando Supremo thought the right moment had come to bring into action the Third Army. This army, which had been anxiously awaiting the moment, forced the passages at Ponte di Piave, Salgareda, Romanziol and S. Dona under desperate odds and advanced boldly in the plains, though meeting strong opposition. Over 3,000 prisoners were taken on this day. The Twelfth Army had forced the Quero Gorge. The Tenth and Third Armies advanced toward the Livenza.

Thus the Austrian command had been deceived by our two thrusts on the Grappa and at the Grave. It had allowed its reserves at Feltre to be drawn toward the Grappa front and the greater part

of its reserves in the plain toward the Tenth Army, whose duty was to form a defense flank for the Eighth. Every effort to check our advance toward the valley junction at Belluno came thus too late.

#### COLLAPSE OF GRAPPA FRONT

The threat of the Twelfth Army in the direction of Feltre brought the decisive moment for the Grappa.

During the night of the 30th-31st the main body of the enemy forces, under cover of the darkness, commenced its retirement on the Fonzaso-Feltre front. The Fourth Army, who became aware of this movement, ordered the advance; notwithstanding strong defense of the enemy rear guards and numerous artillery, which had to cover the withdrawal of the enormous amount of guns and material in this sector, the advancing columns overpowered them and advanced down the Seren Valley.

The Ancona Brigade of the Sixth Army, advancing rapidly in the Brenta Valley, occupied Cismon, capturing 1,000 men and nine 6-inch guns, which had been firing on Bassano.

At 5:30 P. M. the Lombardia Brigade and Alpini of Exilles and Pieve di Cadore battalions entered Feltre, capturing over 2,000 prisoners and preventing the blowing up of the bridges. A group of cavalry squadrons was sent on the morning of the following day (Nov. 1) in pursuit toward Belluno.

#### THE LIVENZA REACHED

On that same day (31st) the Twelfth Army continued its advance and reached the Piave between Lentiai and Miel.

The Eighth Army had some hard fighting at the S. Boldo Pass. It took the Fadalto defile and threw out advanced columns to Ponte nelle Alpi and the Cansiglio.

The cavalry corps, which had received orders to try to anticipate the enemy at the crossings of the Tagliamento from Pinzano to the sea and prevent the destruction of bridges, debouched into the plain beyond the Tenth Army. The 1st Cavalry Division surprised the enemy near Fiaschetti and crossed the Livenza. The 3d Cavalry Division followed and



advanced rapidly on Polcenigo, taking the defile and sending patrols toward the Tagliamento.

The Tenth Army reached the Livenza from Sacile to Motta and the advanced guards of the Third Army from Motta to the sea.

#### ON THE ASIAGO PLATEAU

With the occupation of the Feltre Basin the enemy sector on the Asiago Plateau began to waver. On the 28th the enemy began to withdraw to a position a little in the rear, prepared long ago, disturbed and attacked continually in daring raids by the Sixth Army, in which co-operated a French and a British division. On Oct. 30 it was decided to launch also the Sixth Army in an attack on M. Mosciag-Portecche. This action began on the morning of the 31st, having as further objective the advance on Levico and Caldonazzo, so as to cut off the enemy's retreat up the Valsugana.

#### THE PURSUIT

The definite collapse of the whole front was clearly to be foreseen on the 31st, and the enemy was evidently trying to save all the troops he could in the Trentino. The victory was decisive and, to exploit it, it was necessary that the whole Italian forces, from the Stelvio to the sea, should advance like an avalanche. The orders were issued on the morning of Nov. 1.

The First Army was to advance on Trento.

The Sixth Army was to continue toward the Egna-Trento front.

The Fourth Army was to continue to Egna-Bolzano.

The Eighth Army was to advance up the Cadore and Agordo road to Bruneck and Bolzano.

The Seventh to push down to Mezzolombardo-Bolzano.

All these forces were to cut off the enemy lines of communication, so as to render the disaster irreparable.

The Twelfth Army, which had accomplished its task, concentrated in the Feltre Basin. The Tenth and Third Armies were ordered to advance on the Tagliamento, while the cavalry corps was to push forward to the Isonzo.

At 11 A. M. on this day (Nov. 1) the 253d Regiment of the Eighth Army entered Belluno among wild rejoicing of the population and another column from Ponte nelle Alpi marched toward Pieve di Cadore.

Troops of the Fourth Army had advanced up the Brenta Valley and had passed Grigno.

#### RECAPTURE OF THE PLATEAUS

On that same day the troops of the Sixth Army had gained important results on the Asiago Plateau. On the eastern edge, after overcoming strenuous resistance, the Italian troops had occupied M. Lisser. In the centre the 13th Corps, with a French division, had opened an enormous gap in the enemy defenses by reaching M. Nos. On the western edge the 48th British and the 20th Italian Division, after some very tough fighting, had managed to enter the Val d'Assa, after capturing M. Mosciag, and were pushing on toward Levico, headquarters of the Austrian Eleventh Army.

Some tens of thousands of prisoners and all the artillery of the plateau had been the booty of the Sixth Army in its first day of advance.

In the plains the 3d and 4th Cavalry Divisions had occupied Pordenone and were advancing to the Tagliamento.

#### OCCUPATION OF TRENTO

The First Army was ready to carry out its manoeuvre on the 1st. It first attacked in the Astico valley in the night from 1st to 2d, so as to threaten the flank of the enemy and advance up the valley. Then on the 2d, at 3 P. M., arditi and alpini rushed the defenses at Serravalle (Mori), took one enemy line after the other, and at 8:45 P. M. entered Rovereto, cutting off the retreat of the enemy in the Vallarsa. Light cavalry was dispatched toward Trento, which was entered at 3:15 P. M. on the 3d. Amid wild enthusiasm of the population and before a huge mob of Austrian soldiers surprised in the town, the Italian tricolor was hoisted over the Castle of Buon Consiglio.

In the Valsugana the enemy tried to cover his retreat by energetic rearguard

actions to cover the retreat of the troops, but these were overcome, and on the evening of the 3d the Fourth Army had occupied Borgo. A column sent over the mountains from the Cismon Valley to Fiera di Primiero captured, on the morning of the 4th, 10,000 prisoners and sixty guns.

The Sixth Army, after some of the hardest fighting and marching over the mountains, had arrived on the evening of the 3d at Levico and Caldonazzo.

The Seventh Army, which had started fighting on the 2d, rushed enemy positions and poured from the Tonale and the Giudicarie toward Mezzolombardo and Bolzano, reaching the first-mentioned place on the morning of the 4th, completely cutting off the retreat up the Adige Valley.

In the plain, too, hard pressed by the Third and Tenth Armies, the enemy was beating a hasty retreat, leaving immense quantities of booty and prisoners in our hands. He was pursued untiringly by our cavalry, who, after having fought in all manners, on foot, as artillery, as trench-mortar men, &c., had now at last the chance of carrying out the pursuit of the enemy.

### THE LANDING AT TRIESTE

On Nov. 3, according to a plan which had been thought out by our Comando Supremo and the navy, a force concentrated at Venice left on a convoy of Italian vessels, and at 4 P. M. landed at Trieste, the goal of all Italian hearts, welcomed with enthusiasm by all citizens.

The cavalry corps had received orders to pursue the enemy according to the following lines:

The 1st Division to push toward Pontebba and Tolmezzo.

The 3d to push toward Udine and Cividale.

The 4th toward Gorizia.

The 2d toward Palmanova and Monfalcone.

All these points were reached before

3 P. M. on Nov. 4, after gallant charges and brilliant raids, advancing, between Oct. 29 and Nov. 4, distances of from 125 to 168 miles, often without food or forage, and capturing innumerable guns and prisoners.

### THE ARMISTICE

At 3 P. M. on Nov. 4 hostilities were suspended on the whole front, according to the terms of the armistice signed the night before at Villa Giusti. The line reached is shown on the sketch.

The Austrian Army was annihilated. While the last remnants of what had been one of the most powerful armies in the world were scattering in disorder, leaving in our hands hundreds of thousands of prisoners and booty worth millions, the Italian troops were making ready for the fight against the only enemy left in the field—Germany. But this country, forced by the precipitous course of events on the western and on the Italian front, was also obliged to ask for an armistice.

One year before, after the retreat on the Piave, the Austrian General Staff had been able to entertain the delusion that that was the sign of irreparable defeat of the Italian Army. It published in its report of Oct. 31, 1917, these words:

The demonstration of strength which the Central Powers gave to their people during those days (24th to 31st of October) shows that the Central Powers are militarily invincible.

A hasty judgment of one who knew not the Italian spirit. Our army had been able to establish a wonderful defense on the Piave. It had reassembled and reorganized; it had broken the pride of the enemy in his vain attack of June; and one year later it vindicated itself in shining glory, and that proud and powerful army, which had descended into the Italian plains full of haughtiness, was forced to flee back in the utmost disorder over those same mountains, completely scattered and broken by the Italian people and their spirit.



# Why Sarraïl Delayed So Long

By CAPTAIN G. GORDON-SMITH

[ROYAL SERBIAN ARMY]

**D**URING the next few years the historians of the great World War of 1914-18 are going to engage in lively polemics as to the rôle played by the various fronts and their influence on the issue of the conflict. Up to the present, the western front has exercised an influence that resembles hypnotism, the standing order for three long years being, "The French front and that alone." Throughout the conflict the warnings and counsels of those who could take a larger view went unheeded or were censored off the face of the earth. Any man who raised even a doubt that it was in France and Flanders alone that the war would be decided was regarded as something like a traitor to the allied cause.

But in September, 1918, came the justification of the "easterners." The Serbian Second Army forced the Bulgarian key-position on the Dobra-Polie (where it had been facing the enemy for two long years, powerless to undertake an offensive because the British General Staff refused it the necessary reinforcements) and the whole Army of the Orient poured through the breach. In five days the Bulgarian Army was out of business. Then Turkey collapsed, the Dardanelles were reopened, and the Allies' fleets entered the Black Sea. Next Austria threw up her hands, and the combined Army of the Orient and the Italian Army prepared to attack Germany by the back door and invade Silesia. This it was, more than the successes of the Allies on the western front, that forced Germany to sue for an armistice.

But not even this object lesson has opened the eyes of the incorrigible "westerners." Even General Pershing seems to have failed to grasp the significance of events in the Balkans and continues to attribute undue importance to the operations on the western front. In his official report (see CURRENT HIS-

TORY for January, 1920, Page 67) he says:

We had cut the enemy's main line of communications. Recognizing that nothing but a cessation of hostilities could save his armies from complete disaster he appealed for an armistice on Nov. 6.

This is an error on General Pershing's part. The threatened disaster to their armies only caused the Germans to hasten a resolution they had arrived at a full month before. The truth is that the *Causa causans* of the German collapse was the Balkan disaster. As soon as General Ludendorff received news of the Bulgarian disaster he sent Major Busche to Berlin to inform the Government that the game was up and to tell it that an immediate armistice was absolutely necessary. This armistice was asked for by the German Government on Oct. 6, just one month before the date given by General Pershing.

It is of the utmost importance that the actual facts preceding and leading up to the armistice should be placed on record, otherwise a false legend is created, and there is nothing more difficult to kill than a historic legend once it has a good start.

But it was not only from the point of view of grand strategy that the Allies failed to realize the importance of the eastern theatre of war; the tactical conduct of operations was hampered by almost incredible obstacles placed in the way of the Commander in Chief, General Sarraïl.

I was with the Army of the Orient from the landing of the Serbian Army in June, 1916, until January, 1917, two months after the capture of Monastir. During that time there was, in certain circles, a considerable amount of criticism of General Sarraïl. In justice to him, however, one must remember the difficulties with which he had to contend. He landed his army in a country where means of communication were almost

non-existent, and where it had to work with pick and spade for long, weary months before it could undertake military operations on a large scale. The troops and war material sent out to him were far from being of good quality. Anything that could not be used on the western front was considered good enough for the Army of the Orient.

Then he had the extraordinary political situation in Greece to contend with. It was common knowledge that King Constantine was an out-and-out pro-German and that he was in daily communication with his imperial brother-in-law, the Emperor William. If any disaster had happened to the Army of the Orient it is notorious that King Constantine would have ordered the Greek army to fall on its flank and rear. General Sarrail had to execute all his operations under this standing menace. That it was a very real one is proved by the surrender to Bulgaria, by the King's command, of the Fort of Rupel (the key to the Struma valley) and the city and fortress of Kavalla where he allowed the whole 3d Greek Army Corps to be taken off and interned at Gorlitz in Germany.

But General Sarrail's greatest difficulty was the heterogeneous composition of the army under his command. This consisted of French, British, Serbian, Italian, Russian and, later, Greek contingents. Each of these forces was autonomous, with its own commander and its General Staff. All Sarrail's orders were examined by the commanders of the various contingents and sometimes referred by them to their Governments. The only contingents on which the Commander in Chief could rely for implicit obedience were the Serbian and the Russian ones. Even the latter, after the Russian revolution, became permeated with the Soviet spirit and ceased to be dependable.

But the extraordinary example of "how not to run a campaign" was furnished by the relations of the commander of the British contingent and the Commander in Chief.

This state of affairs has been revealed in a declaration made by General Sarrail (apropos of the publication of a book

entitled "Joffre," with the sub-title, "First Crisis in the High Command"). As the greater part of this declaration was made under oath, we may unhesitatingly accept it as a true statement of the situation. It proves that, whatever



GENERAL SARRAIL  
*Commander in Chief, Army of the Orient*

may have been the military situation, the political situation was simply chaotic. It runs as follows:

A legend is growing that the Army of the Orient remained for a long time in 1916 in a state of inaction. A recent book, of which the sub-title is "First Crisis in the High Command," affirms that General Joffre gave me an order to attack on Aug. 10 and that I did not execute it. This is a complete error. I am ignorant of what was taking place between the various European chancelleries; I do not know if the instructions given by the French Government to General Joffre were exactly interpreted in the order which I received, but, as I have already declared under oath in a recent court-martial, this is exactly what took place:

On April 30 I was asked to submit a plan of operations responding to the following directive: "The Army of the Orient will attack with its united forces at the moment I judge opportune. Joffre."



On June 6, General Milne, commanding the British forces, informed me that, by order of his Government, he could not take part in this offensive, as the Balkan policy was not regarded in the same light in Paris and in London.

I reported this to Paris, but added that this contretemps would not prevent my attacking with the Serbian and French forces alone.

On June 12 a reply was received. I had declared I was attacking. The instructions received could be summarized as follows: "No offensive action, a simple concentration on the frontier to threaten the enemy." I do not insist on the series of modifications of this orientation which were sent me successively; it was easy to understand that each of them was being adapted to diplomatic contingencies. Finally I was warned on July 17 that the Allies' armies would probably engage about Aug. 1. On July 23 I received approbation of a new general plan of offensive which I had drawn up and a fresh notice to hold myself ready to engage the Bulgarian forces at a date which would be communicated to me later, but which would probably be Aug. 1.

On July 29 a fresh telegram postponed the probable date of operations to Aug. 4.

On Aug. 3, when everything was ready, a counterorder arrived. The date of the operations could not be given precisely, but I would be informed of it without delay.

On Aug. 6 I was informed by the General commanding the British forces that Rumania would not declare war on Bulgaria, and that this would prevent any British participation in any offensive whatever. A telegram from G. H. Q. confirmed this situation. "In consequence," it added, "your sole mission

consists in harassing the enemy forces on the frontier."

I had made everybody make repeated efforts to be ready to attack, and it was now no longer a question of a general attack, but simply of a few local actions to be undertaken by the French troops alone.

Under these conditions, and on my own responsibility, I decided to begin at least one serious operation in order that those undertaking it would feel that they had not worked in vain, and which, on the other hand, would permit me to feel out the enemy and see his game. I reserved my future action. In the general plan which had been approved, the decisive effort was to have been made against the enemy's centre, with a secondary effort against Doiran. On Aug. 10 I undertook a diversion toward Doiran. The attack was carried out during the following days and had a lively reactive effect on the enemy.

In the midst of these operations I at last received a final directive: "Attack three days after the signature of the accord with Rumania." This accord was signed on Aug. 17. I was, therefore, by order of G. H. Q., to wait until Aug. 20 before taking a general offensive. But on the 17th, three days before General Joffre allowed me to take the offensive, the Bulgarians attacked my two flanks.

This simple enumeration of the orders received suffices, without comment, to prove that the book entitled "Joffre" contains an inexactitude, whether deliberate or not, when it affirms that I did not obey an order to attack on Aug. 10. It proves, on the other hand, that the famous inaction of the Army of the Orient, the favorite theme of a series of newspaper articles, was, up to Aug. 20, desired and ordered by the French G. H. Q. itself,

## The Amritsar Riots in India

### Official Report Censuring the British General Who Killed Hundreds by Firing Into an Excited Crowd

INDIA was the scene of serious riots in March and April, 1919, culminating in the killing at Amritsar, in the Punjab, of 379 natives and the wounding of about 1,100 by Indian Government forces under General Dyer. The Amritsar episode caused intense excitement throughout India. The Indian Government, deeply stirred by the dangerous

situation, asked and received the approval of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, to appoint a Government commission to investigate the occurrences. This commission was appointed in the middle of October, 1919. It was made up of five British and three Indian members, with Lord Hunter as President.

After investigations covering many months in the regions where the disturbances occurred, the Hunter commission finished its report and the document was published in England on May 26, 1920, in the form of a Blue Book. It was made up of the following State papers: A majority report presented by the British members of the commission; a minority report, presented by the Indian members; a dispatch from the Government of India to the India Office indorsing the majority report, and a dispatch from the Secretary of State for India, inclining to the views expressed by the minority report.

The majority report deals with the outbreaks at Delhi and in the Punjab. It is signed by four of the British members of the commission: Justice Rankin, W. F. Rice, Major Gen. Sir George Barrow and Thomas Smith. It reviews the first outbreak in Delhi on March 30, 1919, when a *hartal* (shutting of shops) took place as part of the movement of *satyagraha* (passive resistance) organized by the Indian Nationalist, Mr. Gandhi, against the terms of the Rowlatt law. The report states that the crowds became intractable, that bricks were thrown at the police and military, that firing took place then and subsequently, as a result of which several men were killed and wounded. These disturbances, the report concedes, never took the form of an organized conspiracy against the Government. The outbreaks are explained as due to a general feeling of dissatisfaction following the war, and, among the poorer classes, a feeling of disappointment that prices had not fallen after the armistice to their pre-war level. Firing, it is stated, was not resorted to until all other methods had failed and lasted no longer than necessary to restore order and prevent a disastrous outbreak. For all casualties incurred the rioters alone are held responsible. The report praises the troops for their restraint under trying circumstances and declares that the orders issued were not excessive. The belief that all groups of more than ten men would be fired on without warning did much, it states, to restore order. As a

matter of fact, it adds, this instruction was never literally carried out.

Other outbreaks reviewed by the report occurred at Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat, and at Viramgam. In Ahmedabad 40,000 workmen employed in seventy-eight mills began rioting on receipt of false reports of the arrest of the Indian Nationalist, Mr. Gandhi. In actual fact, Mr. Gandhi had been refused entrance to Ahmedabad, his native city, owing to his organization and fostering of the "passive resistance" movement. One constable and a military Sergeant were killed by the rioters. Of the latter, 28 were killed and 123 wounded. Considerable property was destroyed. At Viramgam a traffic inspector was beaten senseless with sticks and his life was saved only by smuggling him away on an engine down the line. Mr. Madhavia, a Government Magistrate, was murdered. Four out of twenty-two other wounded persons died. The total casualties among the rioters were six killed and eighteen wounded during six hours' of fierce rioting in which the armed police guard behaved with great spirit. Fifty men were tried for offenses connected with the rioting. Of these twenty-seven were convicted and the rest acquitted.

### THE PUNJAB RIOTS

These various outbreaks, which were easily suppressed, were cast into insignificance by the riots which began at Amritsar, in the Punjab, on April 10, 1919. Two *hartals* occurred without disorder. Then a poster was exhibited calling on the people to "kill and die." The Deputy Commissioner, Miles Irving, pressed urgently for an increase of the military forces, declaring that otherwise nine-tenths of the city would have to be abandoned if rioting began. The Punjab Government replied by ordering the deportation of two troublesome local politicians—Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew—and by agreeing to the strengthening of the garrison. News of the deportations spread through the city and an angry crowd assembled before the Deputy Commissioner's house. The report declares that the Deputy Commissioner was



wholly within his rights in preventing the crowd from entering the civil lines. Great destruction of property occurred and the crowd continued to grow, in spite of occasional firing. The crowd showed a "murderous antipathy" to all Europeans. A Government Sergeant was murdered. A missionary received brutal treatment, described as follows:

Miss Sherwood, a lady missionary, was pursued by a mob when bicycling in a narrow street on her way to one of her schools. \* \* \* She was intercepted and overtaken, knocked down by blows on the head, beaten while on the ground; when she got up to run she was knocked down again more than once; a door which she tried to enter was slammed in her face; in the end she was left on the street because she was thought to be dead. We should not omit to point out that she was afterward picked up by some Hindus, by whose action she was enabled to receive medical attention in time, as we understand, to save her life.

The perpetrators of these crimes were shown by the trial records to have been, not reputable citizens of Amritsar, but hooligans. The total number killed on April 10 was ten. Two days later a strong column under General Dyer marched round the city and many of the inhabitants spat on the ground as the troops passed.

#### GENERAL DYER'S DRASTIC ACTION

General Dyer began his repressive measures by a severe proclamation against violence. This was characterized by the natives as "bluff," and it was believed that he would not fulfill his threat of firing in case disorders began. On April 13 General Dyer heard that a throng, estimated at 20,000, were holding a meeting in defiance of the proclamation. He went there at once, accompanied by a number of pickets, a special force of twenty-five Gurkhas and twenty-five Baluchis armed with rifles, forty Gurkhas armed with *kukris*, and two armored cars, which he left outside the place of meeting. Without giving the crowd any warning to disperse, he ordered his troops to fire and the firing was continued for about ten minutes. In all some 1,650 rounds were fired. Approximately 379 people were killed, of whom 87 were strangers. The number

of the wounded was probably nearly 1,100. The report criticises the General both for opening fire without warning and for continuing it after the crowd had begun to disperse.

In continuing firing as long as he did [says the report] it is evident that General Dyer had in view not merely the dispersal of the crowd that had assembled contrary to his orders but the desire to produce a moral effect on the Punjab. In his report he says: "I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed, and I consider this is the least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral and widespread effect it was my duty to produce if I was to justify my action. If more troops had been at hand the casualties would have been greater in proportion. It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect from a military point of view, not only on those who were present but more especially throughout the Punjab. There could be no question of undue severity."

In our view, this was unfortunately a mistaken conception of his duty. If necessary, a crowd that has assembled contrary to a proclamation issued to prevent or terminate disorder may have to be fired upon; but continued firing upon that crowd cannot be justified, because of the effect such firing may have upon people in other places. The employment of excessive measures is as likely as not to produce the opposite result to that desired.

In contrast with this finding by the commission the report shows that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor at Lahore, approved of General Dyer's action. In his report Sir Michael, after stating that General Dyer's report was telegraphed to him the morning after the rioting by General Beynon, expressed this approval as follows:

I approved of General Dyer's action in dispersing by force the rebellious gathering and thus preventing further rebellious acts. It was not for me to say that he had gone too far when I was told by his superior officer (General Beynon) that he fully approved General Dyer's action. Speaking with perhaps a more intimate knowledge of the then situation than any one else, I have no hesitation in saying that General Dyer's action that day was the decisive factor in crushing the rebellion, the seriousness of which is only now being generally realized.

The majority report comments on this as follows:

The action taken by General Dyer has

also been described by others as having saved the situation in the Punjab and having averted a rebellion on a scale similar to the mutiny. It does not, however, appear to us possible to draw this conclusion, particularly in view of the fact that it is not proved that a conspiracy to overthrow British power had been formed prior to the outbreaks.

The whole situation, declares this part of the report, was such as to make the declaration of *de facto* martial law inevitable; but General Dyer's action in continuing to fire so long after the people began to disperse is characterized as a "grave error."

### THE CRAWLING ORDER

General Dyer's other action in issuing what has come to be known as the "crawling order" was made the object of especially severe condemnation by the report. According to this order, no Indians were to pass the point at which Miss Sherwood had been assaulted except on all fours. Altogether about fifty people were made to crawl, including six men, who were flogged for a breach of fort discipline and afterward convicted of the offense against Miss Sherwood. The report says:

The order is certainly open to the objection that it caused unnecessary inconvenience to a number of people and that it unnecessarily punished innocent as well as guilty. Above all, from an administrative point of view, in subjecting the Indian population to an act of humiliation, it has continued to be a cause of bitterness and racial ill-feeling long after it was recalled.

Other chapters of the majority report dealt with disturbances of a minor character in the town and district of Lahore and at Gujranwala, about thirty-six miles from Lahore. Several posters of a seditious and inflammatory character were noteworthy for the bitter hatred expressed against the English. One read in part as follows:

We are the Indian Nation, whose bravery and honor have been acknowledged by all the Kings of the world. The English are the orst lot and are like monkeys (sic), whose deceit and cunning are obvious to all, high and low. Have these monkeys forgotten their original conditions? Now these faithless people have forgotten the loyalty of Indians, are bent upon exercising limitless tyranny. O

brethren, gird up your loins and fight. Kill and be killed. Do not lose courage and try your utmost to turn those mean monkeys from your holy country.

Serious disorders in Gujranwala were suppressed only by the use of bomb-carrying airplanes, whose employment the majority report upheld in view of the fact that all communications had been cut by the rioters and the situation for the Government forces was desperate.

### THE MINORITY REPORT

The minority report was signed by the following Indians: Pandit Jagat Narayan, member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces; Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, Advocate of the High Court, Bombay, and Sardar Sahizzada Sultan Ahmed Khan, Barrister, member for Appeals, Gwalior State. These were the three native members of the Hunter commission. The minority report which they brought in showed a clear-cut divergency from the majority report on racial lines. It agrees with the majority report that firing was necessary to suppress disorder in the five districts of the Punjab, but takes exception to the bombing from airplanes and some of the firing from armed trains. It rejects the idea of an organized rebellion and discredits the report that attempts were made to seduce soldiers and police from their loyalty. In a chapter called "The Real Nature of the Disorder" it cites as an important source of unrest the following:

The Imperial Government had made a declaration of policy by which the attainment by India of responsible government by successive stages was put forward as the goal, and the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy, having gone round the country and ascertained the views of the public as to the manner in which that policy was to be given effect to, had published the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Great expectations were thereby raised, and when it was said that the Government of India were likely to suggest modifications therein of a somewhat illiberal character, that news had caused considerable irritation.

This irritation was felt particularly in the Punjab, the minority report states, where Sir Michael O'Dwyer had "come



to be regarded by the educated and politically-minded classes as opposed to their aspirations." The Rowlatt act had caused further discontent. "It ascribes the anti-British demonstrations of the mob in Amritsar and other places, not to an organized rebellion, but to a sudden development, "the result of a frenzy with which the people became seized at the moment." It declares, on the basis of a long legal argument, that the establishment and the continuance of martial law were unjustified. Charges of a prepared revolution made by Mrs. Annie Besant in a letter to The Times of India of April 18, 1919, are discredited as due to insufficient knowledge. Regarding the shooting at Amritsar the minority report expresses the strongest condemnation of General Dyer:

He fired on this meeting and killed about 400 people and wounded about 1,200; because, in his view, they were rebels, and he was "going to give them a lesson," and "punish them" and "make a wide impression" and "strike terror throughout the Punjab," and he "wanted to reduce the morale of the rebels." That was why he began to fire without warning and without calling upon them to disperse. He continued firing even when the people began to run away and went on firing till his ammunition was nearly exhausted. Now because certain people, on April 10, had committed certain outrages at Amritsar, to treat the whole population of Amritsar as rebels was unjustifiable; it was still more unjustifiable to fire at the meeting, which was not engaged in doing any violence, in order to give them a lesson and to punish them, because they had disobeyed his orders prohibiting meetings. It is clear that there must have been a considerable number of people who were perfectly innocent and who had never in all probability heard of the proclamation.

#### INDIAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEW

The Government of India, in forwarding the report, expressed satisfaction at its unanimity in respect to matters of fact seen in both the majority and the minority report. It weighed carefully all the extenuating circumstances of General Dyer's action, including the high character of his military record, and expressed its opinion as follows:

We can arrive at no other conclusion than that \* \* \* General Dyer acted beyond the necessity of the case, beyond what any reasonable man could have thought to be necessary, and that he did not act with as much humanity as the case permitted.

In a long dispatch from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India the whole case of General Dyer is reviewed and he is severely blamed for action considered unjustifiable, unwise and contrary to the policy of the British Government. The Secretary adds that "it is impossible to regard him as fitted to remain intrusted with the responsibilities which his rank and position impose upon him. You have reported to me that the Commander in Chief has directed Brig. Gen. R. E. H. Dyer to resign his appointment as Brigade Commander, has informed him that he would receive no further employment in India, and that you have concurred. I approve this decision and the circumstances of the case have been referred to the Army Council."

The National Congress Committee, which was sitting *in camera* at Benares at the beginning of June, condemned the majority report of the Hunter Commission on the ground of racial bias, and as emphasizing the tendency to regard Indian life and honor as of little consequence. The *satyagraha* (passive resistance movement) is held to be justified, as tending to restrain violence. In contrast with this the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore on June 2 upheld the findings of the majority report and maintained that the Government of India is correct in declaring that General Dyer's action probably saved the Punjab.

The Army Council on July 7 upheld the action of the Commander in Chief and set its final approval on the sentence which removes General Dyer from his position as commander and forbids his holding any further army position in India. In making this announcement Winston Spencer Churchill, Secretary for War, said: "Dyer cannot be acquitted on an error of judgment."

# CURRENT HISTORY

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
POLAND'S MILITARY CRISIS (Map) . . . . .	919
SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES . . . . .	925
THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL . . . . . By John Spargo	932
ENGLAND'S REAL ATTITUDE ON IRELAND By Viscount James Bryce	939
INCREASED STRENGTH OF UNITED STATES ON THE SEA By Thomas G. Frothingham	943
AMERICAN CONTROL IN THE WEST INDIES . By Elbridge Colby	953
CANADA'S NAVAL POLICY . . . . . By D. M. Le Bourdais	960
ORIGINAL TERMS OF THE PEACE TREATY: GERMANY'S LOST OPPORTUNITY . . . . .	964
THE BOLSHEVIKI AND THE RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS . .	966
RESCUING SERBIA FROM THE TYPHUS SCOURGE . . . .	974
RUSSIA'S AGONY. By a former member of Kolchak's staff. (II.)	975
SIBERIA AND THE JAPANESE ARMY . . . . .	983
JAPAN'S POSITION IN SIBERIA . . . . . By Leo Pasvolksky	987
WHAT THE CHINESE REPUBLIC IS DOING (Map) By Tingfu F. Tsiang	992
THE MARCH OF SCIENCE:	
White Coal for Black: Electricity From Water Power . . .	1001
Scientific Progress in Other Lines . . . . .	1003
THE AMERICA'S CUP REMAINS AT HOME . . . . .	1006
SENTIMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES . . . . .	1006
CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF . . . . .	1007
BEST CARTOONS OF THE MONTH FROM MANY NATIONS . .	1007

*Contents Continued on Next Page*

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## Table of Contents—Continued

	PAGE
CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS . . . . .	1035
ITALY'S MOST SOCIALISTIC CITY . . . . .	1038
IRELAND'S REIGN OF TERROR—AND WHY	
By John W. Harding	1039
IRELAND'S INDEPENDENCE . . . . .	1046
By Michael O'Reilly	1046
SIGNING OF THE TURKISH PEACE TREATY . . . . .	1077
JAPAN'S OCCUPATION OF SAGHALIN . . . . .	1086
AMONG THE NATIONS: A WORLDWIDE SURVEY:	
Events in the British Empire . . . . .	1050
Developments in France and Italy . . . . .	1057
Belgium's Alliance With France . . . . .	1063
Germany in a Mood for Treaty Fulfillment . . . . .	1064
Hungary and Her Neighbors . . . . .	1067
Progress in Scandinavian Countries . . . . .	1069
The Caucasus Republics . . . . .	1072
States of the Balkan Peninsula . . . . .	1085
Mexico's Progress Toward Law and Order . . . . .	1089
Other Latin-American Republics . . . . .	1092
THE LEAGUE COUNCIL AT SAN SEBASTIAN . . . . .	1096
A MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES . . . . .	1098
THE RAILWAY LABOR BOARD'S AWARD . . . . .	1101

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NATIONS TREATED:

	PAGE		PAGE
ALBANIA . . . . .	1085	ITALY . . . . .	1060
ARGENTINA . . . . .	1092	JAPAN . . . . .	1086
ARMENIA . . . . .	1075	JUGOSLAVIA . . . . .	1085
AUSTRALIA . . . . .	1056	MEXICO . . . . .	1089
AUSTRIA . . . . .	1068	MESOPOTAMIA . . . . .	1084
AZERBAIJAN . . . . .	1072	NEW ZEALAND . . . . .	1057
BELGIUM . . . . .	1063	NICARAGUA . . . . .	1094
BOLIVIA . . . . .	1092	NORWAY . . . . .	1071
BRAZIL . . . . .	1093	PALESTINE . . . . .	1082
BULGARIA . . . . .	1085	PANAMA . . . . .	1094
CANADA . . . . .	1055	PERSIA . . . . .	1084
CHILE . . . . .	1093	PERU . . . . .	1093
CHINA . . . . .	1088	POLAND . . . . .	919
COSTA RICA . . . . .	1094	PORTUGAL . . . . .	1062
CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . . .	1069	RUSSIA . . . . .	975
DENMARK . . . . .	1069	SALVADOR . . . . .	1094
ENGLAND . . . . .	1053	SWEDEN . . . . .	1071
FRANCE . . . . .	1057	SWITZERLAND . . . . .	1062
GEORGIA . . . . .	1073	SYRIA . . . . .	1079
GERMANY . . . . .	1064	THRACE . . . . .	1078
GREECE . . . . .	1085	TURKEY . . . . .	1077
GUATEMALA . . . . .	1094	UNITED STATES . . . . .	1098
HOLLAND . . . . .	1063	URUGUAY . . . . .	1093
HUNGARY . . . . .	1067	WEST INDIES . . . . .	1094
IRELAND . . . . .	1050		

# POLAND'S MILITARY CRISIS

## Desperate Struggle of the New Republic's Armies to Repel the Russian Drive on Warsaw

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 18, 1920]

A NEW European crisis, declared by the allied statesmen to equal in seriousness that precipitated in 1914 by Germany, was brought on during the month under review by the collapse of the Polish armies and by the Soviet determination to take Warsaw before beginning negotiations for an armistice. The danger of the spread of Bolshevism to Western Europe across Germany could not be minimized. Despite the difficulties of the situation, the allied powers strove to aid Poland, dispatching large supplies of arms and munitions via Danzig and the Baltic ports, sending Ambassadors and missions to Warsaw to bear encouragement, and contributing Generals and military advisers to help stem the onrushing Bolshevik torrent. Relations between the Allies and Moscow reached the breaking point on Aug. 8, following the receipt of a refusal to accede to the allied demand for an immediate armistice of ten days, and the British and French Premiers, then in session at Hythe, England, drew up drastic plans to compel the Soviet Government to stop the Red armies' advance and to make peace with Poland on terms which did not threaten her independence and territorial integrity. At that time the Soviet armies were rapidly enveloping the Polish capital. After the middle of August, however, the Polish defense grew stronger, and on Aug. 18, when these pages went to press, the Red armies were being driven back all along the line around Warsaw.

### SOVIET CAMPAIGN IN POLAND

The Polish military defeats in their campaign against the Bolsheviks, already serious toward the end of last month, became decisive during the latter half of July and the first weeks in August. The Poles were compelled to abandon Minsk on July 9. Bolshevik

agents openly preached sedition, distributed propaganda in carts and started incendiary fires before the Poles left. Shops were sacked, private dwellings broken into and looted. Vilna was occupied by the Red soldiers on July 14, despite the heroic resistance of a battalion of 1,000 Polish women, who held an eight-mile front of the line defending the city. Hand-to-hand fighting occurred in the streets. Some 60,000 persons evacuated the city, using all kinds of vehicles. Further progress was made by the Reds south and southeast of Vilna. The Bolshevik sweep across Lithuania gave the Russians possession of large grain supplies.

The capture of Grodno was announced on July 22. In three weeks the Poles had retreated from the Beresina to the Niemen River, 150 miles from Warsaw. A southward advance of the Bolsheviks was checked by a new Polish army, and the Red forces were driven back to the edge of the province of Grodno. Heavy fighting along the Bug River continued. Despite occasional checks, however, the Bolshevik advance on Warsaw continued both from the north and from the south, where Budenny's cavalry, often appearing behind the Polish lines, harassed and disconcerted the Polish forces.

Warsaw was at fever heat; munitions unloaded at Danzig by the British were being rushed to the front, and preparations to defend the Polish capital were being redoubled. Fresh drafts of conscripts and many volunteers, including women and boys of 14 or 15 years of age, were moving to the battle line. The Government, in its extremity, called to the colors the classes of 1890 and 1895 for the defense of the Vistula and San districts. French officers were arriving daily to act as technical advisers at Polish General Headquarters in the preparations for Warsaw's final stand. The British,





AREA FOUGHT OVER DURING THE CONFLICT BETWEEN POLAND AND SOVIET RUSSIA.  
HORIZONTAL SHADING INDICATES EXTENT OF POLISH RETREAT ON AUG. 15, 1920

French and Italian Missions joined in conferences with the leaders of the Polish State. The Bolshevik invasion, however, could not be stayed.

### RUSSIAN ADVANCE CONTINUES

Reports of Red Cross workers painted a dramatic picture of the flight of thousands of refugees from the Soviet army's inexorable advance. Fresh graves of children and aged people lined the roadsides. The smoke of burning fields and farms marked the progress of the Russian forces. Much in the situation resembled the conditions in Northern France in 1914. Weak and hungry, but struggling, panic-stricken, to outstrip the Bolshevik pursuers, the refugees plodded onward in a constant tide which, from a distance, looked like a black river in ceaseless flow.

Flushed with victory, the Red army disregarded orders sent by Moscow on July 26 to stay its advance in view of the negotiations for an armistice. The Russian leader, Tuchachevsky, replied that his command refused to obey the order and declared that it was the rule of good commanders to fight until an armistice was actually in effect. The triumphant march continued. The Polish border was crossed on the north. Another drive headed southwest brought the Red troops within fifty miles of Warsaw by July 30.

At this time the northern wing of the Polish Army was in indescribable confusion; all roads were blocked and the troops were suffering from a hopeless lack of ammunition. Disorganized divisions crossed and recrossed each other aimlessly. Brest-Litovsk was reached by the Reds on July 31. The turn in the tide

expected from the transfer of command to General Haller—former head of the Polish division in France—did not materialize. The Polish defense, however, stiffened somewhat, and the Poles declared that they would fight to the death. On Aug. 3 both of the two armies charged with the defense of Warsaw were in steady retreat between the Narew and Bug Rivers and in the region of Brest-Litovsk—the first of the great chain of fortresses defending the approach to Warsaw—which the Bolsheviks had captured.

By the subsequent capture of Lomza, the Bolsheviks completed the line running north from Brest-Litovsk through Bialystok, and thus threatened to cut the Danzig "corridor" and deprive the Poles of the supplies of arms and munitions arriving daily on French and British ships. They then massed heavy attacks upon Lemberg, the second great barrier upon the south.

#### ENVELOPMENT OF WARSAW

The Poles had thrown up defenses on the west bank of the Bug, preparing for the last stand. Reports that the Polish Government would move to a place near the Silesian frontier were denied by Premier Wittos on Aug. 8, though at this time the case for Warsaw looked desperate; the Bolsheviks were massing troops in the region of Mlawa, north of the capital, for a combined drive. They were within thirty-six miles of Warsaw on the northeast, and the outer forts of the city were being bombarded. Great throngs had crowded the railway stations for days, flying before the storm, unmindful of the bitter criticism of the press, which declared that they should not be allowed to return. Warsaw was a beehive of activity, with artillery, cavalry and infantry constantly passing through the streets. Thousands of men were working on the defenses on the east bank of the Vistula. A Communist plot to blow up the General Headquarters was foiled at the last moment, and many persons were arrested. With their backs to the wall, the Polish forces awaited the final onslaught of the victorious Bolshevik hordes. The Soviet

troops were only twenty miles from Warsaw on Aug. 13, and were encircling the city from three directions. General Haller's army was being relentlessly pushed back upon the capital.

#### ARMISTICE NEGOTIATIONS

During this uninterrupted advance of the Red armies the Moscow authorities had ostensibly declared their willingness to conclude an armistice with the Polish Government; but, on one pretext or another, the beginning of negotiations was delayed while Trotsky's armies swept on to capture Warsaw. After promising an immediate armistice on July 22 the Bolsheviks postponed the deliberations until the 26th, then to the 31st. The Polish delegation presented its credentials to the Bolshevik representatives at Baranovitchi on Aug. 1, but the latter declared that no armistice negotiations could be begun until the Poles received a mandate from Warsaw to sign the full terms of peace. The Poles declared that they must return to Poland and submit the question personally. They left on Aug. 2. After further delays Poland offered to send its delegates to Minsk for the conclusion of an armistice and the adoption of peace preliminaries. Moscow replied to the Polish note within a few hours and announced that Russian delegates would arrive at Minsk on Aug. 11.

Other delays followed, but the negotiations at last got under way, as noted at the end of this article.

#### CLASH WITH THE ALLIES

Great Britain's note of July 11, proposing an immediate armistice with Poland through the agency of the Allies, was rejected by the Moscow note of July 20, in which the Bolshevik authorities declared that they must treat directly with Poland. Through its wireless stations the Moscow Government circulated the text of an official explanation and justification of its action, addressed to "the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine," in which it gave the substance of its reply to London, and expressed itself as follows:

The British Government addressed a proposal to us on July 11 to stop the war against Poland, and to begin peace nego-



tiations with Poland and other border States, promising that the Polish troops, in the case of an armistice being concluded, would retreat to the frontier marked out last year by the Peace Conference. In the same note it is declared that Wrangel and his Crimean "shelter" should not be touched. To all this, we, the Council of People's Commissaries, answered by a refusal. In regard to our action, we are giving an account to the



**GENERAL LESNIEWSKI**  
*Polish Minister of War*

Russian and Ukrainian peoples, expressing our firm assurance that our words will reach the people of Poland. \* \* \*

If England had not desired war, she would have stopped supplying Poland with munitions and money. England is carrying on negotiations with us as a concession to her working masses. Lord Curzon bases himself upon the League of Nations, in whose name he is making these proposals, but Poland enters into the composition of this league—Poland, who commenced a robber war against us. All the members of the league, especially France, England and America, are bound hand-in-hand in this provocative war of Poland against Russia and the Ukraine. We appealed in March to the Poles to hold back the threatening blow and the raised hand, but they did not answer us. Now that the Red army has dealt a cruel blow to the Polish White Guard troops, England proposes to us her mediation for an armistice with Poland. \* \* \*

Its refusal to accept "hostile media-

tion," the Moscow Government explained, did not mean that its policy of making peace with small nations and recognizing their national rights had undergone change. This was proved, it declared, by its action in making peace with Esthonia, Georgia and Lithuania, and its then-continuing negotiations with Finland, via Latvia and Armenia. It was ready to do the same with Poland, and to give the Poles an even more favorable frontier than that laid down by the allied powers. But the Poles themselves must ask for peace.

### ALLIED GOVERNMENTS STIRRED

The Poles, acting on the advice of the allied Governments, then applied directly to the Lenin Government for an armistice, and the Bolshevik authorities granted this and set the successive dates mentioned above. The failure of Moscow to open these negotiations, combined with the terrific onslaughts against the Polish capital, stirred both France and England deeply. Premier Lloyd George, addressing the House of Commons on July 21, declared that Great Britain and France would take joint action to arm Poland's 300,000 volunteers, assailed the policy of the Moscow Soviet, and warned of a new German peril if the Bolsheviks should succeed in crushing Poland.

A special allied mission, headed by Ambassadors Jusserand and d'Abernon, was also sent to bring the Poles assurance of allied backing. Great satisfaction was expressed in Paris over the British Premier's statement in Parliament. France's determination to stand by the Poles was strongly expressed by Premier Millerand before the French Senate on July 24, following the receipt of news that Moscow had granted Poland's request for armistice negotiations.

### CONFLICT WITH MOSCOW

The conference of the British and French Premiers at Boulogne followed, July 27, as the result of which a new note was sent to Moscow. The new note insisted on the original plan and on the subordination of all discussion to the Polish question, at the same time asking Moscow to explain its formulation of a different plan. It was officially an-

nounced on July 30 that the allied Premiers had also dispatched a note to the Warsaw Government, in which they declared that Poland would not be permitted to accept possible Soviet armistice demands involving the four following principles:

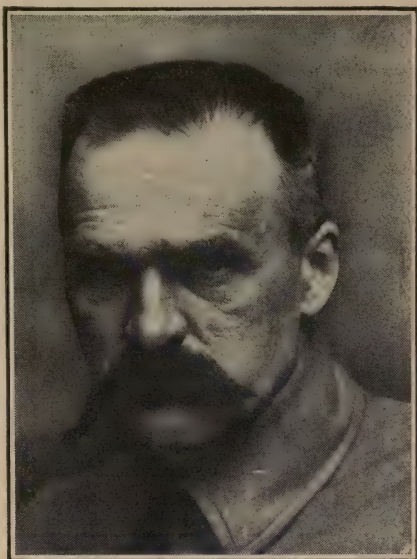
1. Whole or partial disarmament of Poland.
2. A change in the Polish system of government dictated or brought about by the Soviets.
3. Acceptance by Poland of a boundary line less favorable than that originally drawn by the Peace Conference.
4. The use of Poland as a "bridge" in any sense between Russia and Germany.

Meanwhile the allied Governments poured great supplies of munitions into Warsaw from Danzig—where the British High Commissioner compelled recalcitrant dock laborers to do the necessary unloading—by way of the Baltic, and through Russia and Czechoslovakia. Other supplies were dispatched from England and France. Overtures to aid Poland and support the Allies were received from Finland, Latvia, Rumania and especially Hungary, whose Government offered to put a large army in the field against the Russians. The Allies reserved this proffered aid as a last card. Large numbers of allied officers arrived in Poland to organize the Polish defense. It later developed that the Poles failed to accept the military advice offered by the allied counselors, insisting on keeping a large force in Galicia to prevent its seizure by the Reds and declining for a time to allow General Weygand, the French General, to take over the direction of military operations.

#### TRUCE REJECTION BY MOSCOW BRINGS CRISIS

Kamenev and Krassin, who had arrived in London toward the beginning of August, held a five-hour conference with Lloyd George and Bonar Law on Aug. 6. They transmitted a note from Moscow, which, though conciliatory in tone, cast the blame for the delay in opening armistice negotiations upon the Poles, insisted on direct dealings with Poland and on the London Conference being composed only of Soviet and allied representatives. Through Kamenev and

Krassin, Lloyd George sent word to the Moscow authorities that they must agree to a ten-day truce with Poland, and asked for an immediate reply which could be considered by Lloyd George and M. Millerand at a meeting arranged to occur at Hythe, England, on Aug. 8.



GENERAL JOSEPH PILSUDSKI  
*Provisional President of Poland and commander of Poland's armies*

The gravity of the situation was so impressed on the Soviet delegates that they advised their Government to accede to the original allied demands. In the House of Commons on Aug. 6 the British Premier declared the allied Governments would bring force to bear if all other measures failed. Everything, he said, depended on the reply of the Moscow Government.

Moscow's reply, when it came, refused the ten days' truce. This was a severe blow to Lloyd George's peace efforts, and resulted in the conference assuming a warlike aspect. The receipt of two new notes from Moscow, one consenting to withdraw the Soviet troops from the Polish boundary line laid down by the Supreme Council in 1919, contingent on Poland's acceptance of the armistice terms, as well as to reduce the





TOWN HALL AT WARSAW, THE POLISH CAPITAL, THREATENED BY RUSSIAN INVASION

(© American Press Association)

number of troops on this line, and the other giving the status of the armistice negotiations and Poland's consent to send her delegates to Minsk, did not impair the seriousness of the crisis.

The action of the French Government in recognizing the *de facto* Government of Wrangel came to the British Premier as a complete surprise. For this recognition, which was decided on independently of Great Britain, and in contravention of the agreement at Hythe that no definite action against Russia should be taken until the result of the Minsk conference was learned, see the article on Russia on Page 925 of this issue.

#### PERIL OF WARSAW

In Warsaw, disaster hovered. According to Major Gen. Henry T. Allen, Commander in Chief of the American Army of Occupation in Germany, who had been kept in close touch with Warsaw, the Poles had only 100,000 men to oppose to 165,000 Bolshevik troops, and their situation was desperate. Too tardily the Poles asked General Weygand, the French commander, to assume command of their armies, and the capture of the Polish capital was considered a matter

of but a short time. Nearly 100,000 men, women and children, headed by Bishops and priests bearing church banners and relics, marched through the main streets singing hymns. Onlookers bared their heads as they passed, while detachments of soldiers headed for the front marched grimly by. The citizens declared that they would fight to a man to prevent the city's capture.

Then, unexpectedly, the tide of battle turned about Aug. 15. The Poles massed their forces around Warsaw and organized counterattacks on both the left and right wings. The offensive on the left wing was led by the French Generals, Henry and Billotte. By Aug. 18 it had placed the Poles again in possession of the key to the Warsaw defenses—the fork between the Narew and Bug Rivers. Other forces marching toward Mława at this time made considerable headway toward reopening the direct railway line to Danzig and drove the Bolsheviks eastward from the Fortress of Thorn. Meantime the offensive on the right wing, between the Vistula and the Bug, threatened the communications of the main Bolshevik forces. This movement gained rapid headway and drove the



POLISH WOMEN SOLDIERS GUARDING A PUBLIC BUILDING IN VILNA. EACH DISTRICT IN THE MILITARY ZONES OF POLAND HAS ITS WOMAN'S BATTALION  
(© Keystone View Co.)

Bolsheviki back from twenty-five to fifty miles all along the line. These successes relieved the strain in Warsaw, and the Council of Ministers posted up a proclamation describing Poland's latest achievement in eloquent terms.

At the same time the Moscow Government was claiming successes at various points. It announced the continuance of fierce fighting northeast of Novo Georgievsk and of Warsaw. Trotsky, in a public address at Moscow, declared on the 18th that the reverses of the Red armies before the Polish capital in no way altered the state of affairs, all the more as the front was now "divided into two parts—military and diplomatic."

While the Polish armies were winning on the military front, peace negotiations

were under way at Minsk. The Soviet terms were read to the Polish delegates at the first session on Aug. 17. M. Danishevsky, the Bolshevik Chairman, emphasized Russia's respect for Poland's independence and for her right to determine her own form of government, and declared that Russia accorded Poland even more territory than the Entente, but insisted that Russia must demand from the landlords of Poland substantial guarantees against renewed attacks. The Polish delegates received the peace terms and proposed to hold the next sitting on Aug. 19, but the Russians insisted that it be held on Aug. 18, to which the Poles finally agreed. M. Danishevsky stated later that all proceedings would be open—there would be no secret diplomacy.

## Soviet Russia and the United States

### Secretary Colby's Note Refusing to Recognize the Bolshevik Government—The Month in Russia

THE most important event of the month in relation to Russia—apart from the war with Poland, which is treated in the first pages of this magazine—was the act of the United States Government in issuing a clear and definite statement of its decision not to

recognize the present Soviet Government of Russia, while reiterating a similarly firm resolve not to sanction any attempt to impair the territorial integrity of Russia itself, and expressing the strongest confidence in the ultimate destiny of the Russian people.



This statement which aroused a considerable sensation, both in this country and abroad, was embodied in a note sent on Aug. 10 by Mr. Colby, Secretary of State, to Baron Camillo Romano Avezzana, the Italian Ambassador to the United States, in response to an intimation from him that the Italian Government would welcome a statement of the views of the United States "on the situation presented by the Russian advance into Poland." The note was brought before the French Cabinet shortly before its equally unexpected recognition of the de facto Government of General Wrangel, the anti-Bolshevist commander in South Russia, and was answered by France shortly afterward in a note of warm commendation of the American policy, which was declared identical with that pursued by France. The full text of Secretary Colby's note is given at the end of the present article.

This note came at a time when the prospect of renewing trade relations between the allied nations and Soviet Russia was already becoming remote, owing to the insistence of Moscow that it deal with defeated Poland directly. The note of the allied Premiers sent from Boulogne had declared that the proposed conference in London must include representatives of the Polish Government, as well as of the other States bordering on Russia, and that the whole Polish question must be settled there before any others were discussed. M. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, in an answer to Great Britain on July 8, had accepted this proposal.

This agreement, however, was left hanging in the air, owing to the developments in the Polish situation. Meanwhile the Moscow Government, proceeding on the basis of the tentative agreement reached, dispatched a trade and peace delegation to Reval (Esthonia) preparatory to its departure to London to begin the negotiations proposed. This delegation was composed of Leo Kamenov, President of the Moscow Soviet and head of the delegation; Leonid Krassin, who had conducted the trade discussions in London leading to the tentative agreement, and M. Milutin. While this new

delegation was waiting notification to continue its journey, however, the British Government on July 22 sent word that it could not be received unless the Soviet Government accepted the proposals of an armistice with Poland. The delegation therefore left Reval. Maxim Litvinov, Assistant Commissioner of Foreign Affairs for Russia, was very indignant and expressed himself as follows:

Poland was not mentioned when Lloyd George formulated the conditions for resumption of trade, and when the coming débâcle in Poland was less evident; this making of new conditions flouts all international laws, and throws a revealing light on the partiality of the British Government in the Russo-Polish controversy.

In their note to the British Government (July 26) announcing that they would agree to the armistice with Poland, the Moscow leaders expressed their astonishment at Great Britain's action in interrupting the discussion of trade relations. This note, by insisting that the London Conference should be solely between Soviet and allied representatives, excluding participation by Poland and the border States, as proposed by the Allies, stirred up fresh trouble. At a conference of the allied Premiers held in Boulogne the decision was taken to insist on the original plan proposed. The text of the allied note sent from Boulogne was read to the House of Commons by Lloyd George on July 29. It declared that the Allies would discuss terms of peace with Soviet Russia only after the questions outstanding between Moscow and Poland, as well as between Moscow and the border States, had been settled. Later notes exchanged brought no decision, owing to Moscow's insistence on settling the Polish and border States problems by direct negotiation, and to its repetition of the demand that the London Conference be held solely with the Allies. The prospects of concluding peace between Russia and the Entente nations, therefore, became considerably more remote.

Kamenov and Krassin arrived in London toward the beginning of August, and played a prominent part as intermediaries between Lloyd George and Lenin. Despite the crisis precipitated

by the Soviet Government's refusal to grant a ten days' truce to Poland, Lloyd George stated that he had no intention of asking the Bolshevik emissaries to leave England for the present.

A bombshell was exploded in London by the announcement made on Aug. 11 by the French Government that it re-organized as a *de facto* Government the South Russian administration of General Wrangel. It was stated that this recognition was a direct answer to the Soviet's demand that the Allies secure the surrender of General Wrangel under guarantee of personal safety. This action was taken independently of Great Britain, and created consternation in England. Lloyd George at first was unable to believe it.

The decision to recognize General Wrangel was taken by the French Cabinet following the receipt and consideration of the note sent by Mr. Colby to the Italian Ambassador. In its answering note to Washington the French Government expressed its entire agreement with the policy of the United States, which declared resolutely against any recognition of the Soviet Government. At the date mentioned, the French Government announced that it had ordered its representative on the Allied Economic Council to have no further dealings with Krassin and Kamenev.

In contrast with the attitude of France and the United States, a strong plea was made on Aug. 6 by Count Sforza, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Italy, in the Italian chamber, in favor of allowing Russia to develop her Government along her own lines without foreign interference. This, he declared, had been the basis of Italian policy in admitting a Russian representative to Italy and the sending of an Italian emissary to Russia.

The course of events in Siberia remained obscure. For an account of Japanese activities in Siberia, and the Japanese occupation of Saghalin, see the articles on Japan elsewhere in this issue.

#### BRITISH LABOR REPORT

The usual tales of famine, disease and disintegration continued to come out of Russia. Conditions in Soviet Russia and the dire effects of the allied blockade

were described by the British Labor Commission in its final report, published on July 8, which read as follows:

During their stay of about six weeks in Russia the delegation visited Petrograd, Moscow, Smolensk and the Polish front and numerous towns and villages on the



MME. BALABOVNA

*An able and implacable leader in the Councils of the Red Autocrats of Russia*  
(Keystone View Co.)

Volga from Nijni-Novgorod to Astrakhan. The marks of the cruel blockade and of war were visible everywhere. In the villages, while food was fairly satisfactory, there was a great lack of clothes, coats, household utensils, agricultural implements and machinery. In the towns food was dangerously scarce and the power of work of many workers in the industrial regions was greatly reduced, owing to their obviously miserable physical condition. The transport which should have been bringing food from the country to the towns was taking food, munitions and men to the front. The locomotives which might have been working stood idle on the rails for want of spare parts for their repair, which the blockade had not allowed to enter Russia. The workshops which should have been making tools, agricultural machinery and productive machinery were making guns, bombs and tanks.

In 1918-19 there were over a million cases of typhus fever and no town or village in Russia or Siberia escaped in-





A 1,000-RUBLE NOTE WITH THE BOLSHEVIST SLOGAN, "PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE," PRINTED ON IT IN SEVEN LANGUAGES—RUSSIAN, GERMAN, ITALIAN, FRENCH, ENGLISH, CHINESE AND ARABIC. THE 1,000-RUBLE NOTE, WHICH WAS WORTH \$500 BEFORE THE WAR, NOW WILL SCARCELY PURCHASE A POUND OF BUTTER OR TEA

fection. In addition there have been epidemics of cholera, of Spanish influenza and of smallpox. The soap, the disinfectants and the medicines needed for the treatment of these diseases have been kept out of Russia by the blockade. Two or three hundred thousands of Russians died of typhus alone. One-half of the doctors combating typhus died at their posts.

Ringed round from the world by a blockade of all the powerful nations of the earth, attacked by enemies from without and menaced by the fear of counter-revolution from within, is it wonderful that the revolutionary Government, which has maintained any kind of order and discipline among its peoples in such a period, has rallied to its support practically the whole Russian nation? Russian national patriotism is now a burning sentiment which animates alike the hearts of revolutionary industrial workers, officers of the old régime and of members of Socialist parties bitterly opposed to the methods and policy of the Bolsheviks. The motto of Russia is becoming rapidly "No hand, no voice, must be raised against our country in her extremity." It is on this sentiment that the power of the Bolsheviks rests. It is on this sentiment that they have built up a great army.

Members of the delegation have been present at great naval and military parades in Moscow and Petrograd and have seen displays of the pre-military

preparation of young people—many thousands from 16 to 18. They have seen, too, the military preparation, as girl guides and boy scouts, of the school children of 14 to 16. The organization of the army at the front and in the areas of training in the rear has been studied by the delegation, and they are profoundly impressed by the greatness of the effort which Russia has successfully made in the face of great obstacles and by the danger which this militarization of Russia may mean for Western Europe, unless we hold out now the real hand of friendship and make real peace. Peace is needed not only for Russia but for all Europe. There is only one kind of militarism in all the world, and that is a danger to all civilization. The blockade and intervention are turning a naturally friendly people into bitter enemies.

Peace now and at once—that is the great need of Russia and of the world, and in the name of the humanity of the world we call upon our nation to insist that peace be made now and Europe be allowed to turn from the terrible spectres of war, famine and disease to a rebuilding of its homes and a reshaping of its shattered civilization.

Russia can give much to us from her natural resources and Russia needs much from us. To pursue a policy of blockade and intervention is madness and criminal folly, which can only end in European disaster.

## THE AMERICAN NOTE

Though the note on American policy sent by Secretary Colby contained no intimation that the United States would pursue such "a policy of blockade and intervention" as that which the British Labor report condemned, it was an expression of inflexible will not to recognize the Soviet Government, on the ground of its untrustworthy and dangerous character. The first clear and definite expression of America's policy toward the present Russian Government, it showed the United States allied with France in severe condemnation of the Soviet Republic's system of subversive propaganda abroad. The text of Secretary Colby's letter is given herewith:

Department of State,  
Washington, Aug. 10, 1920.

*Excellency:*

The agreeable intimation which you have conveyed to the State Department, that the Italian Government would welcome a statement of the views of this Government on the situation presented by the Russian advance into Poland, deserves a prompt response, and I will attempt without delay a definition of this Government's position, not only as to the situation arising from Russian military pressure upon Poland but also as to certain cognate and inseparable phases of the Russian question viewed more broadly.

This Government believes in a united, free and autonomous Polish State, and the people of the United States are earnestly solicitous for the maintenance of Poland's political independence and territorial integrity. From this attitude we will not depart, and the policy of this Government will be directed to the employment of all available means to render it effectual.

The Government, therefore, takes no exception to the effort apparently being made in some quarters to arrange an armistice between Poland and Russia, but it would not, at least for the present, participate in any plan for the expansion of the armistice negotiations into a general European conference, which would in all probability involve two results, from both of which this country strongly recoils, viz., the recognition of the Bolshevik régime and a settlement of the Russian problem almost inevitably upon the basis of a dismemberment of Russia.

## SYMPATHY WITH RUSSIAN PEOPLE

From the beginning of the Russian revolution, in March, 1917, to the present moment the Government and the people of the United States have followed its development with friendly solicitude and with profound sympathy for the efforts of the Russian people to reconstruct their national life upon the

broad basis of popular self-government. The Government of the United States, reflecting the spirit of its people, has at all times desired to help the Russian people. In that spirit all its relations with Russia and with other nations in matters affecting the latter's interests have been conceived and governed.



M. DJERJINSKY

Head of the "Extraordinary Commission  
Against Counter-revolution," who wields  
the power of life and death in  
Soviet Russia

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The Government of the United States was the first Government to acknowledge the validity of the revolution and to give recognition of the Provisional Government of Russia. Almost immediately thereafter it became necessary for the United States to enter the war against Germany, and in that undertaking to become closely associated with the allied nations, including, of course, Russia. The war weariness of the masses of the Russian people was fully known to this Government and sympathetically comprehended. Prudence, self-interest and loyalty to our associates made it desirable that we should give moral and material support to the Provisional Government, which was struggling to accomplish a twofold task—to carry on the war with vigor and, at the same time, to reorganize the life of the nation and establish a stable government based on popular sovereignty.



Quite independent of these motives, however, was the sincere friendship of the Government and the people of the United States for the great Russian Nation. The friendship manifested by Russia toward this nation in a time of trial and distress has left with us an imperishable sense of gratitude. It was as a grateful friend that we sent to Russia an expert commission to aid in bringing about such a reorganization of the railroad transportation system of the country as would reinvigorate the whole of its economic life and so add to the well-being of the Russian people.

While deeply regretting the withdrawal of Russia from the war at a critical time, and the disastrous surrender at Brest-Litovsk, the United States has fully understood that the people of Russia were in nowise responsible.

### FAITH IN OVERCOMING ANARCHY

The United States maintains unimpaired its faith in the Russian people, in their high character and their future. That they will overcome the existing anarchy, suffering and destitution we do not entertain the slightest doubt. The distressing character of Russia's transition has many historical parallels, and the United States is confident that restored, free and united Russia will again take a leading place in the world, joining with the other free nations in upholding peace and orderly justice.

Until that time shall arrive the United States feels that friendship and honor require that Russia's interests must be generously protected, and that, as far as possible, all decisions of vital importance to it, and especially those concerning its sovereignty over the territory of the former Russian Empire, be held in abeyance. By this feeling of friendship and honorable obligation to the great nation whose brave and heroic self-sacrifice contributed so much to the successful termination of the war the Government of the United States was guided in its reply to the Lithuanian National Council, on Oct. 15, 1919, and in its persistent refusal to recognize the Baltic States as separate nations independent of Russia. The same spirit was manifested in the note of this Government of March 24, 1920, in which it was stated, with reference to certain proposed settlements in the Near East, that "no final decision should or can be made without the consent of Russia."

In line with these important declarations of policy the United States withheld its approval from the decision of the Supreme Council at Paris recognizing the independence of the so-called Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, and so instructed its representative in Southern Russia, Rear Admiral Newton A. McCully.

### RUSSIAN BACKING FOR ARMENIA

Finally, while gladly giving recognition to

the independence of Armenia, the Government of the United States has taken the position that final determination of its boundaries must not be made without Russia's co-operation and agreement. Not only is Russia concerned because a considerable part of the territory of the new State of Armenia, when it shall be defined, formerly belonged to the Russian Empire; equally important is the fact that Armenia must have the good will and protective friendship of Russia if it is to remain independent and free.

These illustrations show with what consistency the Government of the United States has been guided in its foreign policy by a loyal friendship for Russia. We are unwilling that while it is helpless in the grip of a non-representative Government, whose only sanction is brutal force, Russia shall be weakened still further by a policy of dismemberment conceived in other than Russian interests.

With the desire of the allied powers to bring about a peaceful solution of the existing difficulties in Europe this Government is, of course, in hearty accord, and will support any justifiable steps to that end. It is unable to perceive, however, that a recognition of the Soviet régime would promote, much less accomplish, this object, and it is therefore averse to any dealings with the Soviet régime beyond the most narrow boundaries to which a discussion of an armistice can be confined.

That the present rulers of Russia do not rule by the will or the consent of any considerable proportion of the Russian people is an incontestable fact. Although nearly two and a half years have passed since they seized the machinery of government, promising to protect the Constituent Assembly against alleged conspiracies against it, they have not yet permitted anything in the nature of a popular election. At the moment when the work of creating a popular representative government, based upon universal suffrage, was nearing completion, the Bolsheviks, although in number an inconsiderable minority of the people, by force and cunning seized the powers and machinery of government, and have continued to use them with savage oppression to maintain themselves in power.

Without any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people or to suggest what kind of government they should have, the Government of the United States does express the hope that they will soon find a way to set up a government representing their free will and purpose. When that time comes the United States will consider the measures of practical assistance which can be taken to promote the restoration of Russia, provided Russia has not taken itself wholly out of the pale of the friendly interest of other nations by the pillage and oppression of the Poles.

It is not possible for the Government of

the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a Government with which the relations common to friendly Governments can be maintained. This conviction has nothing to do with any particular political or social structure which the Russian people themselves may see fit to embrace. It rests upon a wholly different set of facts. These facts, which none disputes, have convinced the Government of the United States, against its will, that the existing régime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith and every usage and convention underlying the whole structure of international law—the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals.

The responsible leaders of the régime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. This attitude of disregard of obligations voluntarily entered into they base upon the theory that no compact or agreement made with a non-Bolshevist Government can have any moral force for them. They have not only avowed this as a doctrine, but have exemplified it in practice.

Indeed, upon numerous occasions the responsible spokesmen of this power and its official agencies have declared that it is their understanding that the very existence of Bolshevism in Russia, the maintenance of their own rule, depends, and must continue to depend, upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other great civilized nations, including the United States, which will overthrow and destroy their Governments and set up Bolshevist rule in their stead. They have made it quite plain that they intend to use every means, including, of course, diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries.

It is true that they have in various ways expressed their willingness to give "assurances" and "guarantees" that they will not abuse the privileges and immunities of diplomatic agencies by using them for this purpose. In view of their own declarations, already referred to, such assurances and guarantees cannot be very seriously regarded.

## THREATS OF THE INTERNATIONAL

Moreover, it is within the knowledge of the Government of the United States that the Bolshevist Government is itself subject to the control of a political faction with extensive international ramifications through the Third International, and that this body, which is heavily subsidized by the Bolshevist Government from the public revenues of Russia, has for its openly avowed aim the promotion of Bolshevist revolutions through-

out the world. The leaders of the Bolsheviks have boasted that their promises of non-interference with other nations would in no wise bind the agents of this body.

There is no room for reasonable doubt that such agents would receive the support and protection of any diplomatic agencies the Bolsheviks might have in other countries. Inevitably, therefore, the diplomatic service of the Bolshevist Government would become a channel for intrigues and the propaganda of revolt against the institutions and laws of countries with which it was at peace, which would be an abuse of friendship to which enlightened Governments cannot subject themselves.

In the view of this Government there cannot be any common ground upon which it can stand with a power whose conceptions of international relations are so entirely alien to its own, so utterly repugnant to its moral sense. There can be no mutual confidence or trust, no respect even, if pledges are to be given and agreements made with a cynical repudiation of their obligations already in the mind of one of the parties. We cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of a Government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions; whose diplomats will be the agitators of dangerous revolt; whose spokesmen say that they sign agreements with no intention of keeping them.

## OPPOSES INVASION OF RUSSIA

To summarize the position of this Government, I would say, therefore, in response to your Excellency's inquiry, that it would regard with satisfaction a declaration by the allied and associated powers that the territorial integrity and true boundaries of Russia shall be respected. These boundaries should properly include the whole of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of Finland proper, ethnic Poland, and such territory as may by agreement form a part of the Armenian State.

The aspirations of these nations for independence are legitimate. Each was forcibly annexed, and their liberation from oppressive alien rule involves no aggressions against Russia's territorial rights, and has received the sanction of the public opinion of all free peoples. Such a declaration presupposes the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory embraced by these boundaries, and in the opinion of this Government should be accompanied by the announcement that no transgression by Poland, Finland, or any other power, of the line so drawn and proclaimed will be permitted.

Thus only can the Bolshevist régime be deprived of its false but effective appeal to Russian nationalism and compelled to meet the inevitable challenge of reason and self-respect which the Russian people, secure from invasion and territorial violation, are



sure to address to a social philosophy that degrades them and a tyranny that oppresses them.

The policy herein outlined will command the support of this Government.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY.

His Excellency, Baron Cammillo Romano Avezzana, Ambassador of Italy.

# The Third International

By JOHN SPARGO

**O**WING, doubtless, to the sensational developments of the war between Soviet Russia and Poland, and the critical negotiations between representatives of the British Government and the Bolshevik envoys, not much detailed information concerning the Second Congress of the Third International, which opened at Moscow on July 15, has yet reached this country. Not until the mails from European countries bring full reports will it be possible to give anything like a comprehensive résumé of the discussions and resolutions of the Congress.

The Third or Communist International was founded in 1919 in opposition to the existing Socialist International—the so-called Second International—which functions through the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels. The invitation to establish a new international organization of revolutionary Socialists and Communists was sent out by the Russian Communist Party on Jan. 9, 1919, just when the Peace Conference at Paris was beginning. The Russian Communist Party, which is the official designation of the Bolshevik political machine, was supported in issuing the invitation by the Communist parties and groups of Poland, Hungary, German Austria, Latvia and Finland, and by the Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation of the Balkans. The name of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States was also attached to the invitation, but this meant no more than that Boris Reinstein, a Bolshevik Commissar, formerly of Buffalo, N. Y., and a prominent member of the Socialist Labor Party, signed the document without any authorization.

Article XII. of the invitation gave a list of parties and groups which were

said to accept the point of view of revolutionary Communism. As published in *Humanité* of Paris, Article XII. read as follows:

Practically, we propose that representatives of the following parties, groups and tendencies will take part in the Third International with full rights. These are parties which accept its point of view in its entirety:

- 1—Spartacist Union of Germany.
- 2—Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Russia.
- 3—Communist Party of German Austria.
- 4—Communist Party of Hungary.
- 5—Communist Party of Poland.
- 6—Communist Party of Finland.
- 7—Communist Party of Esthonia.
- 8—Communist Party of Lettland.
- 9—Communist Party of Lithuania.
- 10—Communist Party of White Russia.
- 11—Communist Party of Ukraine.
- 12—The revolutionary elements in the Czech Social Democracy.
- 13—The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party ("Narrow" faction.)
- 14—The Rumanian Social Democratic Party.
- 15—The Serbian Social Democratic Party (the "Left Wing.")
- 16—The Left Swedish Social Democratic Party.
- 17—The Norwegian Social Democratic Party.
- 18—The "Class Struggle" Group of Denmark.
- 19—The Communist Party of Holland.
- 20—The revolutionary elements in the Belgian Labor Party.
- 21—Groups of French Socialists agreeing with Loriot.
- 22—Groups of French Syndicalists and Trades Unionists agreeing with Loriot.
- 23—The Left Social Democrats of Switzerland.
- 24—The Italian Socialist Party.
- 25—Left Wing elements in the Spanish Socialist Party.
- 26—Left Wing element in the Portuguese Socialist Party.
- 27—The British Socialist Party (especially the tendency represented by McLean.)
- 28—The Socialist Labor Party of England.
- 29—The I. W. W. of England.

- 30—The I. W. of Great Britain.
- 31—The revolutionary elements of the Shop Stewards' movement in England.
- 32—The revolutionary elements of the Irish labor organizations.
- 33—The Socialist Labor Party of America.
- 34—The Left Wing elements of the Socialist Party of America (in particular the tendency represented by Debs, as well as the tendency represented by the Socialist Propaganda League.)
- 35—I. W. W. of America.
- 36—I. W. W. of Australia.
- 37—The Workers' International Union of America.
- 38—The Socialist groups of Tokio and Yokohama represented by Comrade Sen Katayama.
- 39—The Young Socialists' International represented by Comrade Muntzenberg.

### FIRST CONGRESS AT MOSCOW

The first congress of the new organization was held at Moscow, March 2-9, 1919, and on March 10 there was published the Manifesto of the Communist International, which bore the signatures of Rakovsky, of the Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation of the Balkans, N. Lenin, G. Zinoviev and Leon Trotzky of the Russian Communist Party, and Fritz Platten, a Swiss Socialist. The manifesto, which was modeled after the famous Communist Manifesto written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1847, was principally the work of Lenin. Perhaps the future historian will regard those portions of this document which deal with the theories of Sovietism and the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and even the working program, as less significant than its strong bias against the Entente Allies and the United States—particularly against Great Britain. Far too little attention has hitherto been paid to this feature of the now historic document. The following paragraphs are typical and need no elucidation:

Up to the very outbreak of war British diplomacy preserved a mysterious secrecy. Civil authorities were careful not to have it known that they intended to take part in the war on the side of the Entente, doubtless so as not to alarm the Berlin Government and put off the war. London wanted war; hence their action to make Berlin and Vienna build their hopes on English neutrality, while Paris and Petrograd were sure of England's intervention.

The war, which had been prepared for decades, broke out through direct and conscious provocation by Great Britain.

The British Government reckoned on giving support to France and Russia until they were exhausted and had at the same time crushed Germany, their mortal enemy. But the strength of the German military machine proved too formidable and forced a real and not merely an apparent intervention in the war by England. The military superiority of Germany also caused the Washington Government to give up its apparent neutrality. The United States assumed, in regard to Europe, the same part that England had played in former wars, and has tried to play in the last, i. e., the plan of weakening one side by the help of the other by joining in military operations with the sole aim of securing for themselves all the advantages of the situation. Wilson's stake, on the American tombola method, was not high, but it was the last, and he won.

### CALL TO REVOLT

Whereas Marx and his immediate disciples appealed exclusively to the proletariat in the industrially advanced countries, the Third International made a special appeal to the workers of the industrially backward and undeveloped countries. At the first congress there were in attendance delegates from Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, India, Turkestan, Korea and China. The manifesto issued contained a special appeal to the "Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia":

The last war, after all a war to gain colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. To an unprecedented extent the population of the colonies was drawn into the European war. Indians, Arabs, Madagascans battled on the European Continent—what for?—for the right to remain slaves of England or France? Never did capitalist rule show itself more shameless, never was the truth of colonial slavery brought into such sharp relief. As a consequence we witnessed a series of open rebellions and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us in bloody street battles that it is still an enslaved country and feels itself as such. In Madagascar, in Annam, and in other countries, the troops of the bourgeois republic have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves to suppress during the war. In India the revolutionary movement has not been at a standstill for one day, and lately we have witnessed in Bombay the greatest labor strike in Asia, to which the Government of Great Britain answered with armored cars.



In this manner the colonial question in its entirety became the order of the day, not alone on the green table of the diplomatic conferences at Paris, but also in the colonies themselves. *The Wilson program, at the very best, calls only for a change in the firm name of the colonial enslavement.* \* \* \* The workers and peasants not only of Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also of Paris and Armenia, can gain independent existence only after the workers of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau and taken the power into their own hands. \* \* \* Capitalist Europe has drawn the backward countries by force into the capitalist whirlpool; and Socialist Europe will come to the aid of the liberated colonies with its technique, its organization, its spiritual influence, in order to facilitate their transition into the orderly system of social economy.

As early as December, 1917, Lenin had issued an appeal to the Moslem peoples, which made it quite clear that he was ready to exploit the Pan-Islam propaganda and turn it to the advantage of Bolshevism. This unnatural alliance has been very carefully fostered since then. The so-called Bolshevik revolt in Azerbaijan a little while ago was, it is now definitely known, in reality a Moslem revolt supported by Bolshevik military forces. Enver Pasha is a Bolshevik army officer. Moslem leaders of the Pan-Islamic movement were active in the preliminary conferences held prior to the Second Congress of the Third International. In the resolutions of the congress thus far published this influence is apparent.

### THE POSITION OF ITALY

Lenin and the other Bolshevik leaders have had rather poor success in their attempts to enlist the support of the larger Socialist parties. The most important European Socialist party to adhere definitely to the Moscow International is that of Italy. This action was taken by the party executive, the vote being ten in favor of affiliation to three against. The small Reform Socialist Party of Italy remains affiliated with the Second International. It is now believed that the Italian Socialist Party will withdraw in view of the discouraging and condemnatory report made by the members of the party mission on

their return from Soviet Russia. The fact that Signor Dugoni, the well-known Socialist Deputy, reported that "Lenin's experiment is a complete failure," and that the radical Serati, editor of *Avanti*, confirmed this report in a leading article full of scathing criticism of the Bolshevik Utopia, warrants this belief. It confirms the report recently made to the present writer that the directors of the Italian Socialist Party, acting under the advice of Bombacci, were planning a campaign against Bolshevism among their members, having reached the conclusion that socialism has more to fear from it than from any other foe.

### SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN

The congress of the Swiss Social Democratic Party decided upon affiliation with the Third International, subject to a referendum vote of the party membership. This referendum, however, reversed the action of the party congress, the vote being 14,384 against affiliation to 8,599 in favor. The French Socialist Party, which is reported in the press as having been "represented" at the recent congress in Moscow by MM. Cachin and Frossard, had already definitely, by an overwhelming vote, decided against affiliation with the Third International unless the latter should be entirely reconstructed. More recently, on July 23, the party decided to send delegates to the Geneva Congress of the Second International positively instructed to oppose Bolshevism. MM. Cachin and Frossard were in attendance at the Moscow Congress, but not as accredited delegates. They were already in Soviet Russia on a mission of inspection and investigation, and asked for permission to remain for the congress of the Third International, which they attended as observers, not as delegates. The Spanish Socialist Party, by a vote of 8,269 to 5,016, decided against affiliation with the Third International except upon terms which the leaders of the latter have declared impossible and unacceptable when they were put forward by the French Socialist Party and the Independent Socialists of Germany. This statement of the position of the Spanish Socialists is taken from their official organ, *El Socialista*.

### HOLLAND'S ATTITUDE

In June of last year the Social Democratic Party of Holland, led by Wynkoop, Rutgers and Holst, joined the Third International, changing the party name at the same time to Communist Party. This decision did not have the approval of the entire party, however, and a considerable element remained loyal to the old name and the old association with the Second International.

The Third International—with funds supplied by the Bolshevik Government of Russia—set up a bureau in Amsterdam for the propaganda in Europe of the principles of the Third International. Recently, however, differences arose between the Moscow leaders and those in Amsterdam, with the result that the dissolution of the Amsterdam bureau was ordered. According to accounts of the dispute which have appeared in the Dutch Socialist organ, *Het Volk*, and to wireless messages from Moscow dated May 25 and June 3, 1920, the difficulties between the Russian dictators and the Dutch Communists are similar to those which had already led to the breach between the former and the German Communist Labor Party, which has been denied membership in the Third International. With the repudiation of the principal Dutch Communists, as "nationalistic counter-revolutionary elements," the only representatives of Holland at the recent Moscow Congress must have been of some faction of the Communist Party.

### GERMANY'S OPPOSITION

Very similar is the position of the German Socialist and Communist Parties toward the Third International. None of them accept the dictatorship of Moscow. The Majority Socialists, of course, repudiate and are equally repudiated by Lenin and his associates. They remain affiliated with the Second International, and are earnestly striving to restore its lost prestige. The Independent Socialists, on the other hand, have adopted a position almost identical with that of the French and Spanish Socialists in that they have offered to join the Third International subject to certain conditions

which Lenin and his followers cannot accept. They want a broadening of the rules, looking to a reunion of practically all the Socialist bodies. The Third International would thus become, as Zinoviev has remarked, virtually the old Second International reorganized. The Moscow leaders have laid down conditions which the leaders of the Independent Socialists of Germany declare to be utterly impossible. Of considerable interest is this statement by Zinoviev:

When we hear that Crispien and Hilferding in Germany and Hillquit and similarly minded men in America begin to express sympathy for the Third International, and are not disinclined to join it under certain conditions, we say that the door to the Communist International must be bolted securely. Such men as Kautsky, too, excite the utmost mistrust, and are not worthy to be admitted to the Communist International, which is the international of action. We welcome workmen who belong to the Independent Socialist Party, but we say to them, first get rid of your ballast and turn out those so-called leaders who are in reality agents of the bourgeoisie in your midst.

The Communist Labor Party of Germany has been found to be quite as unworthy as the two larger Socialist Parties. It has been practically expelled. A wireless message from Moscow, dated June 3, 1920, dealing with the conflict between this party and the Moscow leaders says:

As regards the Communist Labor Party in Germany, its point of view is opposed to that of the Communist International in all questions of tactics. Its request to be received into the Communist International was answered by the Executive in this sense, that it would be admitted to the congress of the Communist International if it consented to give an undertaking that it would submit to all the decisions taken by the congress, and if it also consented to exclude, before the holding of the congress, all nationalistic, counter-revolutionary elements. The Executive is publishing in the near future an open letter to the workmen belonging to the Communist Labor Party, in which it defines its attitude toward all the disputed points of the German movements.

### THE UNITED STATES

It is at once interesting and significant that the principal representative from the United States was John Reed, the journalist, who is under indictment for violations of the espionage and sedition



laws of this country and is a fugitive from justice. Reed represents the Communist Labor Party, many leaders of which have been subjected to prosecution by the United States Government. A reliable report from Riga, dated July 13, said that Reed had been chosen as one of the Presidents of the congress. It will be remembered that the Socialist Party of America, by a referendum vote, decided to apply for affiliation with the Third International, the vote being 3,475 to 1,444. In view of the terms of the resolution, however, and the hostility of Reed and other influential Communists to the Socialist Party, the rejection of the application by the Third International may be rather confidently predicted.

### GREAT BRITAIN

The British Labor Party conference at Scarborough on June 25, 1920, dealt a severe blow to Lenin's hopes and to the Third International when it decided by a "card" vote of 2,940,000 against 225,000 against affiliation with the Moscow International, and by a vote of 1,010,000 against 516,000 against secession from the Second International. As Lenin himself has had to confess in a recent letter, "Even a small Communist Party does not exist in England." The groups affiliated with the Moscow International do not number, all told, 10,000 persons. They are the Workers' Socialist Federation, which is simply little more than another name for Miss Sylvia Pankhurst; the Socialist Labor Party, a tiny faction which is itself split into a "Right" and "Left" wing, and the British Socialist Party, which is composed of a mere handful of extreme Marxists. Of course, there are elements in the Independent Labor Party favorable to the Third International and to Bolshevism, but they are not numerous. The Independent Labor Party (which is part and parcel of the Labor Party) has refused to affiliate with Moscow.

From the foregoing it will be seen that, so far as the Western nations are concerned, the Third International does not yet embrace the major Socialist parties.

### THE RECENT CONGRESS

The first session of the recent congress was held in Petrograd, the later sessions being held in Moscow. There were about 400 delegates in attendance, including representatives of various parties or groups in Germany, France, Hungary, Holland, Great Britain, Switzerland, United States, Cuba, Turkey, China, Japan, Korea, India, Persia, Afghanistan.

The correspondents of the Swedish newspapers devoted a large part of their reports to descriptions of the lavish expenditures of the Soviet Government to provide luxurious entertainments for the visitors. "Although Russia is supposed to be starving, unbelievable stores of wines and vodka loaded the tables, while the choicest viands convinced the foreign delegates that Sovietism is not disastrous, at least to those high in its councils," says one account. Several correspondents told of many millions of leaflets and pamphlets in all languages, containing inflammatory manifestoes designed, according to Pravda, the official Bolshevik organ, "to cross the borders with the returning delegates and give a deathblow to the world's bourgeoisie."

While some of the sessions were open meetings at which problems of socialism and communism were discussed, there were more secret sessions, not open to the public or the press and not reported. This is a most unusual procedure for Socialist congresses, and it is not surprising to find it suggested in many quarters that at these secret gatherings military affairs and measures for strengthening the Soviet régime in Russia by means of uprisings in other countries were discussed. In this connection European observers have attached great importance to the fact that the Turkish delegates, Bedri Bey and Behaeddin Chakim Bey, were known to be the representatives of Talaat Pasha. Of the resolutions adopted the one most commented upon in the European press had a direct bearing upon the military situation. Notwithstanding the propaganda of protest against the blockade policy as applied to Soviet Russia, the congress passed a

resolution calling for a blockade of Poland and pledging all the parties and groups represented to work for it in their respective countries.

#### WORLD REVOLUTION ADVOCATED

Another resolution approved an appeal to the peoples of India, Syria, Turkey and Arabia, to be issued in the name of the Third International, calling upon them to rise against the Allies and America and "to throw off the yoke which the Allies are trying to impose upon them." This appeal is significant as part of the growing bond of union between Bolshevism and Pan-Islamism. It is a remarkable fact that recently the dissatisfaction of the Moslem world with the treatment meted out to Turkey by the victorious Allies has been most consistently and vigorously expressed by the Bolsheviki. Many keen political observers have pointed to this fact as indicating that a rival to the League of Nations is thus being developed—a league of the Oriental nations and Russia against the league representing Western civilization.

Opening the principal sessions of the congress at Moscow, Lenin, the Soviet Premier, in a notable address declared that the Third International aimed to consolidate and organize worldwide revolution. Contributing to that end, though unconsciously, were two great factors—the world's economic crisis and the dissensions in the League of Nations and its inability to protect the small nationalities.

Lenin pointed out that, even in those countries where conditions were most favorable, such as England, Japan and the United States of America, the cost of living had risen out of all proportion to the advance in wages, that consequently the masses were poorer, only an infinitesimal part of the population in any of these countries having derived any benefit. The collapse of the entire capitalistic system is threatened for this reason, and owing to the impossibility of settling the debts of the war without involving many countries in economic ruin. Lenin spoke of what he termed "the hopelessness of reconstruction under the capitalist régime," and dwelt

upon the fact that the English writer, Keynes, had advanced the idea that annulment of war debts was necessary in order to establish international credit.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS DECLARED A FAILURE

Speaking at some length on the League of Nations, Lenin said that it had fallen prey to internal dissension. It had not furnished any protection of help to the smaller nationalities, and the imperialistic Governments dominating the League, in pursuance of their own selfish interests, were placing the defeated nations in the position of colonies and dependencies. Thus the failure of the League of Nations had contributed to the Third International. As an illustration of this he pointed to the manner in which the fate of Turkey had brought to the Communist International numerous elements of strength. For the first time "colonists, dependencies and oppressed nations" were represented in the International, declared the Soviet Premier, not quite accurately, however, as a reference to the records of the congresses of the First International, founded by Marx, and its successor, the Second International, will readily show. Accuracy of statement is not one of Lenin's strong points, it must be noted.

Lenin paid his respects to the United States in particular when he denounced the deportation of Communists from this country. The deportation of 500 Communists—or any number, for that matter—from the United States would not help the capitalist régime while poverty and need increased among the working classes, at the same time that the capitalists were enriching themselves at the expense of the workers. He declared that the working classes throughout the world were ripe for a broad revolutionary movement, for world revolution, in fact.

#### LENIN DENOUNCES OPPONENTS

As usual, Lenin was very bitter in denouncing those Socialists in Russia who continue to withhold their support from the Bolsheviki and even to oppose them wherever and whenever possible. He denounced most bitterly the Social Demo-



crats, his former colleagues, for being "the most serious obstacle to the development of revolutionary power as a means of service to all countries." It had been shown, he said, that they "were the enemies of the working class and the defenders of the bourgeoisie." It would be an easier task to unify the left wing of the Socialist movement and rectify mistakes in the campaign of the proletariat by the adoption of a campaign of united action.

In connection with Lenin's attack upon the Social Democrats it is interesting to read the following declaration by the Social Democrats of Petrograd, issued shortly before the Second Congress of the Communist International, and secretly circulated among the delegates to that body—much to the annoyance of the Bolsheviks:

Russia is drenched in blood. The Communist Government has destroyed all social and industrial life, trampled personality into the dust, and has already annihilated the best intellectual power of the land. To foreign nations the Bolsheviks pretend to be representatives of the workers and peasants, but they trick the masses of the people and give promises only that they may keep themselves in power. Only through shameless methods of violence do they remain in control, and every day their real hatred against the laboring men becomes more apparent. Through many imprisonments our Social Democratic organization is being destroyed, and the methods are like those of the Czar. Spies are everywhere, and many Social Democrats are continually brought to trial. We, the workers, representing fourteen factories of Petrograd, and the Social Democrats of Petrograd, protest loudly against this challenge to the whole of the working class in Russia. We have nothing in common with this Government of violence and murder, and we pledge ourselves to use every means that this report shall reach across our frontiers to comrades in other countries.

#### RUSSIAN ANTI-BOLSHEVISTS

It is not to be supposed that all this simply evidences a factional fight among rival Socialist bodies. There is every reason to believe that the trade unions, the co-operatives and even that section of the Mensheviks which has adapted itself to Bolshevik rule more or less, all share the views of the Social Democrats

of Petrograd. During the visit of the British Labor Party Mission to Petrograd and Moscow, at public meetings arranged in honor of the mission and at some of the meetings of trade unions they were privileged to visit, responsible leaders of the Mensheviks and the unions, taking their lives in their hands, as it were, spoke up with remarkable directness. They warned the British delegates not to be deceived by their Bolshevik guides and told them frankly that they were in a land harshly governed by a brutal and corrupt bureaucracy. At a meeting of the Moscow Printers' Union the horrors of the Soviet régime were exposed to the British visitors. Even Pravda admitted that "it was with thunders of applause" that Chernov's attack was greeted. Subsequently, after the departure of the British, the Moscow Printers' Union was dissolved and a new campaign of repression against the Mensheviks was inaugurated. The revulsion of feeling on the part of such strong partisans of the Bolsheviks as Bertrand Russell and Mrs. Philip Snowden is easy to understand in the light of these facts.

A report which the writer has received from Helsingfors, from a most credible source, but which has not yet been verified, states that at the recent congress of the Communist International Lenin was faced by opposition very much more dangerous to his rule than that of the Social Democrats and other non-Bolshevik elements. The report states that in the secret sessions of the congress, already referred to, Bucharin, the editor of Pravda, and Dzersjinsky, the President of the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter Revolution, bitterly assailed Lenin, and were supported in their attitude by a number of delegates from other countries. This, it is alleged, is only a manifestation of a schism which sharply divides the Bolsheviks into warring factions. Bucharin and Dzersjinsky and their followers oppose all peace settlements with Poland and the Entente Powers, and all negotiations, especially the Kamenev-Krassin Mission. Lenin had to defend himself against the charge that he is compromising the revolution.

# England's Real Attitude on Ireland

By VISCOUNT BRYCE

[FORMER BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES]

*The following statement of the British Government's policy in Ireland, which appeared in The London Times of July 3 under the title, "What America Ought to Know," was written, Lord Bryce explains, with the object of correcting "the incorrect impressions which largely prevail in America regarding the present mind and purpose of the English people toward Ireland," and from the viewpoint that it is of the utmost importance that the peoples of the United States and Great Britain should understand each other's intents and purposes.*

[FOR OTHER ARTICLES ON IRELAND SEE PAGES 1039-55]

I SHALL not attempt to discuss the Irish question generally, nor the conduct of recent British Governments, nor the Sinn Fein movement. My sole object is to set forth shortly and clearly some material facts which, though patent to those who have followed the course of events during the last forty years, do not seem to be known to or duly appreciated by the mass of the American people.

What is the general belief in America regarding the relations of the people of Great Britain to the people of Ireland, and how far is that belief correct?

England is constantly represented to the American people as the oppressor of Ireland. They are told to think of the English as a harsh and selfish nation, unfaithful to its own traditions of freedom, treating unhappy Ireland, of whose miseries it was the cause, with a cruelty such as Russia showed to Poland and Austria used to show to Italy. The Irish people are represented as a practically united nation differing in race and religion from the English, cherishing memories of former greatness, and demanding with a single voice to be delivered from an alien yoke.

These two pictures never were true. Ireland, doubtless, did receive in former days much hard treatment from England, as indeed every country was in times past ill-treated by those who had conquered it. But for the last seven centuries Ireland has never been a united country as against England, for there has been in Ireland a pro-English section, larger or smaller from time to time, but always important. The time when Ireland came nearest to speaking with

one voice was in 1780—the time of the Irish Volunteers, when the Protestant and Anglo-Irish section of the nation—then as now a minority—received the sympathy of the then unenfranchised Roman Catholics in their successful demand for the abolition of an English authority in which Ireland was not represented.

It is nevertheless true that, although the Irish people were never united in antagonism to England, the English people as a whole did for more than sixty years after the union of the kingdoms in 1800 reject the demands put forward on behalf of the majority of the people by Daniel O'Connell and other Irish leaders down to Parnell for a measure of wide self-government. During those years the English insisted on treating Ireland as part of the United Kingdom, saying that as the Irish people, Protestants and Catholics (after 1829) alike, were represented in the British Parliament with an equal suffrage and a representation (in later years) in excess of the proportion of the population, they ought to be contented therewith. In this sense, then, although the Irish people were not united in their demand for self-government, there was an antagonism between the two islands, not merely because there were unredressed grievances (down to 1869 regarding the Church, and to 1881 regarding the land), but also because the English were practically united in their refusal to Ireland of the special treatment which many of her spokesmen demanded, and which most of us now think ought to have been given.

That state of things ended in 1886.



That year was a turning point of vital significance in the relations of the two islands, and it is this significance which does not appear to be understood in America.

In 1886 Mr. Gladstone, convinced that the claim for home rule, which had at the election of 1885 received the support of a large majority of Irish voters, was a just claim and ought to be granted, induced his party to adopt the policy of home rule. Believing that both countries would fare better if self-government were granted to Ireland, because peace and good-will would grow up between them, he brought in a home-rule bill, which, however, failed to pass. In 1893 he brought in a second bill, which passed the House of Commons but was rejected in the House of Lords. His party continued to proclaim home rule as their deliberate and settled policy, and it was one of his greatest services to both countries that by that policy the opposition between the two peoples was brought to an end, because at least half of the English people and much more than half of the Scottish people had taken their stand beside the majority of the Irish people in the demand for home rule.

In 1914 the then Liberal Prime Minister [Mr. Asquith] succeeded in passing a home-rule bill, which is now on the statute book. Its operation was postponed because at the very moment of its passing the war broke out, and it appeared impossible during the war to introduce some amendments which the bill was felt to require. However, the fact remains that in 1914 a decision, never since reversed, was given by the British Parliament in favor of home rule. If the act has not yet taken effect, it is for a reason which I must now explain.

#### ONE-FOURTH OF IRELAND AGAINST HOME RULE

A section of the Irish people, which is roughly estimated at one-fourth, has steadily objected to home rule, and that part of this section which dwells in the northeastern counties has declared that if home rule were imposed upon them they would resist it by force of arms. This section is mainly but not entirely

Protestant—for in Ireland the dividing line between the advocates and opponents of home rule does not altogether correspond with distinctions either of race or of religion. There are plenty of home-rule Protestants of English stock, and some anti-Home Rulers who are Catholic and of Celtic stock. Now, it is the resistance of this one-fourth that has delayed the settlement of the home-rule question. How far they are justified in their opposition, how far the British Government was justified in allowing itself to be alarmed by their threats of forcible resistance—upon these points, as upon the conduct of the British Government generally, I say nothing here, though I have often expressed my opinion in Parliament. It is always a difficult question to say (as America has found more than once) how far majorities have a right to coerce minorities, and to discuss that question much space would be needed.

The really important thing is that Americans should understand that the question of self-government for Ireland, whatever form it may take, is no longer a question between the two islands, as it was fifty years ago, but a question between two sections of the Irish people—one much larger than the other, but each embittered by the strife of the thirty-four years that have passed since 1886.

In England and Scotland bitterness over home rule has now quite disappeared, for the large majority, even of those who formerly opposed it as prejudicial to English interests, have now come to see that home rule is inevitable and ought to be conceded, since it is the only path to peace. There are differences of opinion as to what form home rule should take, just as there are differences of opinion among the Irish majority, some of whom prefer a qualified measure of autonomy, while others go further and desire the complete independence of Ireland. The essential thing is that Americans should now realize that the English people, taken as a whole, desires and intends to go as far as it can (short of an absolute separation of the two islands, and subject to whatever safeguards a regard for the



IRISH REPUBLICAN SYMPATHIZERS PLACING WREATHS ON THE GRAVE OF WOLFE TONE, IN MEMORY OF HIS FIGHT FOR "IRELAND A NATION"

(© Central News Service)

minority may seem to require) to meet the wishes of the majority of the Irish people.

#### BRITISH DESIRE FOR SETTLEMENT

The English have given ample proof of their good-will toward Ireland by the sums of money which Parliament has voted for Irish purposes during the last thirty years and by the large extent to which it has pledged its national credit in guaranteeing loans. The results of these grants and loans have been to make Ireland more prosperous and the people better off than they have been for many centuries. Under the provisions of the Land Purchase acts more than half of the tenant farmers have become, or are now becoming, owners of the land they occupy and cultivate, as the rest of these farmers will be when the process is complete. Those who, like myself, remember the state of the peasantry along the western and southern coasts sixty-five years ago, are struck

by the contrast between the wretchedness of those days and the standard of comfort and health attained today.

Unfortunately, this change in English sentiment has not yet produced in Ireland the impression that might be desired. This is partly due to the fact that the performance of the promise of home rule has been, from various causes, so long delayed. I cannot here explain those causes, nor discuss how far they have justified postponement. All I wish to explain is that they are not due to any faltering in the purpose of the English people to fulfill their promise embodied in the Act of 1914. But there is also another reason. Long as they have dwelt side by side, the two peoples do not yet understand one another. The English, very few of whom know anything about Irish history, cannot see why the present generation of Irishmen should still bitterly resent the injuries inflicted on their forefathers, and should show such a passionate enthusiasm for the idea of a





RESERVE SOLDIERS ON EMERGENCY DUTY IN IRELAND

(© International)

separate Irish nationality. Why not, they say, forget the past and let us shake hands and make a new departure? We are not the English of 100 years ago, we do not oppress you, and do not want to oppress you. We want to live as friends and partners.

#### WHERE THE TROUBLE LIES

But the present Irish generation, still brooding over the wrongs of the past, does not realize that the English people have undergone a complete change of heart, and are now not only seeking to cure the practical evils brought to their knowledge, but heartily desire that complete reconciliation which the grant of autonomy, or some kind of home rule, is needed to produce. In the Ireland of today, and in both sections of that Ireland, the memories of distant days of strife—memories of Augrim and Limerick, of the Battle of the Boyne and the Siege of Derry, and the insurrection of 1798—still so possess and obsess men's minds that Nationalists and Sinn Feiners continue to think of England not as she is now, but as if she were still the oligarchical Government which ruled a century ago in times which the English of today have quite forgotten.

It is these memories of ancient strife that still embitter the two hostile sec-

tions of Ireland's inhabitants. If too little of Irish history is known or remembered in England, too much is known and remembered in Ireland. People there are still filled with recollections of wrongs done or suffered, and refuse to drink of the waters of forgetfulness, sometimes a healthful and necessary potion. It is not in Ireland only that such recollections are too vivid. All over Europe the passion of nationality is keeping alive angry memories which a wiser patriotism might allow to die.

Here is the great difficulty with which England has to deal. Here is the cause which might produce that sanguinary civil war between the two hostile sections in Ireland which the English people seek to avert. If only a way could be found—as some day it must be found—of reconciling these hostile elements, a wide scheme of autonomy would be soon secured. The way seemed on the verge of being found not many months ago, and many of us believe it can and will be found. Anyhow, let me repeat once more that it is in the divisions within Ireland itself, not in any want of goodwill on England's part, that there lies the obstacle—and practically the only obstacle—which still delays that peaceful settlement which the British democracy sincerely desire.

# The Increased Strength of the United States on the Sea

By THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM

[CAPTAIN U. S. R.]

**F**OLLOWING the proceedings of the Naval Committee of Congress, and especially in consequence of a statement by Mr. Britten of that committee, the attention of the British public has been drawn to the strength of the United States Navy, and there has been much discussion in Great Britain concerning the changed situation on the sea. It has suddenly become apparent that our naval-building program has been steadily increasing the strength of our fleet of battleships, and that the United States Navy is at the point of surpassing the British Navy in this most important element of sea power. At the same time the British have realized the great increase of our merchant marine in comparison with Great Britain's.

These revelations have been something of a shock to the British public, and many articles have been published commenting on the growth of our navy and merchant marine. Among these is a notable contribution by Archibald Hurd in the *Fortnightly Review* for June.

For many reasons, a statement of the situation from an American point of view is needed at this time. In the first place, one prevailing tendency in the British comments should be set right. Many of their writers, as is perhaps natural in the surprised realization of the change in Great Britain's position on the sea, reflect a feeling that the forward stride of the United States indicates hostility on our part and a determination to win dominion of the seas. Comparisons are made with the systematic campaign undertaken by Germany to gain the commerce of the world, which had so much to do with bringing on the World War. Mr. Hurd even sees "a menace to the peace of the world, and especially the peace of the English-speaking peoples."

Many British writers now appear to believe that America has recently changed her attitude and become hostile to the nations of Europe. The position of the United States in delaying ratification of the Peace Treaty is interpreted as meaning that America has withdrawn from association with Europe, and that this is to be followed by a national policy of aggrandizement, "a demand for nationalization," as Mr. Hurd expresses it.

## THE TRUE EXPLANATION

This is far from describing the actual situation in the United States. Our country, in common with other nations, has often been misunderstood. To state the real case in simplest terms, we have fewer schemes and more sentiment than has been believed. After we entered the World War, in spite of German misrepresentations, Europe grew to realize that America's part was unselfish. In fact, the great united movement in our country came from the appeal to our ideals. This was the mainspring of our participation in the war—and this impulse remained strong in the United States after the armistice.

Unfortunately, at the Peace Conference, the production of the secret treaties, and the consequent wrangling for months over the claims of the different nations, made it apparent that the long discussions were being devoted to national interests and not to efforts for constituting a concord of the peoples of Europe. This unexpected revelation of European post-war policies was a setback to public opinion in America, and it was by taking advantage of the reaction that the opponents of the treaty were able to delay ratification.

This should be understood by Euro-



peans, for it is the true explanation of what has happened in America. The British, above all, should cease to think that there has been a change in the attitude of the United States that means hostility to any European nation. It should also be believed that neither are there any influences at work, nor are there any schemes on foot in this country for national aggrandizement. The United States is not planning its future on the lines of Germany's ambitions. It is sound, practical advice to say that the growth of American sea power should not be interpreted according to European formulas, for these do not apply to our national traits.

It is true that the present position of the United States on the sea was brought about by conditions created by the World War, but these were straightforward, natural conditions that made an appeal to the common sense of our people. We saw the need of a larger navy for defense, and we were also suddenly obliged to build a great tonnage of carrying ships in the emergency caused by the shortage of the world's shipping at the time of Germany's U-boat campaign. These were the reasons for our naval and maritime activities. There were no underlying motives that influenced the United States.

### OUR NAVAL PROGRAM

The circumstances of the naval increase should first be explained; it will then be evident that our present program for building warships is not the product of any recent change of policy. Our increase was determined in 1916, through the most natural causes, as will be seen when the course of events is traced leading up to the adoption of our naval-building program.

The following is the history of our naval increase: In the period of dawning suspicion and hostility which preceded the World War there was a sudden keen competition for naval superiority between Great Britain and Germany. This began in 1906, and each nation entered upon an enlarged program of building battleships. This naval activity was stimulated by the unusual condition that the capital unit of battle

fleets had changed in that year to a new type, following the British design of the dreadnought, which became the name of the new all-big-gun battleship.

The adoption of this new fighting unit gave Germany an unexpected opportunity to threaten the supremacy of the British Navy, a development that would have been out of the question if the two navies had kept on in the even course of adding battleships of the old type. In 1907 Germany laid down four dreadnoughts, in 1908 four, in 1909-1910 five, in 1911 four. In these years Great Britain was perforce obliged to respond with a corresponding increase that would maintain the existing British superiority—and this pace was continued until the outbreak of the war.

In 1906, when this great increase of building warships began, the United States held second place among the navies of the world; but, through all these years of activity, until the catastrophe of 1914, our successive Administrations adhered to the policy of restricting the building program of the United States Navy to two capital ships per year. The inevitable result was to put our navy in the third place, far behind the German Navy in number of capital ships.

Then came the World War, and the United States woke to the fact that it was comparatively weak in the most essential element for its defense, a battle fleet. So evident was this, that public opinion asserted itself, and in 1916 Congress authorized the present building program.

### PURELY DEFENSIVE MOVE

It should be strongly emphasized that this act of the people and Congress in 1916 fixed the terms of our building program, which is now suddenly causing so much comment in Great Britain. It involved no change or threat. Our program is only the result of a timely realization among our people that our necessary defense must be a strong navy. There was, at the time, no definite thought in the public mind of using this naval force against any particular nation, although naturally the unbridled ambitions of Germany showed our need

of defense. But defense alone was the object of the increase—and defense alone is the reason for its continuance, impersonal and not directed against any power.\*

This instinct for defense on the seas has been most fortunately aroused in our nation. Our country is bounded by two great oceans, and the only real defense of our boundaries is the far-flung use of our battle fleet upon these wide stretches of sea. For the United States Navy, more than for any other, the ultimate service is a battle of fleets. In all human calculation, our country is safe from attack as long as we maintain a battle fleet that is able to defend our sea approaches in a naval action.

Consequently, for the United States, a battle fleet that can hold its own in an action of fleets is a necessity—and the possession of such a fleet has been insured by the building program of 1916. That is the whole story—and in this wise policy, which our country adopted four years ago, there is no trace of new influences at work "for fanning into flame the instinctive national jealousies of the two nations"—to quote again from Mr. Hurd. Any American knows that our country is barren ground for jealousy of any other nation.

#### BASIS OF NAVAL STRENGTH

The details of the building program of 1916 are given on Page 946, and it will be seen at a glance that provision has been made for a powerful fleet of battleships. Before discussing this program, it should be stated that it is wrong to consider the relative strength of navies merely in terms of ships and guns. There has always been too much of this "on paper" classification. Men and methods are all-important, but in modern navies material must be provided in advance, or the best personnel would be helpless. Modern battleships cannot be improvised. Consequently the construction of warships of the right type gives to a nation a definite basis of naval strength that cannot be suddenly overturned. The

United States now possesses this basis of naval strength, as a result of our policy of battleship construction.

It is not alone the increased building program that has produced this result, but it is also due to the existing condition that the increase has followed the lines of a sound policy, consistently developed by the United States, of building battleships in which the gun has been the main thing. It is the gun alone that wins results in action, and the United States Navy has never been turned aside from this central idea by prevailing fashions in naval construction. On the other hand, the British Navy had not adhered to this policy, and herein was contained the double reason for the slipping back of Great Britain as a naval power. The British have fallen behind, not only because their building program has been stopped, but also because British naval construction of the last ten years had been increasingly influenced by the battle cruiser craze, and their recent construction has not resulted in a compensating strengthening of the British fighting fleet.

This last is really the chief reason for America's forging ahead, and the fact is very little understood. Mr. Hurd does not seem to appreciate it fully. It is interesting to study the details of this shifting of comparative values in naval material.

#### FAITH IN HEAVY GUNS.

From its infancy the United States Navy has led in the development of the heavy gun in naval warfare. In its early days, placing the 24-pounders on U. S. S. Constitution was considered impracticable, but it was a long stride toward the mobile big-gun platform of fleet speed, in contrast to the floating-battery idea. The 11-inch guns on the frigates of the fifties led naturally to the big-gun ironclads of the civil war, and we developed the successive designs of mounting heavy guns in turrets aligned over the keel, from which we have never swerved, and which foreign navies finally adopted, after even building dreadnoughts with various other clumsy arrangements of turrets.

\*In fact, included in the act creating the building program of 1916 there is a provision for stopping construction, if this is made possible by an adequate tribunal for arbitration.



# LIST OF SHIPS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY CARRYING 12-INCH 45 CALIBRE GUNS, OR MORE POWERFUL GUNS

## BATTLESHIPS (PRE-DREADNOUGHT TYPE)\*

Completed.	Name.	Dis- placement.	Main Armament	Speed Knots.
1906	Connecticut .....	16,000	Four 12-inch 45 cal. (and eight 8-inch).....	18.78
1906	Louisiana .....	16,000		18.82
1907	Minnesota .....	16,000		18.85
1907	Vermont .....	16,000		18.33
1907	Kansas .....	16,000		18.09
1908	New Hampshire .....	16,000		18.16

## BATTLESHIPS (DREADNOUGHT TYPE)\*\*

1910	Michigan .....	16,000	Eight 12-inch 45 cal.....	18.70
1910	South Carolina .....	16,000		18.86
1910	Delaware .....	20,000	Ten 12-inch 45 cal.....	21.56
1910	North Dakota .....	20,000		21.01
1911	Florida .....	21,825	Ten 12-inch 45 cal.....	22.08
1911	Utah .....	21,825		21.04
1912	Arkansas .....	26,000	Twelve 12-inch 50 cal.....	21.05
1912	Wyoming .....	26,000		21.22
1913	Texas .....	27,000	Ten 14-inch 45 cal.....	21.05
1914	New York .....	27,000		21.47
1915	Nevada .....	27,500	Ten 14-inch 45 cal.....	20.53
1915	Oklahoma .....	27,500		20.58
1916	Pennsylvania .....	31,400	Twelve 14-inch 45 cal.....	21.05
1917	Arizona .....	31,400		21.00
1917	Mississippi .....	32,000	Twelve 14-inch 50 cal.....	21.00
1918	New Mexico .....	32,000		21.08
1919	Idaho .....	32,000	Twelve 14-inch 50 cal.....	21.00
1920	California† .....	32,300		21.00
1920	Tennessee .....	32,300		21.00

## BATTLESHIPS (DREADNOUGHT TYPE)‡ OF THE BUILDING PROGRAM OF 1916

No.	Percentage of Completion.	Name.	Dis- placement.	Main Armament.	Speed Knots.
45	51.1	Colorado .....	32,600	Eight 16-inch 45 cal.....	21.00
46	76.0	Maryland .....	32,600		21.00
47	47.0	Washington .....	32,600		21.00
48	30.5	West Virginia.....	32,600		21.00
49	12.5	South Dakota.....	43,200	Twelve 16-inch 50 cal.....	23.00
50	10.1	Indiana .....	43,200		23.00
51	10.9	Montana .....	43,200		23.00
52	12.5	North Carolina....	43,200		23.00
53	4.5	Iowa .....	43,200		23.00
54	...	Massachusetts ....	43,200		23.00

## BATTLE CRUISERS OF THE BUILDING PROGRAM OF 1916††

1	0.6	Lexington .....	35,300	Eight 16-inch 50 cal.....	33.25
2	0.6	Constellation .....	35,300		33.25
3	0.7	Saratoga .....	35,300		33.25
4	0.6	Ranger .....	35,300		33.25
5	1.0	Constitution .....	35,300		33.25
6	1.0	United States.....	35,300		33.25

\*Only pre-dreadnoughts with 12-inch 45 calibre guns are included. Eight more are carried on navy list, armed with less powerful 12-inch guns.

\*\*Including superdreadnoughts.

†California to be completed by Dec. 31, 1920.

‡All superdreadnoughts to be completed in 1922 and 1923. Percentage of completion July 1, 1920.

††All re-designed in 1919-1920. Percentage of completion July 1, 1920.

## LIST OF SHIPS RETAINED BY THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY FOR THE POST-WAR BRITISH FLEET\*

## BATTLESHIPS (DREADNOUGHT TYPE)\*\*

Completed.	Name.	Displacement.	Main Armament.	Speed Knots.
1900	Temeraire .....	18,600	Ten 12-inch 45 cal.....	22.00
1910	St. Vincent .....	19,250	} Ten 12-inch 50 cal.....	21.90
1910	Collingwood .....	19,250		21.50
1911	Neptune .....	19,900		21.80
1911	Colossus .....	20,000		21.50
1911	Hercules .....	20,000		21.50
1912	Orion .....	22,500	} Ten 13.5-inch 45 cal.....	22.00
1912	Conqueror .....	22,500		23.10
1912	Monarch .....	22,500		21.80
1912	Thunderer .....	22,500		20.80
1912	King George V. ....	23,000		21.00
1913	Centurion .....	23,000	} Ten 14-inch 45 cal.....	21.00
1913	Ajax .....	23,000		21.00
1914	Iron Duke .....	25,000		22.00
1914	Marlborough .....	25,000		22.00
1914	Emperor of India.....	25,000		22.00
1914	Benbow .....	25,000	} Ten 13.5-inch 45 cal.....	22.00
1914	Erin .....	23,000		21.00
1915	Canada .....	28,000		22.75
1915	Queen Elizabeth .....	27,500	} Eight 15-inch 42 cal.....	25.00
1915	Warspite .....	27,500		25.00
1915	Barham .....	27,500		25.00
1916	Valiant .....	27,500		25.00
1916	Malaya .....	27,500		25.00
1916	Royal Sovereign .....	25,700	} Eight 15-inch 42 cal.....	22.00
1916	Royal Oak .....	25,700		22.00
1916	Resolution .....	25,700		22.00
1916	Revenge .....	25,700		22.00
1917	Ramilles .....	25,700		22.00

## BRITISH BATTLE CRUISERS†

1911	Lion .....	26,350	} Eight 13.5-inch 45 cal.....	28.00
1912	Princess Royal .....	26,350		28.00
1914	Tiger .....	28,500		30.00

## SUBSEQUENT BRITISH CONSTRUCTION (BATTLE CRUISERS)

1916	Renown .....	26,500	} Six 15-inch 42 cal.....	31.50
1916	Repulse .....	26,500		31.50
1919	Hood‡ .....	41,200	Eight 15-inch 45 cal.....	31.50

\*No pre-dreadnought battleships are given, as there has been a drastic Admiralty policy of discarding them from the British fleet.

\*\*This list includes superdreadnoughts. Four ships, hitherto included, are now dropped (Dreadnought, Superb, Bellerophon, Agincourt), as the First Lord of the Admiralty has reported these battleships not to be retained in the post-war fleet. It is said that all battleships before the Orion class are to be discarded, but they should be listed at present. All these dreadnoughts antedating the Orion class have the disadvantage of echelon and cross arrangement of turrets.

†Inflexible and Indomitable have been discarded and are now on sale list. Australia and New Zealand (eight 12-inch each) also not included.

‡Three other ships of the Hood class were laid down (Anson, Howe, Rodney), but abandoned and scrapped.





NEW DREADNOUGHT CALIFORNIA, TYPICAL UNIT OF THE GREAT SEA FIGHTERS NOW BUILDING FOR THE UNITED STATES NAVY. THIS VESSEL WAS RECENTLY LAUNCHED AT MARE ISLAND NAVY YARD, SAN FRANCISCO. WHEN FULLY EQUIPPED IT WILL BE THE "LAST WORD" IN AMERICAN NAVAL CONSTRUCTION

(© Underwood & Underwood)

With this consistent devotion to the gun as the main feature of the battleship, the United States Navy has naturally fostered advanced ideas in the development of the heavy naval gun. This has resulted in a gun with an increased length in proportion to its calibre, and a high muzzle velocity. Our navy's 12-inch gun, increased from 45 calibre to 50 calibre, with a muzzle velocity of 2,950 f. s., has been the most powerful naval gun of its type. Our increase to 14-inch 45 calibre and 50 calibre guns was a development of the same ideas, and this has been followed by the increase to 16-inch 45 calibre and 50 calibre guns.

The British naval 12-inch guns were similar, though not so powerful as our guns. But their next increase was to 13.5-inch guns; and they did not go beyond 45 calibre with their 13.5-inch guns, nor in the following increase to 15-inch guns. On the contrary, the British reacted to 42 calibre for the 15-inch guns. The weight of the shot was greatly increased (1,920-1,950 lbs.), with a decreased muzzle velocity (2,500 f. s.). The result was that these 15-inch 42 calibre guns are not of as powerful a type\* as

our 14-inch 45 calibre and 50 calibre guns, and of course they are outclassed by our 16-inch 45 calibre and 50 calibre guns. This British 15-inch gun has only been increased to 45 calibre for one ship, the latest battle cruiser, Hood.

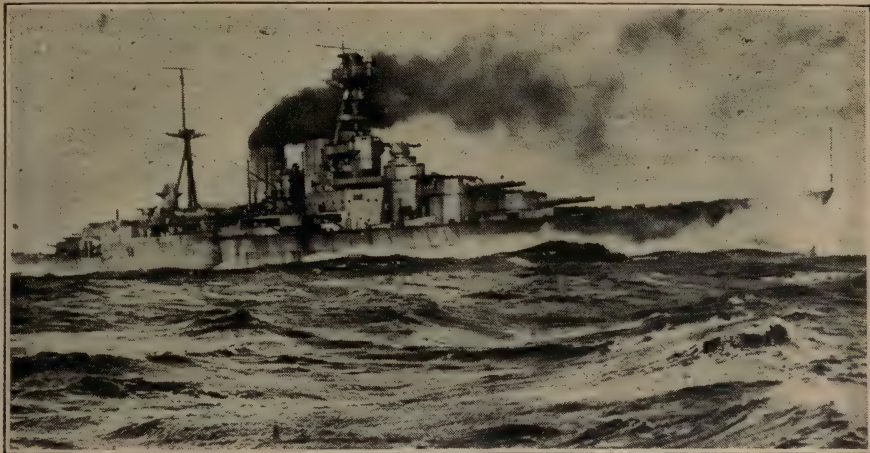
On Page 946 will be found a list of all United States battleships, built and building, with 12-inch 45 calibre or more powerful guns. All these are given because the lesson of the battle of Jutland has shown that a battleship armed with any of these guns might be a possible factor in a battle of fleets for some years to come. This list comprises six pre-dreadnought battleships, nineteen completed\* battleships of dreadnought type, and ten uncompleted battleships of the 1916 building program.

First of all, it should be realized that all these battleships represent a gradual increase in heavy batteries and a resultant increase in the size of the hull for the purpose of carrying these heavy batteries. It should also be noted that, although extending over such a period of years, they are very consistent in speed—and they are also heavily armored.

This sums up the reasons for the power of the fighting fleet of the United States Navy, which is only now being discovered abroad, but is not even yet

\*At the Battle of Jutland six of the British battleships engaged carried these 15-inch 42 calibre guns, and there was nothing larger than a 12-inch gun in the German fleet. But the British guns cannot be said to have dominated the lighter but more powerful German guns.

\* U. S. S California to be completed by Dec. 31, 1920.



H. M. S. HOOD, NEWEST DREADNOUGHT OF THE BRITISH NAVY AND LARGEST SEA-FIGHTING UNIT EVER CONSTRUCTED  
(*International*)

fully appreciated, especially in one very important element. For it is not realized that these consistent, all-big-gun heavily armored ships are not becoming obsolescent to a degree that corresponds with the accepted ratio of age to usefulness. If we can believe the naval experience of the World War, our battleship construction has been sound, and this has given its product a longer life of usefulness.

#### STRENGTH OF BRITISH FLEET

On Page 947 is a list giving the actual strength of the British fleet, for comparison with the list given of the United States Navy. Of these ships the Erin and Canada were not originally designed for the British Navy, but were taken over from Turkey and Chile at the outbreak of the war. A comparative study of these American and British programs of construction will be interesting, and will show that the situation is as described.

It will be noted that British construction of battleships moved along on somewhat the lines of our own construction until the sudden change to gain speed in the Queen Elizabeth class. In contrast with our natural progress to ten 14-inch guns and the heavily armored 21-knot ships of the contemporary Texas and

Nevada classes, there was the sudden leap to a 25-knot speed for this class of British battleships. This change reflected the prevailing fashion for battle cruisers, which had the strongest influence on the British Navy at the time.

The Royal Sovereign class of battleships was designed with the moderate speed of 22 knots, but in the following years the battle cruiser element in the royal navy dominated British construction, and all else became secondary to the desire to mount 15-inch guns on battle cruisers of great speed. The Renown and Repulse followed, carrying six 15-inch guns each, but with armor shaved down to the danger point (side armor 6-inch, barbette armor 7-inch). The next step was the decision to gain speed, and also the ability to carry eight 15-inch guns, by designing battle cruisers with greatly increased hulls. The four battle cruisers of the Hood class were consequently designed to be of 36,300 tons, with light armor, and the four ships\* were under construction in 1916.

Suddenly came the battle of Jutland, and the revelation as to the weakness of battle cruisers was unmistakable. The construction of the Hood was changed by adding 5,000 tons of armor. This

\*Anson, Hood, Howe, Rodney.



resulted in a vast hull of 41,300 tons, yet only carrying eight 15-inch guns\*—at a cost of £6,025,000. It is no wonder that the other three ships of this class were scrapped.

As a result of this policy of recent years British naval construction did not add to Great Britain's battleship strength, at the time when the United States Navy was steadily gaining in this respect.

### THE TWO FLEETS COMPARED

It will be noted that the two fleets of battleships, of dreadnought type as given, be equal in numbers in 1923, but the United States Navy will have the more powerful material. The figures given by Mr. Britten and quoted by Mr. Hurd are true, but a more striking comparison can be made by stating figures on a basis of the classification given by Mr. Hurd himself.

Mr. Hurd calls the battleships with 15-inch guns and over "First-Class Battleships," giving the following parallel list:

British (15-inch guns) Class.	American (16-inch guns) Class.
Royal Sovereign... 5	Indiana ..... 6
Queen Elizabeth... 5	Washington ..... 4
Total ..... 10	Total ..... 10

The American battleships with 14-inch guns and the British battleships with 13.5-inch guns he calls "Second-Class Battleships."

To show how entirely wrong it will be to place in the same class the ten British 15-inch gun battleships and the ten American 16-inch gun battleships, it is only necessary to state the fact that the ten British battleships have a broadside of 153,600 pounds, whereas these ten American ships will possess the overwhelming broadside of 208,000 pounds.

To emphasize the mistake in making this high classification of the ten British 15-inch gun battleships, the fact should

also be stated that the corresponding ten American battleships with 14-inch guns, called by Mr. Hurd "second class," have a superior broadside of 159,600 pounds. This superiority of weight of metal is augmented by the added power of the American 45 calibre and 50 calibre guns in contrast with the British 42 calibre guns.

### INFLUENCE OF JUTLAND BATTLE

These figures will be enough to show the reader that our consistent program of building battleships has given us better results than have been attained by the recent British program. Comparisons of the other features of the two lists will tell the same story. These facts have been given without the slightest feeling that there will ever be a break between the United States and Great Britain. Such an event is inconceivable. But the lists merely show that, measured by the standard of the greatest fleet in the world, the United States Navy will be able to maintain its fleet upon the seas.

Although the fashion for battle cruisers did not divert us from our program of building battleships, yet there was enough influence of the partisans of this type to secure an additional authorization of the six battle cruisers which appear on the list of the program of 1916. Here again we were more fortunate, and work had not been started upon these ships at the time of the battle of Jutland. It was obvious that their hulls would be vulnerable, the double decks of boilers being especially dangerous. Consequently they have been entirely redesigned, the weak features having been eliminated, tending to make them into fast battleships.\* As can be seen from the percentage of completion, work has only recently been started on them, and there was no construction to be changed, as in the case of the Hood.

In the main essentials of material, which must be provided in advance to maintain a fighting fleet, the United States may be thus considered in a strong position. The only other navy carrying

\*On the first increase of the hull of the United States battleship (Indiana class) to over 40,000 tons, the ship carries twelve 16-inch 50-calibre guns, with a broadside of 24,000 pounds, in contrast to the Hood's eight 15-inch 45 calibre guns, with a broadside of 15,600 pounds. United States steamship Pennsylvania has a hull of almost 10,000 tons less displacement, and yet the ship has a broadside of 16,800 pounds, which is 1,200 pounds heavier than that carried on the vast hull of the Hood.

\* These ships are to have an armored waterline belt, eight feet of depth to be below waterline, with elaborate structural protection against torpedoes.

forward a definite building program is the Japanese Navy, and we have so great a superiority that it does not seem humanly possible that they can approach us.\*

### LARGE PERSONNEL NECESSARY

Turning from naval material to naval personnel, a problem is presented in which the navy needs every assistance from the country, although the real problem is not as Mr. Hurd sees it. With the enormous scale of numbers that has been fixed by the requirements of modern warfare it is no longer considered possible for the peacetime establishment to resemble the numbers that would be required in war. How many of us realize that the United States Navy in the World War at the time of the armistice was 520,000 strong? The unprecedented tasks in transporting troops and material, in addition to the usual demands of naval operations, made these great numbers necessary, and the country was able to provide them. What this meant can be best shown by stating that, at the same time, the British Navy had a total personnel of 415,000.

These figures show that it is no longer possible to think of peacetime establishments in terms approaching the demands of the ultimate service in war. This is where Mr. Hurd does not grasp our problem. The peace function of our navy as regards personnel is to maintain numbers sufficient to operate and care for the naval material, and to form a skilled nucleus for a wartime increase. For some years we shall not need to fear any lack of men at the call of war. The present need is to prevent too great a shortage in the enlisted personnel necessary for the maintenance of naval material.

The full complement for the Atlantic fleet, the Pacific fleet and all other sea duty is 125,913. The allowance is 95,267. Of this allowance about 66,000 are on board. On shore there are about 35,000. After approaching changes in expirations of enlistments, &c., the navy will

be left with "about 100,000 men, of whom 75,000 will be first-enlistment men." \* To aid in relieving this shortage, the recent Naval Appropriation bill authorizes one year's service for 20,000 Naval Reserve enlisted men. A liberal increase in pay has also been given to the navy by this bill.

Mr. Hurd and other British writers do not realize in making comparisons with Great Britain that our navy also has large numbers of men of kindred occupations to draw upon in our merchant marine. They forget that in 1914 our tonnage engaged in foreign trade was only 20 per cent. of our total shipping. The wise policy of restricting our interstate commerce to American shipping had fostered a merchant marine coastwise and upon our waterways.

### MERCHANT MARINE A FACTOR

The unprecedented numbers in our navy comprised: Regulars—Officers, 10,489; enlisted men, 217,276. Reserves—Officers, 20,705; enlisted men, 271,571.† This great increase of the navy as an efficient force was possible only through the co-operation of the American merchant marine and through the intelligence of its personnel. The recent notable increase in our shipping has brought about a corresponding increase of this valuable element in man power as a reserve for our navy. The intimate relation between our navy and our merchant marine has been a result of the war. It has been tried out on a large scale, and it has been found a valuable asset for the future.

The increase of our shipping has been as free from any change to hostility as was the naval increase. As has been stated, our nation was compelled to make a great effort to replace the losses of allied shipping in the war. These allied losses have been given as over 18,000,000 tons. The one way to win the war was by transporting our troops and supplies to Europe, and this could only be accomplished by providing ships for overseas transportation.

This was the spur that urged America

\*Japanese Navy—Dreadnoughts, built, 5; building, 8; battle cruisers, built, 4; building, 8.

\*Chief of Bureau of Navigation.

†The Secretary of the Navy.



to the greatest effort of all time.\* The program of construction of the United States Shipping Board comprised 1,946 vessels, representing 11,720,352 tons. When the United States entered the war there were in the country 61 shipyards with 234 ways. At the time of the armistice we had 223 yards with 1,099 ways. In the year 1918 we actually launched 812 ships of 4,244,126 tons. The record output of the whole world the year before the war had been 3,333,000 tons.

This effort of the United States made it possible to win the war, and, as a result of this Shipping Board building program, our tonnage of shipping is over 15,800,000. In 1914 it was less than 5,400,000.

### NO ATTEMPT AT SUPREMACY

This is the true story of the expansion of our merchant marine. There has been no scheme for commercial dominion, no attempt to hasten into existence a merchant fleet that would be greater than that of Great Britain. As a matter of course, this building program is being completed. The world evidently needed more shipping; and, with a scarcity of ships, the outlook for our revived foreign commerce would have been poor indeed. There was an economic need for completing these ships, but there has been no hysterical competition with Great Britain. The fact is that there has been no effort made in America to outbuild the British, and it will be found at the end of the year that Great Britain has built a greater tonnage in 1920 than has the United States.

On the contrary, the problem in our country is now recognized to be to find the best use of our shipping as an economic factor—in accord with the development of our industries. We see that it is no longer common sense to have 92 per cent. of our foreign trade dependent on foreign shipping, as was the case before the war. In those years the expense of

running American ships was almost prohibitive when it was a matter of competition with foreign shipping. In many ways this phase of the situation has been improved. The rate of wages is no longer as serious a handicap as before, owing to the new provisions in the Seaman's act, and there is not so great a discrepancy against the American owner.

Foreign shipping has always received direct or indirect help from the Governments. In recently enacted legislation Congress has for the first time given tariff preferences to cargoes shipped on American vessels. Altogether the outlook is favorable for the increased merchant marine. But it is to be made a matter of adapting it to legitimate commercial conditions, not a means for dominating the world, as has been intimated by British writers.

To show the reasonable way in which this problem is being considered, it is sufficient to quote from recent statements of Rear Admiral W. S. Benson, U. S. N., Chairman of the United States Shipping Board, and the Hon. J. W. Alexander, Secretary of Commerce. Admiral Benson says:

The United States Shipping Board is using every endeavor to build up this vast fleet into a profitable enterprise. It is succeeding with the aid of a growing body of splendid private ship operators who are acting as managing agents of the ships. It is no easy task which we have before us. The solution of many questions now before us requires time, study, thought and considerable energy before our merchant marine shall be an accomplished fact and a permanent thing. We need the co-operation of every American. We need particularly the honest, wholesome advice and helpful aid of every commercial American organization.

Mr. Alexander's statement is as follows:

There are many perplexing questions to be solved before we can make sure of a great merchant marine under the American flag. How is the great fleet of merchant ships built under the stress of war to be profitably employed under normal conditions? That question is giving the Shipping Board and private ship owners and all others who are thinking of engaging in the shipping business deep concern.

\*No program comparable to it has ever been attempted by our own or by any other nation. It is one of the many great achievements growing out of and inspired by the exigencies of the World War.—The Secretary of Commerce.

# American Control in the West Indies

## A Survey Showing Exactly What Degree of Influence the United States Has in Certain Islands

By ELBRIDGE COLBY

[FORMER ASSISTANT INTELLIGENCE OFFICER, PANAMA CANAL DEPARTMENT, UNITED STATES ARMY]

AT the close of the nineteenth century, as a result of our obtaining possessions in various parts of the world from Spain, as a result of an approaching critical period in the Isthmian Canal discussion, and as a result of our increasing production, trade development and financial expansion, a spirit of imperialism became manifest in the people of the United States. This spirit, however, was combated to some extent by the very circumstances under which we acquired a tangible interest in the largest of the territories which came into our hands at that time. For, even at the moment of entering on that war of extra-territorial conquest, we had committed ourselves\* in theory to the idea that "the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent,"† thus using the very words with which, in our own Declaration of Independence, we had, as colonies ourselves, created a separate State out of what might readily have become the most important possession of British imperialism. Indeed, this commitment was made in much more than merely general terms; it was applied directly to the first of our potentially imperialistic conquests in the following words:

The United States disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.‡

\*This was, of course, not the intention of the war, which was really for "the abatement of a nuisance" clearly becoming "injurious to the United States as a neighboring nation." (Moore, "Principles of American Diplomacy," p. 208).

†Joint Resolution of April 20, 1898, "United States Statutes at Large," Vol. 20, p. 738.

‡Ibid.

Yet, in spite of this, due to our territorial acquisitions in the Spanish war, our policy of Americanizing rather than internationalizing the Panama Canal, and our necessity of reasserting the Monroe Doctrine on several occasions,§ the American Government has, in the first twenty years of the twentieth century, clearly embarked upon what—though it cannot in any sense of truth be called an imperialistic policy—is undoubtedly a protective and stabilizing policy aiming to increase amid the uncertain politics of Caribbean republics an American influence for law and order.

In other words, under our guiding eye—and strong hand when necessary—we have been attempting to extend the "frontier of freedom" to include the Caribbean and to guarantee decent, responsible government among the lands to the south of us.¶ Whether this desire and these attempts originate in a "lust for power," or whether they spring from a fear of European infiltration, is quite beside the point. The fact is that we have extended our influence; and the manner of its extension is quite conveniently demonstrated by a consideration of the methods by which we have, on sound lines, secured a legal basis for our influence in Cuba, Porto Rico, San Domingo, Haiti and the Virgin Islands.

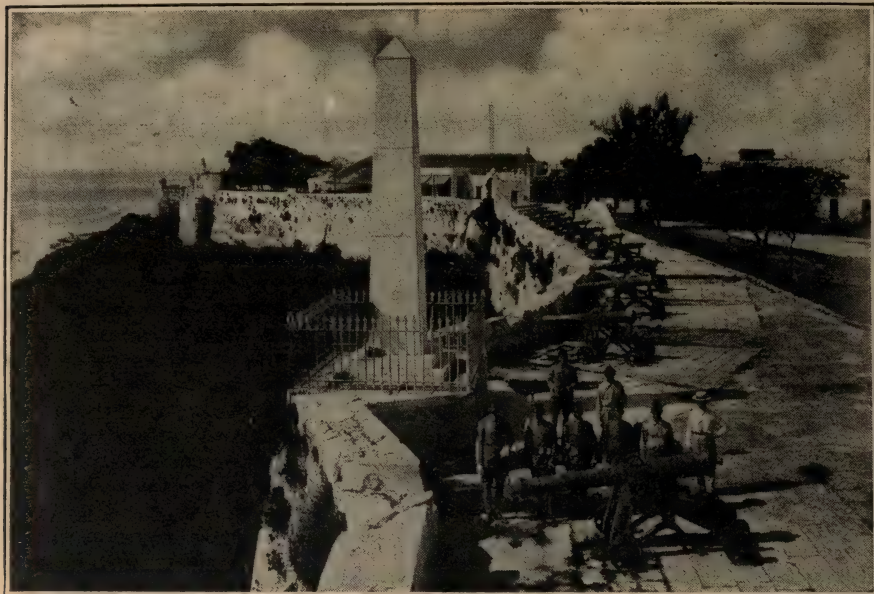
### THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

We acquired title to the Virgin Islands, including St. Thomas, "the Gibraltar of the Caribbean", through purchase

§The Monroe Doctrine itself, though founded on a policy of protecting ourselves (cf. Krans, q. Charlemagne Tower, pp. 34-35) does not even imply national expansion or protection of such expansion. (Root, "International Addresses," p. 123).

¶This is a modern manifestation of an old habit. Cf. Greene, "American Interest in Popular Government Abroad."





FAMOUS BATTERY OF THE "TWELVE APOSTLES" ON THE WALLS OF THE CABANAS FORTRESS, GUARDING THE ENTRANCE TO HAVANA HARBOR

(© Brown & Dawson)

by treaty from Denmark in 1917. Our title is clear, and our jurisdiction absolute. We who have protested against the transfer of Caribbean territory from one European power to another thus went on record as being perfectly willing to acquire Caribbean territory for ourselves: but, strangely enough, we had to get France's consent to the purchase, on account of an old Franco-Danish treaty. The motive in this purchase is interesting: the securing of a naval base, which is all the Virgin Islands have to offer, except bay rum. The very words, "naval base," imply imperialism and protection of commerce.

#### PORTO RICO

Our title to Porto Rico is equally unquestioned, since that island was definitely ceded to us by Spain in the Treaty of Paris of 1898 with no further stipulation than that Congress, the supreme law-making body of the United States, should determine the civil rights and political status of the people of that

island\*. Yet political jurisdiction does not necessarily mean a real and useful influence. The United States promptly set about gaining the friendship of the Porto Ricans and strengthening the normal ties that bind one country to another. In less than two years, by the Act of April 12, 1900†, Congress recognized the "citizens of Porto Rico" as "a body politic" under the term "the people of Porto Rico,"‡ provided for gradual retirement of American representatives, established a legislative body in the island, and transferred to the local government all property rights in public buildings, works, and lands.§ By these measures the American principle of the

\*Article II., "United States Statutes at Large," Vol. 30, p. 1754.

†"United States Statutes at Large," Vol. 31, p. 77 ff.

‡Ibid., Sec. 7.

§Ibid., Sec. 13. Some few were, however, retained. Cf. Act of July 1, 1902, "United States Statutes at Large," Vol. 32, p. 731. In order to discourage European capital, the United States likewise retained the privilege of approving railway, telegraph and telephone franchises. Cf. "United States Statutes at Large," Vol. 31, p. 716. Joint Resolution of May 1, 1900.



VIEW OF THE ENTRANCE TO HAVANA HARBOR DURING THE RECENT VISIT OF THE CRUISER ALFONSO XIII., THE FIRST SPANISH WARSHIP TO ENTER CUBAN WATERS IN TWENTY-ONE YEARS

self-government of peoples by legislation was amply vindicated in the minds of the Porto Ricans, and all slight suspicions of imperialistic exploitation were allayed in the face of such obvious friendliness.

By further measures a more direct American influence was exerted. English books printed in the United States were admitted free of duty.|| It was provided that shipments between the United States and Porto Rico should be subject to only 15 per cent. of the regular import duties in each direction,\*\* and that after March 1, 1902, no duty at all should be imposed on such trade.†† By such measures, in a commercial way, Porto Rico was allied to the United States and encouraged in American trade; nor should we forget that trade is one of the most compelling factors in diplomacy, if not in national prejudices.

To these factors we should add the creation of a Porto Rican regiment of infantry under the American flag, stationed in Porto Rico, in which commissions were open to Porto Ricans. During the German war of 1917-18, Porto Rico was appealed to and rallied splen-

didly to the support of the United States in many respects, thus showing how widespread our influence had been and how effective, too.††

#### RELATIONS WITH CUBA

Although our direct jurisdiction over Cuba was soon terminated at the end of the military Government, which General Wood declared was "military in name only," and which, on account of the activity of the civil courts and the holding of public office by Cubans, was "as near as possible to government by the people,"§§ our influence has persisted as a factor demanding law and order. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris of Dec. 10, 1898,|| when Spain relinquished all claim of sovereignty to Cuba, it was provided that Cuba be occupied by the United States, and that as long as such occupation should last the United States should assume and discharge all Cuban duties under international law; and it was further provided that the United States should assume such obligations only during the occupation, and that when such occupation should cease, the United States should *advise* the Cuban

||Act of April 12, 1900, Sec. 1. Spanish books were similarly admitted for a ten-year period.

\*\*Ibid. Sec. 3.

††Ibid. Sec. 3.

†† Cf. article in *La Revista del Mondo*, September, 1919.

§§ Cf. *Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Science*, Vol. 21, p. 153ff.

|| "United States Statutes at Large," Vol. 30, p. 1,754. Sec. 1 and Sec. 16.





PORT AU PRINCE, CAPITAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI, WHERE THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, UNDER A TREATY, COLLECTS THE HAITIAN CUSTOMS AND ADMINISTERS THE REVENUES OF THE REPUBLIC

(© Brown & Dawson)

Government to assume such obligations itself.

Now, the word "advise" in diplomatic language is stronger than in ordinary parlance, but it is not so strong as "require." When the occupation finally did cease, the United States signed a treaty with Cuba, on May 22, 1903, by which Cuba was given her independence with certain limitations. These limitations may have been prompted by the Monroe Doctrine, or they may have been prompted by an imperialistic desire to keep a finger on Cuba. Yet the limitations are obviously present, and these form the legal basis for our influence in a country which we declared in 1898, and have since declared, to be "free and independent."

First we have the negative provisions—obviously designed to prevent encroachments on the Monroe Doctrine—that the Government of Cuba should not make any treaty or compact with any foreign power which would impair her independence, permit colonization upon her territory, or admit of military or naval control, or contract any public debt above the conservative limitations provided by sound finance with respect to interest payments and the creation of

a sinking fund.\* These negative provisions are obviously based on a desire to prevent difficulties with European powers and to uphold the principles of the Monroe Doctrine before the fact, so to speak. The real legal basis of our power to interfere in a physical way, as we actually did on one occasion in 1906 and threatened to do in 1911, and therefore of our ultimate interest in Cuba, lies not in these negative provisions, however. It lies in the statement that

the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a Government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed on the United States by the Treaty of Paris, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba [and that] to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the Government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.†

In these provisions, under which the

\*"United States Statutes at Large," Secs. 1 and 2.  
†*Ibid.* Sec. 3.

site of the coaling station at Guantánamo was leased, there is nothing to betray an imperialistic attitude except the one phrase, "as well as for its own defense." ‡So, though we have withdrawn from the Island of Cuba, our influence—general and diplomatic rather than particular and political—has been nevertheless felt and will probably continue to be felt, largely because we have proved that we not only truly believe in the self-determination of peoples, but can be trusted to keep our word even at the cost of abandoning apparently desirable imperialistic ideas. Cuba has become our friend, not our subject; and as our friend she is subject to our influence.

### SAN DOMINGO

The basis of our influence in San Domingo is closely allied to our American conception of the Monroe Doctrine.§ So long as London and Paris were the centres of world finance, so long as Latin-American Governments borrowed money in Europe and were either dilatory or untrustworthy as regards payments, and so long as the European Governments were inclined to press the matter of unsettled debts both by diplomatic measures and by demonstrations of naval power, the success of the Monroe Doctrine was imperiled.

Therefore, in order to prevent the introduction of European influence, the United States was obliged to intrude and to settle the differences. We interested ourselves in San Domingo at a time when that republic was threatened by debts and claims amounting to about \$30,000,000, which had originated "during disturbed conditions of the Dominican Republic, some by regular and some by revolutionary Governments, many of doubtful validity in whole or in part." On account of the uncertain character of these obligations and the insistence of the creditors, the United States, by a convention with San Domingo of Feb. 8, 1907,§§ arranged to step in, to see all

debts and claims settled for about \$15,000,000, and practically to guarantee payment. It was clearly stated that the same conditions had "disturbed peaceable and continuous collection and application of the national revenues for the payment of interest on such debts and for the liquidation and settlement of such claims," and that the whole plan was "conditioned and dependent upon the assistance of the United States in the collection of customs revenues of the Dominican Republic."

Under authority of this convention of 1907, the United States appointed a "general receiver to collect all customs duties," and extraordinary progress has been made in improving the financial status of San Domingo. But it will particularly be noticed that the American authority is admitted, in the strict legal interpretation of the convention, only to "the several Custom Houses." So we can almost say that our influence extends actually, in a material sense, only to the frontiers, though it must, of course, be admitted that, for rehabilitating finances and for increasing international respect, San Domingo is immensely obligated in a moral sense to the United States. Yet it is only in this indefinite way, and by recognizing that finance is fundamental to government, that we can attribute to the United States any "influence" in the interior of San Domingo.

### CONTROL IN HAITI

American influence in Haiti is conditioned upon and grew out of almost identical diplomatic and financial circumstances. "To confirm and strengthen the amity by the most cordial co-operation in measures for their common advantage" the United States and Haiti on Sept. 16, 1915, signed a Treaty of Amity,\* by which we were to aid that negro Government "in the proper and efficient development of its agricultural, mineral and commercial resources and in the establishment of the finances of Haiti on a firm and solid basis." As in San Domingo, a Receiver of Customs was

‡Vessels owned by Cubans were admitted to the same rights and privileges as the vessels of the most favored nation, by act of Congress, Feb. 10, 1900, United States Statutes at Large, Vol. 31, p. 27.

§Cf. Roosevelt, q. in Moore, "Principles," &c., p. 263.

§§"United States Statutes at Large," Vol. 135, p. 1,880.

\*"United States Statutes at Large," Vol. 39, p. 1,654.



appointed; but in this case it was done by the Haitian President "upon nomination by the President of the United States"; still more different, a financial adviser was attached to the Haitian Ministry of Finance and was enjoined to give him aid; there was also a supervising engineer for the "sanitation and public improvement of the republic."<sup>†</sup>

Nor are these the only items indicating a greater "influence" in Haiti than in San Domingo. There were placed in the Treaty of Amity definite restrictions on the Haitian power to contract public debts; there was another restriction to the effect that Haiti should "not by sale or lease grant jurisdiction to any foreign Government or power or enter into any treaties with foreign Governments or powers that would tend to impair the independence of Haiti"<sup>‡</sup>—both of these provisions obviously motivated by a desire to enforce the Monroe Doctrine in its proper sense as anti-European, and, as Roosevelt pointed out in his 1906 message to Congress, not as "an assumption of superiority and of a right to exercise some kind of a protectorate."

American influence was just as categorically recognized in a provision that only with the approval of the United States could the duties be revised downward; in a provision that an efficient constabulary should be created, "organized and officered by Americans," in which the future commissioning of Haitians was contemplated; and, finally, in a provision that, "should the necessity occur, the United States will lend an efficient aid for the preservation of Haitian independence"—which is an international matter related to the Monroe Doctrine—"and the maintenance of a Government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty"—which is a distinctly internal matter related to American "influence," and, in fact, the real basis of the numerous activities of United States marines amid the jungles and among the negroes of that tropical and unstable republic. The only check on American power in the phrasing of the agreement is in the time

limit—ten years, with a possible further ten-year extension.

#### POSSIBILITIES OF INCREASING AMERICAN INFLUENCE

*The Virgin Islands*—Our jurisdiction in the Virgin Islands is already so clear and our influence so obvious that there is neither need nor possibility of increasing it in the future.

*Porto Rico*—Our jurisdiction in Porto Rico is also so complete and our treatment of the Porto Ricans has been so successful in creating friendship that now no further legal measures need be taken toward increasing our influence, unless we consider the logical final measure of eventually admitting the territory of Porto Rico into the Union as a State.

*Cuba*—With Cuba our opportunity has come and gone. We have so well accomplished our task of creating a good Government there and of establishing the independence of that island that we can scarcely, in the days to come, find a pretext for increasing our "influence" under international law without violating our pledged word. If trade brings the two countries closer together—though the Eighteenth Amendment does at present separate them distinctly—we might abandon the doubtful bond of a mere defensive alliance for the firmer bond which annexation of Cuba as a State of the Union would create, though it is extremely probable that the linguistic differences in elementary education would militate strongly against such an event. Cuba would still be more in need of "Americanization" than Porto Rico; and Porto Rico is as yet far from eligibility to Statehood. And it is extremely doubtful if such annexation would be worth while; reciprocity in trade and a continuation of the present benevolent influences would be as valuable as annexation and would not entail Pan-American fear of American aggression even in the face of the "self-denying ordinance."

*San Domingo*—Our influence in San Domingo is less than in any other of the areas here under discussion. We have no jurisdiction in San Domingo, as in the Virgin Islands and in Porto Rico. We never have penetrated peacefully or oth-

<sup>†</sup>Ibid. Sec. 13.

<sup>‡</sup>Ibid. Sec. 9.

erwise into San Domingo, as we have, both peacefully and otherwise, into Cuba. And, as has already been pointed out, our legal jurisdiction in San Domingo stops at the frontier Custom Houses and does not involve financial advisers, sanitary engineers, Americanized constabulary, or a promise of future intervention, as in Haiti. The first steps toward increasing our influence, therefore, must be toward revising or supplementing the convention of 1907 so as to provide for these things. Perhaps, though, we have already, by an unlucky thirteen years, permitted our opportunity to slip by. The very success of our entry under the convention has tended to remove further and further from the realm of probability a future recurrence of the conditions which made even that slight intervention possible and justifiable. Granting for a moment, however, that such an opportunity should recur, if the United States does create provisions for financial advisers, sanitary engineers, Americanized constabulary, and for future intervention, San Domingo would assume the same status as Haiti, and the two cases would then be considered together, for their populations, their locations, their products, their circumstances, are not very widely different.

*Haiti*—American interests in Haiti are increasingly great. Port au Prince is a convenient port of call on the route from the Canal Zone to New York. Panama railroad steamers stop there and handle a great deal of produce in both directions. Our interests in Haiti are well protected by the navy and the marines. Our political influence is now as great as it can reasonably become without actual annexation or the establishment of a formal protectorate, both of which are quite inconsistent with present American policy. It is likewise as great as

will be tolerated by the Haitians in their present attitude toward Americans.

Strange as the statement may seem, the real obstacle to American friendship and attendant American influence in Haiti is not so much the way we act abroad in an official capacity as the way our citizens act at home in their individual, personal opinions and prejudices. Haiti is a negro republic and the United States is a white republic. The difference is as great as that between black and white. As far as the negroes are concerned, we do, of course, in most of our States, have democracy in politics irrespective of color; but we do not have, in the same matter, democracy in social relations or democracy in labor. The Booker T. Washington-Roosevelt dinner in the White House to the contrary notwithstanding, the Haitian negroes—and all the negroes of the West Indies for that matter\*—feel that the American people are too insistent about the "color line." This is the major impediment to an extension of our "influence" in Haiti and in San Domingo. They will trade with us; they will admit our assistance in their political and financial tangles; they will allow us to increase their customs receipts and to sit on the lid of their revolutions; but they will not feel with us or think with us. They remain suspicious and unfriendly toward us at heart, and hostile to our advances and our influence; like Shylock, they will do business with us—to their own advantage—they will walk with us and talk with us, but they will not dine with us. The first and fundamental step toward increasing our "influence" must be real progress in decreasing our prejudices.

\*See my article in The Pioneer Press, Nov. 9, 1919.





# Canada's Naval Policy

By D. M. LE BOURDAIS

[EDITOR THE CANADIAN NATION, OTTAWA]

IN the days when Canadians were content to consider themselves colonials the British Government maintained two naval squadrons in Canadian waters—one stationed at Halifax, on the Atlantic, and the other at Esquimalt, on Vancouver Island, in the Pacific. Then came the increasing power of Germany as a naval factor, and the policy of Admiral Fisher began to concentrate the British naval forces in the North Sea. The squadrons were withdrawn from Canadian waters, throwing for the first time upon the Canadian people the necessity for a consideration of steps to be taken for the defense of their own coasts.

The German war scare of 1909 brought the question into the realm of practical politics. There was a great diversity of opinion in Canada at that time in regard to the steps necessary to a satisfactory solution of the matter. The political party forming the Government of the day had been in office since 1896 under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who had long been known as a vigorous champion of the greatest degree of Canadian autonomy consistent with British connection; the Opposition was led by Mr. Robert L. Borden, leader of the Conservative Party, which was much more imperialistic in tendency and inclined to look upon Canadian autonomists as of doubtful loyalty to the British Empire, to say the least.

Another point of view, which, although not numerically strong, as regards representation in the House of Commons, yet exercised a powerful influence in the Province of Quebec, was the Nationalist group, which derived its principal inspiration from Mr. Henri Bourassa. They were opposed to anything that would in any way commit Canada to a course of action over which the Canadian Parliament should have no control. They stood for the greatest possible degree of Canadian independence.

On Jan. 12, 1910, Sir Wilfrid Laurier presented his naval proposals to Parliament. The bill provided for the creation of a Canadian navy to be manned by Canadians and controlled by the Government of Canada. The ships were to be built, as far as possible, in Canada.

Mr. Borden was, in a general way, in favor of a Canadian navy, but he criticised the proposals of the Government on the ground that the creation of a Canadian naval service would take a considerable length of time and that such a course would not meet the needs of the moment, which, he urged, were pressing; he also disagreed with the retention by the Canadian Parliament of control over the movements of the navy, claiming such control to be equivalent to "the absolute and complete independence of Canada from the British Empire." He advocated an immediate cash contribution equivalent to the value of three dreadnoughts.

On entirely different grounds was the opposition of F. D. Monk, the principal spokesman for the Nationalists in the House of Commons. The following extract from one of his speeches sums up the position taken by him and his followers:

What is proposed today is to invite us to become responsible for the policy, for the diplomacy, for the treaties, for the alliances of which we know nothing, over which we have no control, made by men, excellent men no doubt, but men who are not responsible to us. And the proposal is to ask us to assume all these responsibilities without our enjoying the privileges of representation.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier found himself between two fires—the Nationalists were all French Canadians and criticised him for his alleged imperialistic tendencies, while the Conservatives accused him of doubtful loyalty to the empire. He explained his position as follows:

I do not pretend to be an imperialist. Neither do I pretend to be an anti-imperialist. I am a Canadian first, last and

all the time. I am a British subject by birth, by tradition, by conviction—by the conviction that, under British institutions, my native land has found a measure of security and freedom which it could not have found under any other régime.

Discussing the proposal put forward by the Conservatives he said:

I have to submit that this idea of contribution seems to me repugnant to the genius of our British institutions; it smacks too much of tribute to be acceptable by British communities. That is not the conception, the true conception, of the British Empire, the conception of new, growing, strong and wealthy nations, each one developing itself on the line of its own needs and conditions, but all joining in the case of a common danger, and from all points of the earth rushing upon a common enemy.

#### PASSED BY THE HOUSE

The debate was long and acrimonious, continuing with short interruptions until April 20, when the Naval Service act passed the House of Commons.

During the course of the Summer of 1910 the opposition to the naval policy of the Government increased in the Province of Quebec under the influence of Nationalist propaganda; in other parts of Canada the Government was attacked from a point diametrically opposite—the imperialists were waging a campaign for immediate contribution and disparaging in every way the idea of a Canadian navy. It was contended that ships could not possibly be built in Canada; that, even if such were possible, it would cost too much and take too long. Canada's navy was referred to contemptuously as a "tin-pot" navy.

Encouraged by the progress which the Nationalists were making in Quebec against the common enemy, Laurier, the Conservatives now commenced an agitation for submission of the whole matter to the people by a referendum.

In the meantime an electoral district became vacant in Quebec—the constituency represented at a former time by Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself, and in which he still maintained a residence—the district of Drummond-Athabaska. Practically the only issue during the resultant by-election was the naval policy of the Government. Both sides strained

every resource to win, as the outcome might be taken as an indication of the attitude of the electorate toward that particular question. The imperialistic Conservative Party gave every support and assistance to the anti-imperialistic Nationalist candidate, who, to the surprise of the Government, was elected.

#### BEGINNING A CANADIAN NAVY

In the meantime the Government had proceeded with the organization of the Canadian naval service. Rear Admiral Sir Charles Kingsmill was appointed Director of Naval Service; two cruisers, the Niobe and the Rainbow, were purchased, and arrangements were made for the construction of two large dry-docks, one at Levis, Quebec, and the other at St. John, N. B. It was announced that tenders would be called for the construction of the other ships, the proposal being that the unit should be composed of eleven ships—four of the Bristol type, one of the Boadicea type and six destroyers.

The reciprocity agreement with the United States, introduced by the Government the next Spring, met with such opposition from the Conservatives that the Laurier Government decided to go to the country for re-election in the Fall of 1911. In Quebec the Nationalists continued their fight on the naval question. In that part of Canada west of the Ottawa River the fight raged around the cry of "annexation" raised by the opponents of the Government. Reciprocity with the United States would surely result in the disruption of the British Empire, cried the Conservatives. Canada's sons would be conscripted for service in British cruisers, declared the Nationalists. Fighting the extremists on both sides, the Government was defeated and Mr. Borden was called upon to form a Government. In recognition of the part which they had played in the defeat of Sir Wilfrid, four members of the Nationalist Party were given portfolios in the new Cabinet.

#### NO PROGRESS UND

Mr. Borden now found himself in a delicate position. He



the naval question, not with the Nationalists as opponents, as had Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but as allies. He must please his imperialistic followers and at the same time not displease his anti-imperialistic supporters. The Canadian navy was allowed to languish, and for the moment nothing was done.

In the Summer of 1912 Mr. Borden, accompanied by several members of his Cabinet, sailed for England and spent two months in consultation with the imperial authorities and in a round of banquets and functions.

The second session of Canada's Twelfth Parliament opened on Nov. 21, 1912. The principal item in the speech from the throne was the announcement of the Government's naval policy, in which it was declared that steps would be taken to strengthen the naval forces of the empire without delay.

In introducing his bill Mr. Borden presented a lengthy memorandum which he had received from the British Admiralty, and which ended as follows:

The Prime Minister of the Dominion having inquired in what form any immediate aid that Canada might give would be most effective, we have no hesitation in answering, after a prolonged consideration of all the circumstances, that it is desirable that such aid should include the provision of a certain number of the largest and strongest ships of war which science can build or money supply.

It was proposed to contribute the equivalent of three dreadnoughts, which was estimated at approximately \$35,000,000. Mr. Borden deprecated the idea of a Canadian navy; stated that the cost of building three ships in Canada would be at least \$12,000,000 greater than if they were built in England, and asked:

Is there really any need that we should undertake this hazardous and costly experiment of building up a naval organization especially restricted to this Dominion when upon just and self-respecting terms we can take such part as we desire in naval defense through the existing naval organization of the empire?

F. D. Monk, who had become Minister of Public Works in the Borden Cabinet in recognition of the support which the Conservatives had received from the Nationalists in the defeat of Sir Wilfrid

Laurier, resigned his office as a protest against the action of his leader.

### PERIOD OF BITTER DEBATE

The debate in the House ranged over much of the ground previously covered in the famous debate of 1910, but it exceeded in bitterness even that historic debate. The discussion raged day and night without a stop, excepting for Sundays, and finally, by means of the closure, for the first time adopted in the Canadian Parliament, the bill succeeded in passing the House of Commons May 15, 1913.

In order to become law a bill must also be ratified by the Senate. The members of the Canadian Senate are appointed, whenever vacancies occur, by the political party in power and are appointed for life. Thus they nearly always hold the same views as the party in office. The Liberal Party had been in power for fifteen years previous to 1911, and in that time the Senate had come to have a Liberal majority of twenty-two members.

When the bill reached the Senate an amendment was moved by Sir George Ross, Liberal leader in the Senate, that

this House is not justified in giving its assent to this bill until it is submitted to the judgment of the country.

The amendment carried, and the bill, thus amended, was sent back to the Commons. The amendment was not acceptable to the Government, of course, and the proposal was thereby killed.

Nothing further was done in regard to naval matters in Canada. In August of the next year the energies of the Canadian people were directed into other channels in the effort to equip and maintain as large an expeditionary force in France and Flanders as is possible with a population of not more than 8,000,000 people.

The time came when Canada had four divisions under the command of a Canadian General. As the war continued, the sentiment in Canada grew more and more in favor of Canadian control over Canadian men and money as far as such was compatible with the supreme command of Marshal Foch. At the Peace Conference Canadian delegates were heard claiming for Canada a place at the peace table equal to that of other bel-

ligerents, and such advocacy was backed up by the majority of the Canadian people.

### LORD JELlicoe's REPORT

In November and December, 1919, Lord Jellicoe visited Canada as part of a tour of the British dominions undertaken at the suggestion of the Governments of the various dominions with a view to securing his opinion as to the most desirable means of providing for the protection of the dominions individually and of the empire as a whole. His report, recently presented to Parliament by the Minister of Naval Affairs, advises the establishment and development of a Canadian naval service. He says in part:

The question of the naval forces required by Canada may be viewed in two ways: first, in the light of Canada's own requirements, and, secondly, in the broader light of the security and safety of the empire as a whole.

It is a significant fact, however, that both the consideration as regards local defense and the "broader question" of co-operation in imperial defense are promised upon a force maintained and controlled by the Government of Canada. The difference between the two is confined more to the question of cost than anything else. Lord Jellicoe does lay stress upon the necessity for a great degree of co-ordination between the royal navy and the Canadian Navy, and it may be inferred also that certain of his views relative to the desirability of Canadian control are more the result of his observations in the realm of Canadian public opinion than they are an indication of his personal inclinations. In regard to the force suggested as advisable he says:

The naval force suggested as adequate purely for the protection of Canada's trade and Canada's ports under the conditions assumed comprises three light cruisers, one flotilla leader, twelve torpedo craft, eight submarines, with one

parent ship, and certain auxiliary craft for training purposes, &c.

Such a force, he says, can be provided "on the basis of working up to annual estimates" of between \$5,000,000 and \$10,000,000, an expenditure which will provide for "local defense and defense of trade in the vicinity of the coast."

Referring to the question of Canadian co-operation in imperial defence he says:

If the question of the co-operation of Canada is looked upon in the wider sense of participating with the United Kingdom and the other dominions in the naval defense of the whole empire it naturally assumes much larger proportions.

The annual appropriation required in the latter instance is given by Lord Jellicoe as running from \$17,500,000 to \$25,000,000, but still under Canadian control. Following the presentation of the report to Parliament the Minister of Naval Affairs, the Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, informed the House that no action would be taken in connection with the report at the present time.

The question resolves back to the considerations underlying all Canadian problems at the present moment—Canada's status in the empire and as a nation among the other nations of the world. This matter will be discussed at an imperial conference which was to have been held in London in 1920, but which now cannot be held until 1921. Until this conference takes place nothing will be done regarding naval defense in Canada. Meanwhile, the struggle goes on, mostly under cover, between the imperialists and the Canadian autonomists, the naval question being only one of many.

[Mr. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine, announced in the Canadian House of Commons on June 14 that it had been decided to accept England's generous offer of one modern cruiser with a total complement of 400 men, two modern destroyers, Patrol and Patrician, and two submarines, H-4 and H-15. These vessels, he said, would be manned exclusively by Canadians, except the senior officers.—

EDITORIAL NOTE.]



# Original Terms of the Peace Treaty

## Germany's Lost Opportunity

JUST before the German elections took place, on June 6, 1920, material for election propaganda and election cries began to run rather dry; the lurid stories of alleged conspiracies, alleged secret armies, both White and Red, and alleged schemes for almost daily *coups d'état* had been so overdone that the public became indifferent to them. In these circumstances the parties of the Right, the National and so-called People's Parties were fortunate in being able to produce an original and entirely fresh allegation calculated to damage their opponents. It was categorically stated—originally by Helfferich at an election meeting—that the ruinous terms of the Treaty of Versailles need not have been accepted; that a much more merciful treaty had been prepared, and was, so to say, up the sleeve of the Entente should the Germans refuse to accept what was first presented to them, and that it had been entirely the fault of the cowardly and stupid Socialists that the German Nation had pledged itself to accept the treaty as first presented instead of holding out and getting the modified and better version.

The accusation did not have a very great effect on the elections, because it was started rather late and because it was unsupported by any evidence. After the elections had been held, however, revelations were made in another country for quite other motives. These revelations do not really confirm the account given by Helfferich, but they show how such a rumor might easily have arisen. There *was*, indeed, another set of treaty terms, and they were more merciful to Germany, but where Helfferich was wrong was in saying that they had been held in reserve; on the contrary, they had been definitely discarded before the terms, as we know them, had been published.

These revelations were made by M. Tardieu in the French Chamber on June 25. Nor would they have been made ex-

cept for a special set of circumstances. Important diplomatic revelations are almost invariably made in answer to some virulent attack on a diplomatist, who, driven into a corner and very often conscious of having acted with great difficulty and with the sincerest intentions, is tempted to defend himself against unjust attacks by quoting a single outstanding document which will disprove his opponents' position. This is exactly what has now happened. M. Clemenceau is the statesman against whom in his own country a most virulent and determined attack is being launched. Into the motives of this attack we need not enter; they are various. But we may briefly note the different points from which the attack has been engineered. In general, the attack takes the form of alleging that during the war, and even more obviously as regards the making of peace, M. Clemenceau unwittingly (but very stupidly) betrayed his country by undue submission to perfectly unjustifiable claims on the part of England, and occasionally on the part of America. As M. Clemenceau himself said very bitterly as far back as September, 1919: "I have waited my whole life for this victory. Now we have got it and I am in power, it appears I am a traitor. No, not even a traitor; I am too much of a fool to be a traitor."

There was first of all the question of the Mosul oil. Here M. Briand had originally made "a very good kind of a treaty," namely, the secret Sykes-Picot compact of 1916. But M. Clemenceau, succeeding him in power, threw away all the advantages so carefully obtained by M. Briand, all for the sake of a few fair words from Mr. Lloyd George. He started a fresh complementary set of negotiations, negotiations "which, we are told," says M. Tardieu in his defense of Clemenceau, "were the height of absurdity; we are said to have let all kinds of places slip without knowing what they were or where they were, or what

they were worth." Thus did M. Clemenceau's Government (according to its critics) undo all the good work of the Briand Government on the great oil question.

Secondly, there is the heated controversy about what happened exactly on the eve of the German armistice. The attacking side asserts that the allied armies could easily have marched in triumph to Vienna and Munich; it would practically have been a march past, "and the terms might have been dictated to the enemy in one of his own capitals." Again M. Clemenceau is accused of having thrown away this tremendous position of advantage. Once more he gave way to the inexplicable suggestions of England, that the Southeastern Army should be "broken up" and the English half of it deflected for useless operations in South Russia, thus altogether spoiling the magnificent and fruitful project of the march on Vienna.

Both of these accusations are new points in the attack on M. Clemenceau, but they only reinforce a much older accusation, one that goes back at least twelve months. This older and more permanent accusation is as follows: M. Clemenceau is asserted to have given far too good terms to Germany, and to have done so in deference to President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George. At this point the French politician is accustomed to develop a dramatic contrast between the respective positions of England and America on the one hand and France on the other. America is so obviously withdrawn from any chance of attack or damage by any European country that her policy (in the eyes of a Frenchman) must necessarily be distorted by her peculiar position of safety. But even England is comparatively safe, placed as she is on the further side of the North Sea and the Channel, and she, too, views the European position far too much from the lofty and indifferent standpoint of her own security. But France, poor France, is only too much exposed, exposed to every attempt at *revanche* on the part of Germany; she alone, therefore, can take the right "European" point of view,

and, in defending herself, defend the peace of all the other European countries. But here the Treaty of Versailles is most inadequate in the eyes of that section of the French public which has recently forced its way to the front and seems to live on nerves and fear of the next war; and again M. Clemenceau is the culprit.

As long as he was still in power, M. Clemenceau, by his great eloquence, by his biting wit, by his merciless satire, was able to hold his own, and the attacks against him were tentative and spasmodic. But now that he has been forced to retire to private life, his enemies have the field to themselves and lose no opportunity of flinging themselves on his work and on those men, namely, the unfortunate present Government, who have succeeded to his policy; "some people's courage," as M. Tardieu said sarcastically in his speech, "is very late in ripening." M. Tardieu, in this speech of June 25, made a very spirited defense of the man "without whom the sacrifices of the trenches would have been of no avail." He dealt with the Mosul oil, he dealt with the alleged break up of the Southeastern Army; but he reserved, as a kind of *bonne bouche* at the end, his very startling defense of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

He declared, in effect, that, bad as they were (i. e., bad from the standpoint of the Frenchman), they yet might have been ten thousand times worse; that another set of terms was brought to the conference by the English and Americans, terms against which, as he says with perfect frankness, M. Clemenceau struggled "with patient firmness" for six months. "These terms," he continued, "have never been heard in this House, and they should be heard," and he proceeded to give a few "chapter headings," as he called them, as follows:

ORIGINAL TERMS OF PEACE BROUGHT BY THE ENGLISH AND AMERICANS TO THE VERSAILLES CONFERENCE.

Immediate admission of Germany to the League of Nations.

No interallied occupation of the left bank of the Rhine.

No French occupation unless for a *nom* period of eighteen months. *ressive*



Payment by France to Germany on account of public property taken over in Alsace-Lorraine.

No cession to France of the Sarre mines.

No special administration system for the Sarre population; no punitive indemnities, so that France would have been able to claim only 40 per cent. of her damages and war pensions from Germany.

Germany to be freed of her indemnity at the end of thirty years, whatever the sum she might have payed up to then.

Half the indemnity to be accepted in paper money.

Distribution of merchant tonnage in proportion to the amount of war prizes held.

Perfect liberty for Austria to join Germany at once if she wished to do so.

These terms were read to the French Chamber, which received them with the greatest excitement and indignation. M.

Tardieu was forced into naming by name both the English and American nations as authors of these terms; "it was sometimes the one," he said, "and sometimes the other, sometimes the English, and sometimes the Americans, and we had a mighty struggle, first to get the text of the treaty as it was actually sent to Germany on May 7, and, second, having got this text, to maintain it intact to the end." On the whole M. Tardieu has not been guilty of any very great inaccuracies, although a certain amount of caution must necessarily be observed in accepting statements so obviously made for the sake of proving a defense.

NOTE—The terms as given above are translated from the version of M. Tardieu's speech given in the official proceedings of the French Chamber, *Journal Officiel*, June 26, 1920, p. 2446.

## The Bolsheviki and the Russian Trade Unions

[TRANSLATED FOR CURRENT HISTORY BY DR. SAVRONSKY, KERENSKY'S PRIVATE SECRETARY, AND INTERPRETED BY JOHN SPARGO]

UPON no phase of the Bolshevik régime in Russia has it been more difficult to obtain comprehensive and precise information than upon the status of the trade unions. Numerous and conflicting reports have been published upon this subject: we have been assured, on the one hand, that trade unions have been suppressed, and, on the other hand, that they virtually control the Government. At last we are in a position to base our judgment upon full and authentic information. On Feb. 29 of this year *Pravda*, the official organ of the Russian Communist Party, published a long report, a series of sixteen "theses," entitled "Economic Organizing and Propagandist Tasks of the Communist Party and the Industrial Unions," in which the entire subject is treated. The author of the report is Vladimir Lenin, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Third International, and the Petrograd Soviet, and a

member of the Central Soviet Government. He is also Chairman of the Petrograd section of the Russian Communist Party.

In the first three theses Zinoviev explains that the Bolsheviki are committed to the theory of "industrial unionism" as against "craft unionism." They seem on general principles to favor such industrial unionism as we have exemplified in the United Mine Workers of America (which embraces all who work in and around the mines) rather than the idea of "one big union," but this is more or less an academic question now, Zinoviev explains. The trade unions in the Soviet State are no longer militant bodies; they are a part of the industrial organization. They are, however, subject to control by the Soviet Government and by the Communist Party. Following is a practically complete translation of this important document:

## THESIS I.

### What Is a Trade Union?

In order to clarify the question of the mutual relations between the party and the trade unions, it is first necessary to give a precise definition of "trade union."

From the point of view of revolutionary Marxism, a trade union is by no means merely an organization of workers "with the aim of maintaining and increasing their wages" (the definition given by Mr. and Mrs. Webb), or a society of workers "aiming to give assistance to its members during unemployment and to defend their interests when entering into a contract with the employer" (the definition given by Brentano and Sombart). Bolshevism has never agreed with the formula of the Second International defining the trade union as a "permanent union of hired labor of a certain occupation in order to improve the conditions of labor and to fight against their aggravation under the capitalistic system" (the definition of Adolf Braun, which has been supported by Legien and even by Bebel).

As early as 1913 Bolshevism, in its polemics against the Mensheviks, formulated its definition as follows:

"The trade union is a permanent organization of workmen of a certain branch of industry (and not only of a certain occupation), for the special purpose of directing the economic struggle of labor, and to participate, together with the political party of the proletariat, in the emancipating struggle of the working class for the abolition of hired serfdom and for the conquest of socialism." (See our articles in the Pravda of that time, collected in the pamphlet entitled "The Labor Party and the Trade Unions," published by the Petrograd Soviet in 1918.)

It is now necessary to develop this formula. Since 1913 very considerable changes have occurred. The power has passed over to the working class. The bourgeoisie has been expropriated. In connection with this change, the tasks of the trade unions in Russia have been, of course, considerably altered. The first All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions, which took place at the beginning of 1918, passed the following resolution:

"The October revolution, which transmitted the power to the working class and the poorest peasantry, has created quite new conditions for the activity of all labor organizations generally and also for the trade unions."

First of all, the trade unions at the present time do not have to consider themselves as the defenders of the workers when selling their labor. There are no more entrepreneurs in the former sense, who were powers of labor energy. The struggle against the exploitation by the middle and small employers and contractors, &c., is being carried on not only by the trade unions, but also by the whole Soviet State machinery. The trade unions under the present conditions have no

necessity to accumulate strike funds, to organize strikes, &c.

What are the actual tasks of the trade unions in Russia at this moment? The answer has been given by the resolution of the first All-Russian Conference of the trade unions, which was supported on behalf of our party: "The point of intensity in the activity of the trade unions must at the present moment be transferred into the sphere of organizing the economic system."

The question, What is now a trade union in Russia? may be answered:

"The industrial union in Russia at the present period is a permanent organization of all workers of a certain branch of production forming one of the principal economic organized bases of the proletarian dictatorship."

The "industrial union," striving to take an energetic participation *under the direction of the Communist Party* in the whole struggle of the proletariat for the reconstruction of society on Communist principles and the abolition of classes, is transferring the intensity of its work into the sphere of the economic organization, namely:

1. To participate in the organization of production on Communist principles through the respective sections of the Councils of National Economy ("Sovnarkhos"), &c.

2. To participate in the reconstruction of the productive forces of the country, which have been destroyed during the war and the present economic crisis.

3. To prepare statistics concerning labor and its distribution over the whole country.

4. To participate through the distribution committees in the organization of exchange of goods between the towns and villages.

5. The same participation in the sphere of the accomplishment of general labor conscription.

6. To help the food organs of the State, the food committees ("Komprod") and the consumers' communes.

7. The same in the solution of the transport and fuel crisis.

8. To support the work of building up the Red Army.

9. Full, complete and devoted support of the Labor Army.

10. In addition, likewise, the due protection of labor (according to the Labor Code) to fight against the narrow-minded, egotistical tendencies of the workmen, who, owing to their backwardness, are looking on the proletarian State in the same manner as the usual entrepreneur.

These, for instance, must be the functions of our unions.

The industrial unions, being practically communistic schools for large numbers of the proletariat and semi-proletariat, are becoming one of the organs of the proletarian State machinery, while being subjected to the Soviets, as the present historical form of the proletarian dictatorship.

The party must in the most resolute manner oppose all attempts to diminish the power

from  
pressive



of the industrial unions, not to say to abolish them as outlived organizations; our platform has truly pointed out that "the machinery of nationalized industry has to rely first on the industrial unions (trade unions)." However, our program indicates that the unions "must be liberated from the guild narrow mind" in order to be able to fulfill the above-mentioned task. The attention of the party must be called to this point: Only by means of determined educational work inside the unions will the party help the unions to overcome the narrow spirit of guilds and the other negative sides of the movement.

## THESIS II.

### *The Organization of Unions on an Occupational Basis or According to the Branches of Production*

Two tendencies have been fighting in the international labor movement, namely:

1. For the organization of trade unions on the basis of occupation.
2. For the organization of trade unions on the basis of branches of production.

The second principle, that of the industrial unions, is of more usefulness for the proletariat, even in the capitalistic system, as it gives immense advantages during a strike struggle; the industrial union has in its hands not only one occupation but the whole branch of production, and if it contains the greater part of a certain industry the trade union may more easily stop production entirely and compel the employer and the capitalist State to make concessions.

Revolutionary Marxists have defended organization according to the second principle because the industrial unions may better prepare for the future task of organizing production on communistic principles. The industrial union is in a better position to review the whole machinery of production, which is impossible with division according to occupation.

In Soviet Russia, where economic reconstruction on communistic principles has already begun, it is especially necessary to organize the unions on the industrial principle. This principle has already been adopted by the Russian movement, and it is consequently only necessary to carry it to its conclusion. There are now thirty-four All-Russian unions. The task of our movement is to integrate and to reduce the number of unions to a minimum of about twenty, for instance.

Similarly it is radically necessary to change the name of the trade unions and to call them industrial unions.

## THESIS III.

### *Centralization or Decentralization*

There is also an old controversy in the international trade union movement on the question of centralization. The opportunists

all over the world have been defending the small "independent" unions, which are not co-ordinated at one centre and are therefore unable to fulfill the tasks of the struggle against the capitalists. The revolutionary Marxists are, on the contrary, always defending the necessity of utmost centralization.

If the utmost centralization of the industrial unions in the capitalist countries is indispensable for the successful struggle against the employers and their capitalist Government, the utmost maximum centralization is not less necessary in Soviet Russia, in order to enable the industrial unions to participate in the most able manner in the organization of the national economy on the All-Russian scale.

The process of the integral centralization of the industrial unions on the All-Russian scale has already begun. It is necessary to pay more attention to this problem than before.

Theses IV. and V. deal with the transformation of the trade unions into State organs. It is interesting to note that membership in the unions is to be made legally compulsory for all persons engaged in industry, though this is not being hurried. In the meantime, the unions have a power over their members never exercised, or even claimed, by the unions in any other country. They mobilize their members for military service, compel workers to go where wanted, and so on. This they can do because they are no longer trade unions in the sense in which we understand the term, but "organs of the State power." Where scientific and technical experts are attached to an industry they must be brought into the unions as members.

## THESIS IV.

### *Nationalization of the Trade Unions*

As early as the All-Russian Congress of the Trade Unions, which took place in January, 1918, it was stated:

"The Congress is convinced that the process which has now commenced will result inevitably in transforming the trade unions into organs of the Socialist State, and participation therein would be compulsory on behalf of the State (by law) for all persons engaged in a certain branch of production (occupation)."

This conviction on the part of the Congress has proved true. The trade unions are taking up successively, one by one, the tasks or duties of State organs. When trade unions are mobilizing their members, when they are fastening workmen to a certain town, when they are sending labor forces from one point

of Russia to another, when they are expressing their decisive opinion in matters of tariffs, &c.—when they are decisively influencing the action of the Sovnarkhos (Councils of National Economy)—they are speaking and acting as organs of the State power.

But even because the process of nationalization of the trade unions has been developing progressively and quite normally, there is no necessity to accelerate this process by force and proclaim formally and immediately their nationalization. The Communists who are acting in the trade union movement may fully associate with the resolutions of the first and second All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions on this issue, *approaching slowly their inevitable full nationalization.*

### THESIS V.

#### *Party Trade Unions and Attraction of Experts*

The proletarian party must conceive the reasons for that conscious attitude on the question of inviting experts to personal administration (of industry), which may be found in some labor circles that are anxious lest imperceptibly the power of a hostile social class might be strengthened. The proletarian party has to consider how to provide serious guarantees in the organization in order that this may not occur while utilizing scientific and technical experts. For this purpose it is necessary to introduce the system of Labor Commissioners attached to the experts (on railways, &c.).

In this sphere definite problems are awaiting the trade unions. One of the first important problems to be solved by the industrial unions will be to realize the aims of our program, which prescribes the utilization of "the scientific and technical experts" left to us by inheritance from the capitalistic State, in order that the workmen may go through a long training by working by the side of these experts in conditions of common comradeship.

To this end the experts are admitted as members into the industrial unions according to their profession. As the case may be, in the industrial unions must be formed special sections and sub-sections for the experts, and by and by, according as the experts make themselves acquainted with the workmen and act in agreement with them, all restrictions of their rights which were due to the transition period shall be abolished.

In case any opposition should arise to the use of experts in the reconstruction and administration of industry, the party should oppose the utmost resistance to such tendencies as are in contradiction to the interests of the Communist construction at this period, and are not in conformity with the party program. The party is striving to put into the service of Soviet Russia all the scientific-technical energies of the country, under the strong control of the working

class, as has been the case in the sphere of the Red army.

In addition, the party must keep in mind that, for the purpose of direction and administration of economic work, it would be easier than in the military sphere to prepare, by and by, *proletarians selected from among the mass of members of the Russian Communist Party who would be able to take the matter into their own hands.* The party has to promote the creation of a network of technical schools and lectures, in order to enable the most intelligent workmen and peasants to get the necessary training for holding the offices of technical administrators and directors of factories, mines and of the Soviet economic organization generally. As we were able to create for the army hundreds of courses, we must now cover the whole country by a network of courses where Red technicals, Red engineers, Red experts and the Red administrative staff generally are to be prepared for the direction of industry and economic organization. The most important aim of the party organization and of the industrial unions must be to pay careful attention to every workman or peasant who manifests talents or abilities in the economic sphere and to support and encourage organizers coming from the people.

Finally, it is necessary that the transmission of the State control (inspection of the workers and of the peasants) into the hands of the workers must be accomplished energetically and as quickly as possible.

Theses VI., VII. and VIII. are especially interesting because of their insistence that both the Soviets and the trade unions must be entirely subordinated to the Communist Party. Neither political neutrality nor independence is permissible for the unions. (Theses IX. and X. are omitted as being of only local and transient interest. The first deals with the regulation of political factions in the unions and the Communist Party, the second with organization of the agricultural proletariat).

### THESIS VI.

#### *Party and Soviets*

The trade unions are acting by the side of the party and Soviets. In order to conceive the mutual relations between the unions and the proletarian party, it is necessary to keep in mind that in present-day Russia the Soviets are still more mass organizations than the trade unions, and their functions are interlacing with some of the functions of the trade unions.

The eighth Conference of the Russian Communist Party has given the following definition:

"The Soviets are the State (Government) from organizations of the working class an  
pressive



the poorest peasantry, which are carrying on the dictatorship of the proletariat during the interval until the State has died out. The Soviets are uniting in their organizations tens of millions of workers and have to aim at uniting in their ranks the whole of the working class and the poorest peasantry. The Communist Party is the organization which joins in its ranks only the vanguard of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry, that is, that part of these classes which is consciously aiming at realization of the Communist program. The Communist Party has set before it the task of attaining the decisive influence and full leadership in all labor organizations, namely, trade unions, co-operatives, rural commissions, &c. The Communist Party is especially striving to carry out its program and its full control in the present State organization by the Soviets."

There is no doubt that in the future all the various kinds of labor organizations will be combined in one body. But it would be useless to discuss now the question which of the present forms (of labor organizations) will be of the longest standing.

### THESIS VII.

#### *The Theory of Equal Rights*

In the Second International, even in the best part of it, the dominating opinion has been that the party on the one hand and the trade unions on the other are organizations (of the working class movement) with equal rights and of the same value, which are functioning in the capacity of contracting parties when big questions arise.

The party has to carry on the political leadership, while the trade unions maintain the economic leadership. For instance, the German Social Democracy, with the sanction of August Bebel, accepted a resolution that in the event of its being necessary to use the general strike this could only be resolved by an agreement between the central committee of the party and the general council of the trade union.

From the point of view of Communism, this opinion cannot be admitted as true. The adherents of revolutionary Marxism have always declined this view. From the point of view of revolutionary Marxism, the party represents the highest synthesis of all parts in the struggle of the working class for its liberation from capitalistic serfdom. The Communist Party is connecting the political struggle dissolubly with the economical; it is guiding and directing both the economical and the political struggle. The party is the vanguard of the whole proletariat. The party is, by the theory of Communism, lighting all the windings of the way. The party is representing the brains of the working class. Therefore, the work which the trade unions are performing forms only a part of the whole of the Communist Party. There can

be no more talk of any concessions to the theory of equal rights in the present period of dictatorship. The slightest deviation in this direction must be strongly and relentlessly opposed by the party.

### THESIS VIII.

#### *On the Neutrality of the Trade Unions*

The contemporary trade unions are not formally subjected to the Communist Party. All workmen and workwomen, without distinction of party and confessed convictions, are accepted by the trade unions. Neutral workmen can enter into our trade unions. But, at the same time, the Communist collaborating in the trade unions should on no account ignore the conservative character of such neutrality. The Communists and the Communist fractions in the trade unions must frankly propagate Communism. *The trade unions must regard themselves as schools of Communism.* All leaders of the trade unions should incessantly point out to the workers that the enemies of Communism, in insisting on the neutrality of the unions, are defrauding the workers and should explain to them why the formerly neutral trade unions are supporting the Communist Party, recognizing the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet power and the world revolution. The Communist Party is conquering its influence in the trade unions exclusively by its practical detail and self-denying work inside the unions and by delegating its most loyal and steady members, for all leading posts in the unions. Only such an influence, conquered in the course of long years and practical work, can be strong and steady.

Thesis XI. deals primarily with the factory committees, but throws little light upon their present status. The factory committees, or Soviets, during the first period of the Bolshevik régime, undertook the management and direction of industry. Their complete and disastrous failure led to "the introduction of the individual administration of industrial undertakings," and it was necessary either to abolish the factory committees or to give them a totally different function as consultative bodies. While factory committees have been nominally retained they have been shorn of all powers and count for far less than many of the factory committees to be found in this country.

### THESIS XI.

#### *Factory Committees and Trade Unions*

The factory committees have made a large evolution during the last few years. The part of these committees, acting in the capacity of big political concentration points



ZINOVIEV, FIERY ORATOR OF BOLSHEVISM AND AUTHOR OF THE DOCUMENT LIMITING THE RIGHTS OF LABOR UNIONS IN RUSSIA, IS THE CENTRAL FIGURE IN THIS GROUP. ON THE LEFT IS BUHARIN, ACTIVE IN SUPPRESSING FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, AND ON THE RIGHT IS KAMENOV, WHO HAS BEEN INFLUENTIAL IN SHAPING THE EDICTS OF THE LENIN GOVERNMENT

before the February revolution, is known to all. In the interval between February and October revolutions the factory committees were the first organizations which actually began to exercise control over production. After the October revolution they served as the basis for organizing and carrying out the nationalization of industry. A large number of the best workmen who entered into the administration of the nationalized undertakings and our headquarters came out from these committees.

After the All-Russian Union of Factory Committees was abolished the rôle of the committees radically changed. The committees became cells of the trade unions and remained in this rôle until now.

The factory committees ("fabcom") may participate in the organization of production in the same proportion and in the same manner as the trade unions. Like the trade unions, which do not replace the Council of National Economy, but only delegate a number of their members into the representative sections of the Council of National Economy

("Sovnarchos"), so the factory committees should not replace the administration of the undertakings, but only serve as a basis for the administration.

The factory committee has another big importance. Our party suffers from the lack of an organization machinery which would automatically draw out from the ranks of the common members new workers for responsible offices. At the present time the party has at its disposal about 1,000 members all over Russia, whereas, now, when the struggle with the economic destruction becomes the principal task of our party, a large number of organizers had to be taken from among the common members of the party. The factory committee appears to be that cell which, in addition to the "collective," may form the machinery to supply thousands of workmen from the factories to fulfill various functions of economic organizing.

For this reason the party is resolutely for retaining the factory committees under the condition that their functions may be once from oppressive



more precisely determined by a special decree. The beginning of the introduction of individual administration in industrial undertakings would not make the factory committees useless, but, on the contrary, this necessary reform would make the retaining of the committees more useful.

It is necessary not only that the trade unions should regard the factory committees formally as their cells, but that they should organically grow together with them and control their regular renewal and their work.

Thesis XII. throws further light upon the power of the unions over their members under the Soviet régime and clearly indicates the opposition that has developed in the unions to the compulsory labor system. There is much significance in the fact that opposition to labor conscription and the demand for "the freedom of labor" are identified by Zinoviev as trade unionism. Theses XIII., XIV. and XV. are interesting criticisms, from the Bolshevik standpoint, of the trade union policies, and bear a strong resemblance to the criticisms of the American Federation of Labor by our own radicals. Thesis XVI. discusses the relation of the Russian trade unions to the Third International.

### THESIS XII.

#### *Trade Unions and Compulsory Labor Duty*

The transition to compulsory labor places new problems before our trade unions.

During the civil war and dictatorship the trade unions were frequently compelled to force their members. The trade unions proceeded to obligatory mobilization of their members to the front, to the food detachments, &c. The trade unions assigned their members to a definite place of work, and did not permit free movement, &c. All that was absolutely necessary to win the victory over the worst enemies of the working class. Now, beginning the resolute struggle against economic destruction, the trade unions will be obliged, more than ever before, to use constraint, in order to save the country from famine and cold.

The party must resist in the most resolute way all kinds of hesitation upon this question by the trade union movement, which has been marked, since the slightest hesitation in this sphere may bring the ruin of the proletarian revolution.

The creation of the labor army is the first serious step on the way to the introduction of general compulsory labor duty, the first step beginning by the militarization of labor. In connection with the transition to labor

armies, a return to "trade unionism" has been marked.

This "trade unionism" may appear in various shapes. "Trade unionism" finds its expression in the support of liberal "labor" politics in the Parliaments; in the ignoring of the unskilled laborer and the cultivation of a labor aristocracy; in very high membership dues, preventing the unskilled laborer from entering the trade unions; in the propagation of illusions, such as the idea that the trade unionist struggle—without revolutionary conquest of power by the proletariat—may result in a gradual growing into socialism.

All this characterizes the traditional expressions of trade unionist *mieschanstvo* (low-lifeness). The propaganda for "freedom of labor" in Russia today may also be characterized as "trade unionism." Similar trade unionist shortsightedness would be unwillingness on the part of the unions to collaborate in carrying through energetically ("with a rod of iron") the labor conscription, since it is impossible without this to overcome the present destruction and build up Communism.

The Russian Communist Party is deeply convinced that these hesitations are of a short-lived character, on the turning point to the new period and the new aims of the proletarian dictatorship. But where these hesitations have not been overcome, the party must immediately use its influence in this direction.

### THESIS XIII.

#### *Principal Defects in the Present Trade Union Movement*

The present trade unions are carrying on a colossal work and are facilitating in the largest measure the struggle of the Communist Party in the Soviet power for socialism. But, at the same time, there are in the present transitory period many important defects in the activity of some trade unions. When, for instance, some leaders of the transport unions on the Volga are defending the narrow-minded, egotistic demands of their members with regard to wages and are not helping the Soviet power to fight against exorbitant pillage, they are showing their backwardness and inability to rise above their narrow group interests. When some trade unions of officials are forcing upon the Soviet institutions people who are unable to perform their work; when these unions defend every demand of their members, forgetting that they have now before them not the former private enterprise, but the proletarian State, they are manifesting their narrowness. When the unions of printers are reviving the worst aspects of "trade unionism" they are directly accomplishing counter-revolutionary work.

The struggle against these negative sides of the trade union movement must be one of

the most important tasks of the Communists participating in the trade unions.

In addition, too, it is necessary to point out that there exists a danger of the trade unions becoming bureaucratic organizations.

The general meetings are attended only by a small percentage of members. A comparatively small number take interest in the affairs of the union. The directors of the unions have not always a sufficient living contact with the mass of their members, and economic conflicts are often occurring without the activity of the unions.

There are frequent cases in which the (wage) tariffs of individual groups of unskilled laborers are very low and in which the unions do not take care to improve their situation, since they have no close connection with the respective groups.

Admitting that to a large extent these defects could be explained hitherto by the extraordinarily difficult external conditions (permanent mobilization of the trade union workers at the front, &c.), the Congress charges the Communists who are collaborating in the trade unions to fight systematically against the indicated decline.

#### THESIS XIV.

##### *Concessions to Syndicalism*

The Syndicalist élite of pre-war time (the leaders of the French Confédération Générale du Travail) had, in 1914, infamously betrayed the interests of the workers, as the Social-Chauvinists, Johaux and Company, were disclosed as ordinary reformists of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Left Wing of the Syndicalists is now making considerable progress toward communism.

Whereas the best elements of French syndicalism are abandoning their former faults and are placing themselves on the ground of communism in proclaiming the demand, "All power to the Soviets," individual groups in Russia are trying to regenerate the worst features of syndicalism. The well-known party of the Left Socialist-Revolutionists has recently, at its conference, determined its demands with regard to labor policy as follows: "The transmission of the administration of industry and of transport to the trade union movement, namely, to the All-Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions," and "to enter, on federative principles, into a union of all trade unions throughout the world, in order to attain during the process of the present world revolution to the position of the administration of industry and transport all over the world by the Syndi-

opportunist point of view of the International. But when in Russia, where for two and a half years the power has been held by the Soviets of the Workers and Peasants' Deputies, and where experience has clearly proved that only an "Iron dictatorship" in the Soviet form and on a national scale is able to hold the power, to repel all attacks, and to save the country from ruin; when in Russia plans are beginning to be revived to give the railways to the railway unions, the metallurgical industry to the metal workers' unions, &c., this means a big step backward. The tasks of the industrial unions in Soviet Russia at the present time are duly characterized in the platform of the Russian Communist Party, which holds that the unions are called upon to secure "the indissoluble connection between the Central State Administration, national economy, and the large masses of the workers," in order to obtain, as the result of a progressive, slow evolution—after the full victory of communism—the complete administrative power in the sphere of national economy by the unions.

The Communists who are working in the trade unions are obliged to fight in the most resolute manner against Syndicalist tendencies and not to permit any concessions.

#### THESIS XV.

##### *The So-Called "Industrialism"*

In the same way it is necessary to oppose the tendencies of so-called "industrialism," which is being defended by some leaders of the Russian trade union movement. These "industrialists" wish to build our structure on the basis of the industrially skilled labor, and are treating in an offhand manner the mass of the unskilled proletariat. The war and the revolution involved, undoubtedly, considerable changes in the social composition of the Russian proletariat. This is true. The actual industrial skilled workers are undoubtedly the most developed part of the proletariat, but the Communists in the trade union movement can, on no account, pursue the method of supporting and enclosing in a special group the minority of the working class consisting of the skilled workers. The idea of communism has nothing in common with the policy of forming a labor aristocracy. The Communists of the trade union movement must aim, with the assistance of the progressive part of the industrial workmen, to organize the proletariat mass, including the unskilled laborers, and to attract them to the building of the State.

#### THESIS XVI.

##### *The International and the Trade*

*Unions arrived on June 3,*

merica and England a new demand, "power to the unions," is uttered, and new plans for One Big Union, the Alliance, are propagated in opposition to the old trade unions and to the official Social Democratic Party, this must be regarded as a step forward, compared with the

Germany's experience when in flames and some number of trade unionists the first massacre murder extraordinarily increased to official advices from 100,000 to 1,000,000, on June 24, impressive unions have been re-



sian example has clearly shown how the unions are successfully completing the Soviets, serving as one of the most important bases of organization for reconstructing economic life on Communist principles. The portion of the German Communists who are in opposition to their own party just on the question of the unions (the demand of these Communists is to leave the unions by masses and refuse to fight for their influence in the unions, thus proclaiming the unions unnecessary) are making a mistake and departing from the mass organization of the proletariat.

In view of the particular development of the labor movement in Western Europe, there are many prejudices against the trade unions among the Communists of Germany and other countries. Our party is of the opinion that it is impossible to leave the trade unions. In the process of the proletarian

revolution the unions will divide in the same manner as did the old Social Democratic Party. The experience of the German trade unions has shown that the unions in Berlin have already been liberated from the injurious influence of the "Scheidemann Social Democracy." The Russian trade union movement must take the initiative, uniting the Red International of the trade unions as did the Russian Communist Party in the creation of the Third International.

In the congresses of the Communist International should participate not only the political organizations, but also the trade unions which have shown by their work that they are standing on the basis of the proletariat dictatorship and Soviet power. In addition, it is necessary to begin now with the organization of the international unification of the individual trade unions which are standing on the platform of the Communist International.

## Rescuing Serbia From the Typhus Scourge

AT the Congress of the British Medical Association, which met in Cambridge, England, on June 30, many features of medical and surgical practice during the war were discussed. In a lantern lecture Dr. William Hunter described the rescue of Serbia from the scourge of typhus in 1915, the first great outbreak of typhus in Europe since the epidemics in England in the sixties. When Dr. Hunter arrived in Serbia, every building was filled to overflowing with typhus victims, who lay without care, without blankets or sanitary arrangements. The mortality was tremendous; over 120,000 died within three months.

As it was impossible to create sanitary conditions, it was decided by Dr. Hunter and his mission to develop methods of disinfection. All movements of troops were stopped, as well as all internal traffic, so far as that was possible, and every man, woman and child was mobilized in a nation-wide campaign. The simple barrel disinfector was adopted everywhere, and subsequently railway disinfectors were introduced. With the number of cases being stepped beginning in and in eight weeks had In connection with

declined almost to zero. Quarantine and disinfecting stations checked new outbreaks following the resumption of troop movements. The whole epidemic was thus virtually conquered in a few months, establishing a record in medical history.

Another important subject discussed at the congress was the cure of the African and Egyptian disease called bilharzia, to which is attributed the apathy and torpor of the Egyptians ravaged by the parasitic worms which generate the malady. Dr. J. B. Christopherson, late Director of the Civil Hospitals at Khartum and Omdurman, explained how the disease was contracted by bathing in water inhabited by certain fresh-water snails found in abundance in the Nile. Of the Egyptian fellaheen, no fewer than 80 per cent., he said, were infected, and traces of the disease had been found in mummies 5,000 years old. So seriously did the military authorities regard it that warnings were read every month to the Egyptian Expeditionary Force. The speaker gave instances of successful treatment by intravenous injections of antimony tartrate.

# RUSSIA'S AGONY

475

## Eyewitness Narrative of the Crisis in Which Kolchak Fell and Bolshevism Triumphed—The Author's Exciting Escape From Capture

By A FORMER MEMBER OF KOLCHAK'S STAFF

[SECOND INSTALLMENT]

Sent  
1920  
No. 6

*This is the second of three articles revealing the inside history of the fall of the Omsk Government and the retreat that ended in Kolchak's tragic death. Last month's installment told of the flight from Omsk to Irkutsk, the sufferings of the people packed in freight trains, the typhus scourge, the perishing of hundreds who tried to escape from the Bolsheviks on sledges over the snow. In this issue the author tells of his remarkable escape, thanks to kind Americans, from the fate of his chief. CURRENT HISTORY has obtained these articles through the British Legation at Peking, whither the writer made his way after the disaster that ended the hopes of constitutional Government in Russia.*

**W**E were lucky to reach Irkutsk in eighteen days, which in those times was a comparatively quick journey from Omsk. Some trains took three or four weeks; some never arrived at all, because they were either caught by the Bolsheviks or held up by the Czechs, who used the locomotives to draw their own cars toward Vladivostok, their port of embarkation. The Cabinet train did a record trip in only eight days, arriving on the night of Nov. 18, but naturally it had the right of way.

Scarcely had the Ministers stepped out on the platform and reviewed the guard of honor when they heard that a revolution in the town was imminent, as the Czechs had made an agreement with the Social Revolutionaries, who were simply a different shade of Bolsheviks. Our quondam allies even carried their animosity toward us so far as to issue a public manifesto, in which they accused the Kolchak Government of being an enemy of the Russian people. In spite of all their talk about how they felt obliged for conscientious reasons, &c., to throw in their lot with the Democratic or Social Revolutionary Party, the change of coat was purely due to self-interest—as

we guessed at the time. Afterward it was proved that when the Czechs thought our game was up and they no longer had any chance of getting back to their own country across Siberia and Russia, they determined at any cost—even honor—to facilitate their plans for a retreat eastward by currying favor with the rising power.

Unfortunately, when they decided to throw aside the mask and openly stand against us, these foreigners had all the advantage on their side. They were better equipped and stronger than we. They were also, as I said before, masters of the railway—and on the railway everything depended. The Cabinet, therefore, very nobly decided to sacrifice itself. All the Ministers who had worked so hard to build up an administration resigned in a body, asking Kolchak to form a new Cabinet, which would perhaps be more agreeable to the Czechs and better able to deal with them.

### THE PEPELAIEV GOVERNMENT

Kolchak, who understood the situation of affairs, accepted, not without grief, the resignation of the first massacre mutants, who had so long refused official advice from the expense of their own lives, on June 24, impressively



and discomfort. He took their last advice, which was to allow one man to form his new Government, and chose as that man Pepelaiev, a former member of the Duma, reputed strong, honest and fairly popular, who had had good training in the old Siberian Zemstvo and was sincerely devoted to the Supreme Ruler. Many said he was not the man for the place; but there was no one else in sight.

Pepelaiev formed the new Cabinet on the night of Dec. 1, not without difficulty. A few of the former Ministers were asked to continue holding their portfolios—some temporarily. Several accepted. Others, like my own direct chief, persisted in resigning, and disassociated themselves entirely from the Government, a wise move, as subsequent events proved. So deeply flowed the tide of revolution that those who attempted to stem it now risked their reputations and their lives uselessly.

The program of the new Cabinet was the logical outcome of circumstances—that is to say, a desperate attempt to get the more democratic elements to join in a compromise which they only spurned. A new effort, equally unsuccessful, was made to co-operate with the Czechs, while at the same time the hand of fellowship was held out to Atamans like Semenov, who had been on very bad terms with the old Cabinet. The antagonism of the latter was fatal. Their power began ten miles from Irkutsk; they controlled everything from the Baikal to the Pacific except the little zone, like an island, of the Chinese Eastern Railway, therefore they could at any time cut off our retreat from the sea. One cannot afford to quarrel with a man in a position to stick a knife in one's back. Thus we were obliged, owing to the geographical and strategical situation, to try and bring these hostile elements to a compromise.

#### CHAOS OF OPPOSING FACTIONS

Now the ideals of the Atamans and the Democrats can no more mix in the water. The former represent in its most cruel and step beginning and the latter—as seen in Sine and practically uncommunism. Besides,

the time had passed—if it ever existed—for a successful fusing of such diametrically opposed elements embittered by a long struggle. It was scarcely surprising, therefore, if a few weeks later the artificial arrangement fell through.

Still the unhappy officials of the Kolchak Government continued their efforts to unravel the many knotty problems clamoring for solution. They made little or no headway and could not even see ahead. As one of the Ministers said to me with a tragic look in his eyes, "I think our revolution should be called the Russian revelation, for it has revealed to us Russians that we are not practical enough. We have been dreamers, critics of life. The old régime got us into the habit of blaming all ills on the Government. Now, when we ourselves are the Government, most of us don't know even how to begin. Yet we must just keep on working for our forlorn hope, upheld by a single thought—duty."

#### BELATED CONCESSIONS

No sooner had Pepelaiev formed his Cabinet than he started off for the front to see Kolchak, and get a series of concessions from him. Among the reforms which the country then required were two of paramount importance—two without which all other remedies must have proved unavailing—the subordination of the military to the civil power and the immediate convocation of a popular assembly on absolutely democratic lines. Kolchak promised both, realizing his former mistake, so natural in a soldier, of having given too much prominence to the military.

Unfortunately, the concessions came too late. The people had lost faith in Kolchak by this time and loud complaints were heard about the abuses of his system. If only the country had been a little more patient in waiting for the promised reconstruction and given us time and toleration for the development of our plans, all might have been well.

From his mission, poor Pepelaiev was destined never to return. Whatever his faults, he expiated them all when he was stood up beside his friend and leader, Kolchak, against a prison wall and shot

by the Bolsheviki without a trial, knowing nothing of the crimes of which he was accused, and having no chance to defend himself. The man he left in charge at Irkutsk was Tretiakov, whose name is well known for its connection with the famous art gallery in Moscow, an institution to which Tretiakov often referred as "my grandfather." A handsome, accomplished fellow of about 30, he turned out to be a mere cipher, and when he saw the position was desperate gave up without a struggle, and left, passing on the responsibility to the next man, Charven-Vodali, newly arrived in Siberia and prominent only for work in the Zemstvos of South Russia.

### TRAPPED IN IRKUTSK

More clearly each day we saw the end approaching. On Dec. 21 we waked to learn that the pontoon bridge between the town of Irkutsk and its railway station, the only communication connecting us with the outer world, was broken. Report said that this single connecting link had been carried away by ice from the Baikal, but it was soon an open secret that the bridge had been loosed deliberately by the Social Revolutionaries to cut us off from the Trans-Siberian Railway. Now we were trapped and they could develop their plans more easily.

A general mass meeting was called for the 23d. It was dispersed by our loyal forces. Nevertheless, we realized our peril. We lay down that night knowing that our enemies in every house were discussing the exact time and manner of our arrest—perhaps our murder—and that our own soldiers were on the point of rebellion. As a matter of fact, the very next day, Dec. 24 (Christmas Eve), the 53d Regiment—one of our best, drilled by British officers—mutinied, and the men, walking out of their barracks on the left bank of the Angara, where the station was, seized the yards, thereby assisting the aim of the Social Revolutionaries to cut us off from Irkutsk. With the bridge gone we could send no troops to fight the mutineers, so their prearranged plan succeeded perfectly.

By a stroke of ill-luck I happened to

be in the station the day it was captured. Our leaders had decided a week before, when they saw the tragedy coming, to evacuate the vital working staffs of various Ministries to Vladivostok, where allied forces were keeping order. In accordance with instructions I had already sent several members of my department on ahead and was waiting for a suitable opportunity to join them. As soon as I heard the bridge had gone, I said to myself, "It's now or never." My friend W. of the Foreign Office and I spent several restless hours planning how to get away. In the afternoon of the 23d we managed to procure a pass to cross the river through the Allies, and W. sent his soldier servant to find a boat. This he succeeded in doing by paying 200 rubles—probably a record price for a ferry. We waited till nightfall, and then got across without arousing suspicion. It was anything but a pleasant trip, as we dodged between pieces of floating ice, which occasionally crashed against the frail sides of our little craft.

When we reached the railway yards we had a long and trying hunt for the special car allotted to us. Up and down, up and down the wilderness of tracks we wandered, stalking our quarry. I doubt if ever a big-game hunter had a more exciting chase or ran greater risks than we as we dodged in and out between trains.

At last we found our carriage.

### FLEEING FOR LIFE

Finding ourselves unmolested, I sent my soldier servant out at dawn in plain clothes to get the news. Here I must add that the devotion of our orderlies was touching. Originally I had two to serve me, but a few days earlier the second man had begged me for a pass across the river to fetch his things. He bade me good-bye with tears in his eyes. Astonished at such a show of emotion, I asked the other soldier what was troubling Sasha. "He had bad news, perhaps, from his ~~sent to the~~ <sup>out to</sup> other orderly who arrived on June 3, has no bad news. In flames and some is obliged to leave first massacre ~~mur-~~ come back." To official advices from <sup>on</sup> June 24, impressive



blame him. Even to remain so long in my service had meant running a great personal risk.

Our messenger brought back varied, exciting, and sometimes contradictory reports. But one point was hideously clear—we might expect to be arrested in half an hour. Hastily struggling into our clothes, my friend and I therefore started out to seek an asylum. Our only hope lay in the Allies, and each of us decided to go to the train of a friendly power and beg for sanctuary.

It was agreed that I should go first to the Japanese. They received me most kindly and courteously, but, though the Colonel in charge was profuse in his assurances that his people meant to protect us, he regretted that he could take no steps to do so until the allied High Council had finished its deliberations, which were to begin at 2 P. M.

"But we expect to be arrested in half an hour," I gasped.

"Very sorry," he answered, drawing in his breath; "I can only assure you our Ambassador intends to do everything to protect you." I thought bitterly of the place that is paved with good intentions, thanked him, and moved on. Let me add that the allied deliberations lasted two days and reached no definite conclusions. Had we waited for them to end there would have been nothing left of us to protect.

### SENSATIONS OF A FUGITIVE

The sensations of a fugitive and a beggar are the reverse of pleasant; nor is the prospect of being seized and tortured or stood up without trial before a firing squad an agreeable one. The disdainful remark of a reporter in Omsk, that "the civilian Ministers and their staffs were in a real panic over their danger," flashed across my mind. With what satisfaction would I have seen that man now in my place doomed to wander in the dim light over a wilderness of tracks, hiding in every shadow like a criminal and starting at the sound of his own footsteps. He crept and crunched on the thin snow. Such an experience would realize that to die like a military hero" he compared to the

horrors of being hunted as we were like rats with no chance to defend ourselves.

It was doubly tantalizing to see all the waiting trains, with their allied flags and red crosses, some with their engines smoking. If only one would pull out, I might ride to safety on a brake box, as many an outcast has done before. But the last express to leave that station had gone twenty-four hours ago. We had been just too late to catch it, though some of our people were more lucky, including, I am thankful to say, most of our ladies. An order appeared immediately afterward that no more trains should be permitted to leave, and as a matter of fact this one in question was specially allowed through by the Social Revolutionaries only because the Czechs insisted; the latter had some of their own officers and their wives on board.

My friend was already there waiting impatiently when I reached our car again. He could read in my face that I had failed. Yet he laughed softly. "Never mind; don't be uneasy," he said; "the Americans will take us in." The Americans, God bless them! My relief was so great that I staggered, scarcely able to believe my ears. Was it possible that good sense and kind hearts had triumphed over red tape? "We must hurry," he added; "there is no time to lose. Let us go over to their train." So once more, but with very different feelings, we dodged again across the tracks.

### WELCOMED BY AMERICANS

Never shall I forget the welcome of those kindly Americans. Never can I thank sufficiently the officer in charge who greeted so heartily the little group of wretched fugitives, some of whom were but yesterday Cabinet Ministers. Several of the Red Cross nurses volunteered to double up and thus leave a spare compartment for us. It was only one more proof of the way the American Red Cross personnel always acted. In the midst of jealousies and enmities, they won everybody's love and gratitude. Among our unfortunate Russians, whether sick, wounded or simply refugees, they had the reputation of ministering angels—sustaining life, creating hope. Admi-

ration for the doctors and nurses was universal in Siberia, and it is a pleasure to add my small mite to the swelling total.

The relief of sitting down in a cozy compartment to rest just once without a thought of danger was simply delicious. It seemed like heaven to find a hot luncheon prepared for us, and this was but one of many little attentions devised for our comfort by hosts who could not do enough for their unfortunate guests.

We had come to our allies for shelter—none too soon—with nothing but the clothes on our backs. My soldier servant was instructed to try and bring our meagre baggage later to the American train. We warned him, of course, to do it as quietly as possible, and on no account to attract attention. While he was waiting for a favorable opportunity to carry out our orders, the Social Revolutionaries came to search our car. Vania, the orderly, was carefully questioned, but he had been well coached beforehand. "My master," he declared stoutly, "is an official of the Chinese Railway." "A civilian?" "Certainly." "Are you sure he is not a General?" "Have I not already said so?" "Then where is he?" "Where would he be but across the river in Irkutsk?" More questions followed about what the person concerned was doing, all of which Vania answered very smartly.

#### NOT OUT OF DANGER

The Social Revolutionaries were still suspicious, however, and insisted upon searching the car. They found it empty except for a lady, wife of one of the aides de camp, who was waiting to join her husband. With admirable self-control she kept her head. Instead of screaming or fainting, as a foolish woman might have done, she calmly went on polishing her nails and looked so innocent about it that the men did not question her, but simply walked out to arrest one of our unfortunate Colonels, who happened to be hiding in the train opposite. Describing the scene afterward Vania exclaimed: "Oh, she was a keen one, that woman—so cool in the face of all those specialists!" Unfamiliar words were rather a stumbling block to him, and

"Socialist" was always "specialist" in his vocabulary.

Greatly relieved though we were to have found shelter and to get the comfort of a few personal belongings again, we were still by no means free from anxiety. It was not only uncertainty about our own fate that worked on our spirits. We were terribly distressed about the many friends who were still in Irkutsk.

The consciousness that we might be an involuntary cause of trouble to our kind hosts, officially committed to the non-interference policy, was scarcely less disturbing. The simple excuse of common humanity and charity for protecting us would have availed them nothing in international relations. We therefore decided, in order to make things easier, to attach our own car to the American train. Then if our allies were asked whether they were giving us sanctuary they could honestly answer "No," for we should be in our own carriage. After a whole day's manoeuvring we managed to carry out our plan. Either the Social Revolutionaries did not notice the shunting or else they thought it was some private arrangement of the Americans.

#### WEARY DAYS OF WAITING

Our next desire was to see the train start, for so long as we remained in the station we and our hosts were in grave danger of discovery. But days dragged by, weary days of waiting and hoping to get off. At last on Dec. 31, New Year's Eve, which is always a great and happy festival for us Russians, we were cheered by the news that our train might start any time now—perhaps that very day. We had arranged a little celebration in honor of the festival, and the cook had promised us extra dainties, when in the midst of our preparations there was a sharp burst of rifle firing in the railway yards between the station and the group of trains. We expected, of course, some new attack on the Social Revolutionaries. Not arrived on June 3, ly filtered through town in flames and some from a body of the first massacre murder-  
General Skipetrov to official advices from from a point a kio, on June 24, impressive (from the next



fact, where they had their headquarters in armored cars,) in an attempt to retake the Irkutsk Station. Desirous as we were to see them oust the Social Revolutionaries, we regretted that our would-be deliverers were obliged to fight their battle over our heads, as it were. Bullets from rifles and machine guns whistled across the yards, and pattered like rain on the roof of the cars. Two pierced the walls of our compartment.

The station was actually taken and retaken twice, before, to our bitter disappointment, Skipetrov's troops were defeated by force of numbers. Among graver consequences, his failure condemned us to more weary days of waiting.

### VENTURING OUT IN DISGUISE

When we grew desperate from the confinement, some of us would venture out in a Y. M. C. A. disguise provided by our American friends. I sometimes walked up and down the platform for hours together till I was tired out, keeping carefully in the shadow of the cars, lest the passing soldiers might recognize my face even under a cap well pulled down. Some of our people who likewise got out to stretch their legs were actually stopped by these soldiers and asked the way or the time. But as agreed, the refugees all replied in broken Russian, so they were not molested. Though the soldiers appeared friendly enough, they did not attempt to fraternize further, perhaps because, for some reason, the Y. M. C. A. people were not popular with any party.

On Jan. 3, to our intense joy, we were told that five trains, including ours, would start within twenty-four hours. They were scheduled to leave in the following order: No. 1; Czech train; 2, American High Commissioner's train; 3, Czech train; or the News No. 4. We were naturally in a state of excitement. How eagerly we hurried through the window. 1 pull out, then 2, 3, 4. But we were disappointed again. "We must wait, after all," our engineer said about the decision. "We took the wrong track."

It was only ten hours later that we heard the welcome grinding of our wheels as we slowly began to move out of the station yard. Sweeter music never sounded in my ears. Off at last!

### THE JOURNEY TO HARBIN

The long journey to Harbin, which in normal times is a matter of two days, took us eighteen. All the way our kind friends the Americans appeared only to think of how to please and console us. One would bring books to distract our minds and relieve the tedium. Another would concoct a new dish to vary the monotony of a menu chiefly drawn from cans. I remember particularly the efforts of one kindly Red Cross nurse, of whom we had several on board. She was an adept at telling fortunes with cards, and would come to our compartment every evening to lay out the cards for us. There was a certain irony in seeing whether our fate was to be shot on the morrow or not. I must say the cards generally foretold the greatest horrors. When we protested, the nurse always answered seriously, "Well, you see, if I were to tell you good things you would know they weren't true, so I have to read what I see in order to convince you." The list of tortures and summary executions in store for us always ended by raising a laugh—so our kind friend managed to give us a cheerful good night after all, in her own way.

As a matter of fact, we were often in grave danger still. At any station we were likely to be taken off by Semenov's men, and we were under no illusions as to what that meant. There had long been friction between the Ataman and the Kolchak Government. Moreover, at this moment we were unpopular with all parties, so that almost any one, whatever his politics, would have shot us with pleasure.

Our trip to Chita went off without any noteworthy incident. As we neared this station, which was Semenov's headquarters and popularly known as "the Ogre's lair," the Americans warned us to make ourselves as inconspicuous as possible. We did so. But there was no attempt to molest us in any way, though

we were extremely anxious till we got clear of the town.

One dangerous stop was at Dauria, where for two years Semenov had established his peculiar intelligence department. It was a place men spoke of with a shudder. Ghastly events reminding one of the Middle Ages happened in this lonely spot twenty miles from the Manchurian border—events which shocked and staggered even those familiar with the Ataman's ferocity. Knowing that the train was likely to be searched here, we thought it best to slip into the diner, leaving our own car empty. I found a corner near the kitchen stove, which had the double advantage of giving me physical warmth and moral comfort. The Red Cross nurses, who took a keen interest in our safety, all managed to cluster around and hide us, without appearing to do so. One of them spread out her wide skirt, on the pretext of arranging it, to screen W. from the prying eyes of passersby.

#### ESCAPING SEMENOV'S CLUTCHES

Meanwhile we could distinctly hear Semenov's officers just outside the window asking for us. They had been told we were on board. To refuse their request to search the train would have looked suspicious. It was therefore granted, and one officer did actually enter our car, though not till we were safely in the kitchen. It never occurred to him that a Government official would be busy, as I was, examining coals behind the range.

Our American hosts, like ourselves, breathed a sigh of relief when we finally got away from that ill-famed station. All of us had heard dreadful stories of the shocking crimes committed there. When a man suddenly disappeared, if some one happened to ask for him, the answer would be simply, "Oh, So and So! He has gone to the debit of Semenov's account." That simply meant that he had been shot down ruthlessly and his body thrown out on the steppe to rot. I gathered that Semenov's soldiers were simply picturesque savages, many being Tartars, strikingly handsome in their gaudy uniforms, but cruel and repulsive

looking on account of their high cheek bones and slanting eyes.

Some versts beyond Dauria we reached Manchuria station, where we were to cross the frontier into Chinese territory—and safety. A bit of luck helped us here. Two of Semenov's officers here happened to be very friendly with the local American engineer. When they saw our train arriving they said: "We know So and So (naming us) are on board." The American calmly denied it. "Well," said the officer, "we have information of your presence from reliable sources, but if you say 'No' we will ask no more questions."

We looked forward with impatience now to arriving in Harbin, where we hoped to meet friends who could give us news of what had happened at Irkutsk since our departure. Gradually, from one source or another, we learned of all the sad events that had taken place after we left.

It appeared that after the mutiny of our troops on Dec. 4 and the taking of the station the Social Revolutionaries made a first attempt to get into the town itself four days later. They managed to capture the telegraph station, but after a whole day's battle on the 28th with the troops that still remained loyal they were repulsed to the suburbs.

On the 29th and 30th hope revived. Our success heartened the townsfolk. Theatres reopened, life became once more nearly normal. Proclamations posted in the streets announced that Semenov's troops were coming to rescue Irkutsk from the Social Revolutionaries. This cheerful atmosphere was rudely dispelled on the 31st, however, when news filtered into the town that after a pitched battle at the station—the very fight in which we had unwittingly taken part—Semenov's troops had been repulsed in many made prisoners. forces had re-

FUTILE NEGOTIATIONS began a reign

Our Ministers sent to the rescue  
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military forces, according to official advices from  
lorry, by Tokio, on June 24, impressive



intermediaries, but suggested that the respective delegates of both parties should meet on neutral ground, e. g., one of their trains. That meeting was little better than a farce.

At the appointed time the Social Revolutionary delegates arrived and were greeted by the Allies, who acted as hosts to both sides for the occasion. Though not prepared to show political partiality, they had a very gracious manner of offering whisky and soda to everybody. An hour was spent in social chat while they waited for our delegates. A second hour passed before the three Kolchak Ministers, with a nonchalance typically Russian, were seen slowly proceeding in the direction of the conference along the shores of the frozen Angara, which was really a beautiful sight with its banks fringed with icicles. On this lovely Winter morning these gentlemen were admiring the fairy view, oblivious of the passage of time and totally forgetful, in their appreciation of nature, of the desperate political crisis. Could such a thing happen in any other country?

A few apologies, more whisky and soda for our side, and the Allies retired, leaving the Russians to fight things out among themselves. The Social Revolutionaries produced a list of twelve conditions, and the Kolchak delegates asked permission to go home (via the charming ice scene again) to deliberate upon them. An armistice of twenty-four hours, afterward extended for twelve hours more, was arranged.

On the night of Jan. 4, just before the expiry of this armistice, our Council of Ministers met for the last time to discuss what could be done. I have referred elsewhere to our Russian love of talk. It

was never better exemplified than on occasion. Each person present at the meeting had a different idea. One Russian minister, another to fight, a Czech train, naturally in, at all. The meeting How eager, when, all present began to talk, they retired to the serious step, and decided anything. concerted con- the re- as taken by In connection with ita minister and took to, a ek."

vague but amiable quantity, who had too long left those under him to do as they pleased, left with a few others on foot toward Baikal. Before morning this strange little party had managed to walk twenty miles. Later they joined up with Semenov's guards.

On the 5th, when the armistice expired, the Social Revolutionaries, without waiting any longer for the answer that our Cabinet could not agree upon, quietly entered Irkutsk. Alas, in the confusion our people had neglected to warn the cadets in time. Many were therefore still in the colleges on the morning of the 5th, and when the Social Revolutionaries entered, these poor boys had no chance to escape.

### THE FATE OF KOLCHAK

On learning all these details we felt the deepest anxiety for Kolchak himself. We were safe at last, but he was still at Verdjni-Udinsk, beyond Omsk, under guard of the Czechs. It was horrible to feel that we could do nothing to help him any more—only hope and pray that he would not stop long in that dangerous spot, but be allowed to get out of Russia under allied safe conduct.

Imagine our consternation when we learned that, despite the fact that he was under the guardianship of the High Command of the allied forces in Siberia, he had been handed over to the Social Revolutionaries! There had been long pourparlers by direct wire before this decision, between Syrovoi, Commander in Chief of the Czech forces, and General Janin, who was then near Baikal, the results of which Kolchak and his staff awaited in profound agony. With a soldier's pride our Supreme Commander had been unwilling to leave the front—till too late. The time came when he had to trust to the faith and the humanity of the Czechs. Did he suspect that this was a desperate venture? Perhaps; yet that way there might lie a chance for the safety of his staff and the treasure he had in charge.

When he found his friends had played him false and delivered him into the hands of his enemies he realized that all was over, and with one bitter cry, "The

foreigners have betrayed me!" he went with dignity and courage to that prison from which he knew he would never come out alive.

His loyal supporters still clung to the forlorn hope that he might be given a just trial, but this hope was dashed when about Feb. 10 authentic news appeared that on the morning of the 7th the Chief of our Government, who, whatever his

mistakes and human faults, was still a brave and patriotic son of Russia, had been ignominiously murdered in the courtyard of the prison, where he had spent three weeks of perhaps the greatest moral suffering ever endured by any political or military leader, even in these troubled times.

*[To be concluded next month with a documented account of Kolchak's career and death.]*

## Siberia and the Japanese Army

### Facts Bearing on the Charge That Japan's Motive Is Imperialism Rather Than Self-Defense

JAPAN's real purpose in keeping her armed forces in Siberia after the departure of the Americans and Allies is still something of a puzzle. The Japanese themselves say that their object in continuing to occupy Vladivostok and the Maritime Province, in seizing virtual control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the vital artery of North Manchuria, and in maintaining a military grip on the whole region is purely one of self-defense. Marquis Okuma, Japan's veteran statesman, in an interview on May 20, 1920, said:

If Europe and America understand Japan's motives and give moral support, Japan will be ready to disarm in Siberia, try to improve conditions, and open the continent to commerce. If they are unable to reach an understanding, Japan will withdraw, but the world must face the consequences. \* \* \*

It is necessary for Japan and England to do something, and they would welcome the co-operation of the United States. Japan would like to withdraw her army from Siberia. It already has cost \$300,000,000 and many lives.

Japan offers the world an open door in Siberia and does not intend to monopolize the country's commerce. She wants her purposes made clear in order that the other powers will not suspect that she has other motives. If the other powers are suspicious, no other course is left open to Japan except to leave and disclaim responsibility for the consequences. If Bolshevism enters China Japan will be obliged to help her. \* \* \*

Other nations, however, are charging

Japan with a deliberate purpose of holding Eastern Siberia permanently. The Japan Chronicle, a British publication at Kobe, Japan, has long been making this charge and devoting much space to the subject.

In the Summer of 1918 it was agreed that Great Britain, the United States and Japan should send each 7,000 men into Siberia to preserve order. Japan immediately sent 100,000, the extra 93,000 being dispatched via Korea and Manchuria in order to fulfill the terms of the Sino-Japanese military agreement, under which Japan undertook to protect 10 and Chinese frontier. "Incidentally," adds the Chronicle editor, "this Zemstvo movement was forced on China against his will, and Mr. Chen Lu has as assembly American Chargé d'Affaires relations except will on no account co-operate in making war on the Russian immediately."

#### EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL ANNEXATION OF THE

Since the departure of the Japanese and allied troops the Japanese at Nikolaevsk in into active conflict with the Red forces had and have encountered they had begun a reign of terror on every hand.

view of the Japanese sent to the rescue these words: "The town in flames and some

We have, in the presence of the first massacre murdered, in accordance with official advices from Tokyo, on June 24, impressive their solution



and procedure of intervention has been a disaster. From the Czarist and from the Bolshevik points of view, and from every intermediate point of view as well, the Japanese intervention has been nothing but destructive.

Frequent battles with the Bolshevik forces occurred in March and April in the Maritime Province, at Nikolsk, at Khabarovsk and other points, and along the Chinese Eastern Railway on both sides of Harbin. Forced to withdraw from Khabarovsk and other parts of the Amur Province, and to give protection to hundreds of Japanese refugees from this district, the Japanese troops were confronted everywhere with intense hostility from all classes.

### SUDDEN ATTACK BY JAPANESE

On the pretext that the Russians had been sniping them, the Japanese forces suddenly surrounded and disarmed the Russian forces throughout the Maritime Province, treating their prisoners, it is alleged, with great indignity. Bloody scenes occurred at Nikolsk, where the Russians, expecting no attack, were overwhelmed by superior numbers. Vladivostok was taken on April 5 after eight hours of fighting; Russian and Korean prisoners were marched through the streets with their hands and arms tied with ropes. Eyewitnesses declare that the Japanese attack was unprovoked, and account acts of great brutality committed by the Japanese soldiery. Signs of prearrangement are seen by The

Chronicle in the fact that the losses in most cases were only

two, as compared with hundreds slain, though in some places

losses were greater; the

of the great bridge over the

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ectly co-ordinated.

the international diplomatic corps. The demand for the release of the Russians arrested and for the evacuation of the looted Government buildings was granted by the Japanese only in part. The Provisional Government also made a strong demand that the Japanese cease interference in Russian affairs, that they tender an apology, and that they return all the arms and munitions they had seized. Tokio was considering these demands toward the middle of April while awaiting the report of the Director of Political Affairs, who arrived at Vladivostok on April 13. Russian feeling at Vladivostok was running high; the trades unions were threatening a general strike, and the extremists were organizing an anti-Japanese press campaign, combined with terrorism. General Bulsuilev, Commander in Chief of the military and naval forces of Vladivostok, after one unsuccessful attempt, finally began negotiations with the Japanese on April 15 as representative of the Provisional Government. A military agreement signed on April 28 proved indecisive. Further negotiations lagged, but hostilities between the Russians and Japanese finally ceased on May 25.

### THE FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC

Meantime there came into being at Verkhne-Udinsk, in Transbaikalia, on the Selenga River, a new Government formed by Siberian Russians under the name of the "Far Eastern Republic," which the Peking correspondent of The London Times called "pink in appearance, but red at heart." It is composed of "nonpartisan peasants, workers and members of the Intelligentsia." Its Foreign Minister and dominating personality is A. S. Krasnochekov. The career of this man, whose real name is Tobelson, is of considerable interest. Tobelson, up to July, 1918, was a Chicago lawyer, a Communist by conviction, who claimed American citizenship. He arrived in Vladivostok in 1918 and went to Khabarovsk. Here he headed the Far Eastern Soviet. He was driven out when the allied nations began their intervention in August, 1918. He then wandered westward, and was finally thrown into prison under his assumed name in Irkutsk. He

was freed in January, 1920, when the local Social Revolutionaries ended the rule of Kolchak at that place. At Verkhne-Udinsk, surrounded by other Russian revolutionists who had been in hiding or in prison since the advent of Kolchak, he conducted his own publicity bureau, sending out broadcast news of the new-born Far Eastern Republic, proclaimed as the long desired "buffer State" between Soviet Russia and Japan.

The claims of this new State, as set forth in a note addressed to all the powers, included the formation of an independent republic of the eastern provinces of Transbaikalia, the Maritime Provinces, Saghalien, Kamchatka and the rights of the Chinese Eastern Railway now vested in China. The object set forth was the free election of a democratic Government and the appointment of a Provisional Government representing all parties, which would continue to fight reaction and would summon a constituent assembly to decide on the future of the new State.

This new buffer republic was recognized by the Moscow Government on May 17. Jacob David Janson, the Bolshevik Chief for Foreign Affairs in Siberia, stated subsequently that the full independence of the new Government was recognized, and that Moscow would take no hand in resolving for the Far Eastern Republic the problem confronting it in the attitude of the reactionaries under General Semenov, backed by the Japanese militarists, unless the Japanese invaded Bolshevik territory beyond the Selenga River. If the new republic asked for aid the Bolshevik Government, however, he stated, would send an army to assist it. "All we want now," said M. Janson, "is the evacuation of the Japanese and that the Russians be left alone to work out international problems." At this time the most easterly division of the Soviet Army was at Verkhne-Udinsk. At and around Chita were remnants of the Kolchak army and the forces of General Semenov supporting the Japanese in their operations against the Bolsheviks.

A statement was issued by Krasnochekov on June 2, addressed particularly

to the Japanese. Conciliatory in its nature, it recalled the declaration of the Japanese High Commissioner in Siberia to the effect that Japan would recognize the Far Eastern Republic as soon as it was politically, militarily and economically independent of Soviet Russia. He then set forth the fact that the Soviet Government had recognized this independence.

#### ORGANIZING THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Russo-Japanese Armistice Commission appointed to effect an understanding was made up of representatives of the Far Eastern Republic and of members of the Japanese Military Mission. This commission arrived at Khabarovsk on May 26. Discussions begun soon after at Gongota Station, midway between the Japanese-Semenov and Russian fronts, were temporarily broken off on June 2. A Moscow wireless of June 23 stated that Japan had agreed to recognize the Far Eastern Republic on condition that it should maintain complete political and economic independence of Soviet Russia, and that it should guarantee a democratic form of Government. M. Krasnochekov, the Foreign Minister, it was added, had declared these conditions to be acceptable.

During this time the new republic was working actively to complete its organization. One hundred and thirteen delegates met at Vladivostok on June 20 and formed a "Far East People's Assembly." M. Medvediev, President of the Zemstvo Provisional Government, announced his willingness to transfer to this assembly all the Government functions except those of a purely Zemstvo character. Elections were to be held immediately.

The event that gave Japan grounds for her subsequent annexation of the northern half of Saghalien was the massacre of 700 Japanese at Nikolaevsk in April. After the Red forces had reentered the city they had begun a reign of terror.

Japanese forces sent to the rescue of the survivors arrived on June 3, only to find the town in flames and some 120 survivors of the first massacre murdered, according to official advices from Tokio. In Tokio, on June 24, impressive



memorial services were held for the victims of this double slaughter. These services were arranged, it was stated, to show the importance attached by the Japanese Nation to these murders. Princes of the royal family, members of the Ministry and of the Diet were present, and a great crowd of civilians thronged the Diet building, where the ceremony was held. Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, President of the House of Peers, declared the massacre "extremely regrettable," adding that "it concerns the entire world as well as Japan, for it was a gross outrage upon humanity." Premier Hara declared it the Government's intention "to maintain national prestige to the utmost."

### A JAPANESE BUFFER STATE

In the whole procedure of the Japanese in Siberia, which one section even of the Japanese press criticises severely, the Japan Chronicle and other anti-Japanese critics see a deliberate purpose of the militarists at Tokio to keep hold of Siberia permanently and to annex Transbaikalia under the pretext of creating an independent buffer State, but a State which will really be under Japanese control.

The plan of a buffer State, which has been much discussed in Japan, was originally conceived by the Bolsheviks, according to the Chronicle, in order to avert conflict with the Japanese. The idea emanated first from the large number of Communists in the Irkutsk region who had joined the Red forces. The original proposal was to incorporate in such a State the Chita district up to the Selenga River, the Primorsk, including Vladivostok and Nikolaievsk, and the Priamur, including Harbin and Blagoveshchensk, all to be administered, not by Soviet rule, but by the local Zemstvos. A Mr. Krasnorkov, a Soviet commissary, the Chronicle says, was empowered by Moscow to form such a buffer State.

The Japanese took up this idea, which they interpreted in their own interests. Proposals made by the Moscow and Irkutsk Bolshevik authorities—that

neither the Bolsheviks nor the Japanese should make any further advance from the positions held by the opposing factions in May—were answered by a declaration by General Oi, Commander in Chief of the Japanese troops, on May 10, explaining the Japanese policy, consenting to the proposals made, and declaring plainly for the creation of such a buffer State. M. Vilensky, the Soviet representative at Vladivostok, was stated by the Asahi to have hailed this declaration as the first step in the establishment of an understanding between the two nations. It appears, however, according to the Chronicle, that the Japanese by no means accept the Verkhne-Udinsk Republic in this light, but are planning to create such a State under the Hetman Semenov, whose forces had been co-operating with the Japanese against the Bolsheviks.

### The Chronicle adds:

Meanwhile we have the military occupation of a friendly country, the disarmament of its forces, the destruction of its communications, the killing of those who resist, the imprisonment of those who surrender, and the hoisting of foreign flags on its buildings. This is the result of an intervention undertaken for purely pacific purposes and without the slightest intention of interfering with the self-government of the country.\*

The whole policy of allied intervention, The Chronicle declares, was a mistaken one, and the chief result has been to open the way for Japanese imperialism in Siberia.

[For recent developments, including the American note regarding Saghalien, see "Japan."]

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\*The last-mentioned assertion is based in part on the announcement of the Japanese Government which was issued toward the end of March, under the joint signatures of all the Ministers and which set forth Japan's inability to withdraw her forces until certain necessary objects are attained. This announcement reads in part: "Japan is not prompted by any political ambition whatever toward Russia. The Japanese Government hereby declares in good faith that it will withdraw its troops as quickly as possible after the withdrawal of the Czechoslovaks from Siberia, provided that the political situation in the regions contiguous to the Japanese territory is settled, the danger to Korea and Manchuria removed, the lives and property of Japanese residents protected, and the freedom of communications safeguarded."

# Japan's Position in Siberia

Seen From the Russian Viewpoint

By LEO PASVOLSKY

Sept  
1920

**E**VER since the Japanese made their first moves in Siberia, some months after the overthrow of the Kerensky Government, the Russian groups both in Siberia and elsewhere have been watching Japan's policies and activities with anxiety and apprehension. There was no lack of foreign troops in Siberia; almost every allied country was represented there and the United States had its troops in the field. But none of these foreign contingents occupied the same position as the Japanese, either in the approach to the problems that arose in Siberia or in the feelings of the people there. And today, when the rest of the Allies are practically out of Siberia, or at least have ceased to play an appreciable part in the affairs of the Russian Far East, the Japanese are not only staying over, but, because of the events of the past three months, have come to occupy an unprecedentedly commanding position, fraught with difficulties, dangers and possibilities.

The distinguishing feature of the Japanese activities in Siberia since the beginning of 1918, in the opinion of practically every Russian group in Siberia, has been their persistence in not lending a full-fledged support to any important group or movement, but rather staking on individual leaders and playing them against each other. An excellent illustration of this is offered by the fact that the Japanese were most of the time courteously cool toward Kolchak and the movement which was represented by the Omsk Government, while it was an open secret that they supported Semenov and other "atamans" who persistently defied Kolchak and Omsk. The Japanese were not the only ones among the Allies who, by their policy, helped Kolchak and his whole movement toward a fatal end, but they certainly have to shoulder a part of the blame.

Much of the present-day hostility toward the Japanese which exists in many parts of Siberia, and particularly in the Far East, is attributable to the policy which Japan pursued during the existence of the Omsk Government. The hostility is now openly expressed and openly exhibited. It has already led to bloody encounters. And, unfortunately, the policies which Japan pursues today are not making for the elimination of this hostility; on the contrary, they are paving the way for anything but the amicable neighborly relations which it is most important both for Japan and for Russia to establish in the near future.

It is obvious, of course, that Japan occupies a peculiar position in the affairs of Siberia, and that her interests which are involved in the adjustments made there are of vital importance to her. Moreover, it is a matter of paramount concern to her that the Soviet forces, after their victory over the anti-Bolshevist movement, may be able to reach the Pacific; and it is only natural for Japan to feel that too close a proximity of a communist régime cannot be a very healthy factor so far as her internal situation is concerned. But at the same time all possible attention must be paid to the feelings and the reactions of the Russians, since the feelings and the reactions of today are the foundation for the sympathies and the orientations of the near or the distant future. All the Japanese statements, official and otherwise, concerning the Siberian situation invariably emphasize these two points, viz., that Japan is trying to protect her interests at home and on the Continent, and that she is seeking to prepare the way for future friendly relations between herself and Russia. Here, then, we have the two tests by which the policies and the activities of Japan in Siberia should be judged. Let us examine



the events of the last months in the light of these two tests.

### EVENTS AT VLADIVOSTOK

The part of Siberia which is of special concern to Japan is the territory lying between the seaboard and Lake Baikal. The key to this part of Siberia is the Port of Vladivostok. During the existence of the Omsk Government almost this whole territory was only under a nominal control of the Government. Different parts of it were held by leaders of armed bands, some of them commanding rather large forces and enjoying outside assistance. The most important of these were the "atamans" Semenov and Kalmykov, and General Rosanov. The latter was stationed in Vladivostok. While nominally under orders from Omsk, he acted, in reality, in an entirely independent manner, and his actions were offensive to all democratic elements. Many attempts were made at Omsk to have Rosanov removed, and finally on Oct. 25, 1919, Admiral Kolchak ordered Rosanov to give up his command and come to Omsk. But Rosanov appealed to Semenov and Kalmykov for assistance, and having been assured of their support and—so the Vladivostok version runs—of the good-will of the Japanese, he refused to obey the order from Omsk.

The Omsk Government could not enforce its authority, and Rosanov remained the virtual master of the situation. His rule in Vladivostok lasted until Jan. 31, 1920, by which time his authority had degenerated entirely and its remnants were easily overthrown by the partisan forces at the disposal of the Vladivostok Zemstvo, which then set up a Provisional Government.

The next important event in the Russian Far East occurred on April 4-5, when a series of armed clashes took place between the Russian and Japanese troops. During the two months which preceded the clash the relations between the Japanese and the Russians in Vladivostok and the adjacent territory were becoming more and more strained. The allied troops were being evacuated, but the Japanese made no preparations for leaving. The Provisional Government, headed by the President of the

Zemstvo, A. S. Medvedev, maintained cordial relations with the political mission at Vladivostok, although its relations with the military command were strained. The Provisional Government made it its object to end the civil war and to come to some understanding with Moscow, and its chief objection against the Japanese was that they were not in favor of such a program. On the other hand, the Japanese objected most strenuously to the manner in which Medvedev's Government attempted to hasten the evacuation of the Japanese troops.

### THE JAPANESE ULTIMATUM

There seems to be no doubt that the hostility against the Japanese was something that the Provisional Government could not control, even if it desired to do so. It was growing all the time and expressed itself more and more in open clashes. The departure of the American troops left the Japanese alone in the field, and they apparently decided to take effective measures. On April 2 an ultimatum was presented to the Provisional Government. The substance of the ultimatum was that there should be no interference with the actions of the Japanese military authorities, so far as those actions concerned military affairs; that all activities of secret groups or societies considered harmful for the Japanese troops or for Manchuria and Korea should be forbidden; that all publications directed against the Japanese Empire, its existence or its army, should be suppressed. This ultimatum was accepted in its entirety by the Provisional Government on April 4.

But on the night of April 4 an unfortunate incident took place at Vladivostok; Japanese patrols were fired upon in some parts of the city. On the following morning General Oi, commanding the troops at Vladivostok, ordered all Russian troops disarmed. This order was carried out with considerable bloodshed, both in Vladivostok and in Nikolsk and Khabarovsk.

The Provisional Government disclaimed responsibility for the attacks on the Japanese patrols and entered into negotiations with the Japanese military command for the adjustment of the

situation. An agreement was finally signed in Vladivostok on April 29. By virtue of this agreement no Russian troops are permitted to be present within thirty kilometers of the Ussuriysk and the Suchansk railroad lines and of the China-Korea border. The only exception is made in the case of militia on police duty, but its numbers can be determined only by agreement with the Japanese command.

### EFFECT OF THE AGREEMENT

Thus the Japanese military command holds in its absolute control all the means of transportation and the Suchansk coal mines. The Provisional Government is not forbidden to have troops of its own, but it is cut off from all sources of military supplies. And what is even more important, practically all cities and towns of importance, with the exception of two or three small ones, come under the military control of the Japanese, for they are all situated on or near the railroad lines.

No wonder that the chief representative of the Russian command said: "It is with a heavy feeling that we, the representatives of the Russian military command, sign this agreement."

It is clear, of course, that an arrangement of the kind contemplated in this agreement cannot last long and lead to anything like satisfactory results. While the Japanese diplomatic representatives in Siberia insist that the attitude of Japan has not undergone any recent change, the Russians are just as insistent that a radical change has taken place. They consider that while before April 4-5 it was possible to explain the presence of the Japanese troops in Siberia as a part of the interallied program of intervention there, the conditions under which the Japanese are now acting in Siberia can be described only as those of occupation.

### PLAN OF A BUFFER STATE

There is an element in the situation which is often seized upon as a possible line of adjustment. It is the buffer State idea. This idea came up prominently in Irkutsk soon after the overthrow of the Kolchak Government. It was

then contemplated to organize a buffer State with its capital at Irkutsk. The chief reason for this, advanced at that time, was that such a political formation in the east would render unnecessary or impossible the movement of the regular Soviet troops beyond Lake Baikal and would prevent a clash between them and the Japanese. It was expected that in this way the possibility of a Japanese occupation of the Far East and the Transbaikal territory would be avoided and a connection would be established between Eastern Siberia and Soviet-controlled Russia.

This plan, however, was not carried out. At present the situation seems as follows: Irkutsk and the territory adjoining it are controlled from Moscow. East of this is the territory with Verkhne-Udinsk as its centre, self-determined into a State. Then comes the territory still controlled by Semenov. And beyond that, the maritime buffer State, with its capital at Vladivostok.

According to the latest information from Siberia, the territorial extension of the buffer State is expected to include both the Vladivostok and the Verkhne-Udinsk territories, as soon as contact can be established between them, with the elimination of the Semenov barrier. So far, despite extensive diplomatic negotiations on the subject, the Japanese are still inclined to lend support to Semenov. A recent interview of a representative of the Central Information Bureau of Vladivostok with General Takayanaga sheds an interesting light on this subject:

The General considers that the territory controlled by Semenov must be considered as a separate political entity in the negotiations for the unification of the Far Eastern formations. According to Semenov's claims, his authority is supported by at least 75 per cent. of the population, by the Cossacks, the Buryats and a part of the Zemstvo. The liquidation of the barrier is desirable, but it must be done without violence, through agreement on the part of the political groups and a free expression of the will of the people.

The Japanese have troops in the territory occupied by Semenov, and, judging by this interview, they will probably resist any attempts to liquidate the



Semenov movement by force. Incidentally, by agreement between Vladivostok and Verkhne-Udinsk, this task devolves on the Government of the latter.

### MOSCOW'S ATTITUDE

The Soviet Government stands ready to give its entire support to the buffer State idea. For it the project contains obvious advantages, provided certain conditions can be met. The creation of the buffer State would remove the possibility of a military encounter with Japan. This is very important for Moscow, for it wants peace very badly just now and will want peace still more badly after the war with Poland is over. As a special inducement to Japan for co-operation in this project, the Soviet Government is willing to permit the buffer to work out its political forms in a different way from the general Soviet practice. In his conversation with the head of the Japanese diplomatic mission in the Far East, the Soviet representative, V. D. Vilensky, made it quite clear that the Soviet Government would be willing to permit the creation of a buffer State, "in which the capitalistic activities of the foreigners, particularly the Japanese, would be able to develop in conditions to which they would be more accustomed than if Soviet forms were introduced."

Thus, for the Moscow Government the Far Eastern buffer State is a bone, which it is willing to throw to the Japanese capitalists in order to achieve peace at any cost. But that is not all, of course. To the Bolsheviks a buffer is a point of contact with the outside capitalistic world, particularly the starting point of propaganda and agitation. There can be no doubt that the Moscow diplomats, and particularly the Executive Committee of the Third International, have already a definite purpose in view for the Far Eastern buffer. The Soviet Government has good reasons for desiring the creation of the buffer State.

### ATTITUDE OF VARIOUS GROUPS

To the extent to which there is a danger that the buffer may become the base of supplies for communist activities in the Far East, the Japanese have grounds for apprehension. But obviously the key

to the situation, at least the immediate situation, lies in the attitude of the various groups in the territory of the buffer. There is no doubt that the groups now in power both in Vladivostok and in Verkhne-Udinsk would make the buffer merely a subservient tool for the purposes of the Soviet Government. Every statement that they make indicates this beyond any doubt.

But there are other elements, particularly among the Socialist-Revolutionists, who have a different idea of the function of the buffer State. They believe that Russia's salvation lies in the creation along its borders of small States, independent of the communistic centre and looking toward a reunion with nationally-recreated Russia. These elements are in favor of the creation of a real buffer State, and not merely a camouflaged portion of Soviet-controlled Russia. But events put these elements between two fires. They were put face to face with a choice between military occupation by the Japanese and semi-dependence upon the Soviet Government. They have chosen the latter. An Inter-Party Conference, recently held in Vladivostok, gave proof of this fact.

### RESULTS OF JAPAN'S POLICY

How, then, have the activities of the Japanese in the Far East squared against the two tests laid down by their own responsible leaders?

In the face of growing hostility on the part of the local population, they have grasped in a military vise the essential points in the Far East. They have reduced the Government existing there to the status of a talking machine, having deprived it of the means to enforce its authority. They have extended their occupation to the northern half of Sakhalin, and are only waiting for favorable weather conditions to extend it still more, along the Amur. How long will they be able to hold all this? And what military effort will be required for this purpose, which is not by any means slight?

The Japanese have set out to provide against the possibility of communistic propaganda in Japan and still more particularly in China and Korea. But the

The immediate situation is of vital concern, of course; but it is by no means the determining factor in the whole varied gamut of relations and difficulties which Japan faces in the Far East.

It is most important both for Russia and for Japan that friendly relations should exist between them. Eventually the Japanese will come into Eastern Siberia as traders and economic concessionaries; and when they come as traders they will certainly find a different reception from that which has greeted them as military governors—unless the Russians' experience with them as military governors shall have embittered them for too long a time.





# What the Chinese Republic Is Doing

A Sketch of Its Present Political Turmoil, Its Chief Leaders,  
and Its Rapid Cultural Progress *Sept*

By TINGFU F. TSIANG *1920*

**S**INCE Oct. 10, 1911, the Chinese Republic has had a checkered career. It has had five Presidents, three constitutions, three civil wars and one foreign war, besides various diplomatic struggles. Despite that, the time has not come to judge whether the experiment of republican government in China is a success or a failure. All one can do, all that is attempted here, is a picture of present-day China, of its political currents, its governmental machinery, its commercial and industrial status, and its social and intellectual movements—a picture to be drawn as truthfully as the writer knows how. To make it understandable a brief account of the immediate past is necessary.

One thread of the history of the Chinese Republic is the line of Presidential succession. As soon as the provisional civil republican government was organized in Nanking, in January, 1912, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the revolution, was elected the first Provisional President. After the Manchus had abdicated and the Republican Government was recognized as de jure, Dr. Sun resigned and Yuan Shih-kai was elected second Provisional President, assuming his office on Feb. 14, 1912. In October, 1913, Yuan was elected the first (regular) President by a joint session of the two Houses for the constitutional term of five years. He died in June, 1916, and Vice President Li Yuan-hung was promoted President. President Li resigned a year later in favor of his Vice President, General Feng Kuo-chang. General Feng finished the term of Yuan Shih-kai in October, 1918, when Hsu Shih-chang was elected the second (regular) President of the republic. His term will run to the Fall of 1923.

## STORY OF THE CONSTITUTION

The story of the succession of the

Presidents is closely interwoven with the story of the constitution, which is the second thread of the history of the republic. The Nanking Assembly passed the provisional constitution in January, 1912. It was modeled more after the French than after the American Constitution. It provided a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature, a President who "neither reigns nor rules," and legislative control of finance.

This model was chosen mainly because the Assemblymen knew the character of Yuan Shih-kai, who was an autocrat by temperament and a monarchist by conviction. President Yuan lived up to the suspicions of his political opponents. After he was made regular President he instituted a Nominative Council, which, at his dictation, drew up a Constitutional Compact. The notable feature of that instrument was the regulation of Presidential succession; it fixed the term at ten years with right of a second term, and it made the President the agent to nominate three candidates, of whom the Legislature must choose one.

When President Yuan died, the Nanking provisional constitution was restored, and the Parliament then sitting started immediately to draft the permanent constitution. The draft was finished in June, 1917, and was about to be adopted when President Li, compelled by Premier Tuan Chih-jui, dissolved Parliament. Today, strictly speaking, the supreme law of the republic is the Nanking Provisional Constitution of 1912.

The constitution has been the bone of contention; the contenders are, on the one hand, the military—which dominated the Executive—and on the other the Kuo-ming-ton, which dominated the Parliament. And the fate of the Parliament constitutes the third and chief

thread of the history of the Chinese Republic.

The Nanking Assembly was composed of three representatives from each of the fourteen provinces which had joined the revolutionary party. The provisional constitution it drew up provided a national one-chamber council, to be composed of five members from each province. The Council sat in Peking during the greater part of 1912 and drew up laws governing the election of two Houses, which were to constitute the regular Parliament of the republic. The new Parliament met in April, 1913. It was dominated by the Kuo-ming-ton, or People's Party, the original revolutionary organization. It was very jealous of its constitutional rights, especially the control of the Cabinet and the Treasury. President Yuan wanted to use his personal friends in the Cabinet, and he contracted a loan without the authorization of Parliament—two causes of the second revolution or the first civil war of 1913.

#### ARBITRARY ACTS OF PRESIDENT

President Yuan, possessing a superiority of force, had no trouble in crushing the insurgents. His victory made him bolder than ever. He purged Parliament of Kuo-ming-ton members, whom he called rebels. Later, he dissolved the rump Parliament and instituted the subservient Nominative Council, already mentioned. He sent his military followers to the provinces to become military Governors, or Tuchuns, who were to carry out his orders throughout the country. At bottom, the Tuchunate is the inevitable fruit of personal, as opposed to legal, government. The evil results of the system are rampant throughout China today.

But President Yuan had not yet played his trump card. In 1915 there came into existence the Ch'ou An Huie, or Peace-Seeking Society. It agitated for two things: a constitutional monarchy—and President Yuan as the new monarch. President Yuan, the beneficiary of the scheme, said he had nothing to do with the Ch'ou An Huie, that he did not want to do anything contrary to popular will. That will, accord-

ing to him, was manifested by the telegrams received from the Tuchuns, urging him to call a new constituent assembly to decide the grave question of the form of government. This manifestation of popular will was, again according to President Yuan himself, confirmed by the votes of the Assembly, whose thousand members were almost unanimous for a monarchy with him as the monarch. He was ready to be crowned. Revolt broke out in Southwestern China, this time so seriously that President Yuan decided to restore the republic in spite of the people's will, previously manifested. The republicans wanted to make sure of their work; to do this, they demanded the resignation of President Yuan. He did not resign, but he died.

#### GENERAL TUAN QUELLS REVOLT

When Li Yuan-hung became President he restored the Parliament of April, 1913. The struggle between the Legislature and the Executive was resumed with Premier Tuan Chih-jui in the shoes of the deceased Yuan Shih-kai. Premier Tuan had been a General under Yuan Shih-kai and was always loyal to him. Although he wanted to be Premier, he did not have the confidence of Parliament. In 1917 he was convinced that China should declare war on Germany. As far as that matter was concerned, the Parliament agreed with him, but it would not authorize the declaration of war until the Cabinet was reconstructed, for it feared that the army, raised to fight Germany, might strengthen Tuan's hands in his fight with the Kuo-ming-ton. In face of such a situation, President Li could only do one thing: dismiss Tuan and construct a new Cabinet acceptable to a majority in Parliament. The Tuchuns immediately rose in revolt, set up a separate government in Tientsin, and demanded the reinstatement of Tuan and the dissolution of Parliament. President Li asked General Chang Hsun to negotiate peace between him and the Tuchuns. General Chang Hsun used his opportunity to restore the Manchus to the throne.

That changed the course of events



unexpectedly: President Li resigned, Feng Kuo-chang was made his successor, and General Tuan was made head of the expeditionary force against Chang Hsun. General Tuan was successful and became the savior of the republic. Although the People's Party did not have to fight the Manchus, it had to face the strengthened power of Tuan, who became again Premier.

### THE PRESENT CIVIL WAR

The southwestern provinces again rose in revolt for the cause of constitutional government. The members of Parliament, driven from Peking, assembled in Canton. Thus, in 1917, began the third civil war, dividing the country into two sections and causing the people untold suffering. And this brings us to the present political situation in China.

Nominally, the war is a civil war between north and south. Really, one does not know what it is. Instead of two parties facing each other, there are actually four factions checkmating each other in a fashion that reminds us strongly of Machiavelli. The four factions are: The Anfu Club, the Chih-li group, the Kuo-ming-ton and the Kwei group.

Why did the north split into the Anfu and Chih-li groups? In the matter of political principle, there are two differences between them: the Anfu Club pursues a pro-Japanese policy and desires to suppress the south by force of arms—two things which the Chih-li group cannot accept. How sincere the two factions are in their belief of these principles one should not judge too offhandedly; one does know that personal motives have contributed largely to the split of the north. The Anfu Club is composed mostly of men from the province of Ankwei, with General Tuan as their leader. When President Yuan Shih-kai died, the leadership of the north fell to General Tuan. It is said that he favored Anhwei men in his appointments, a partiality greatly resented by the Chih-li men, who had also served valiantly under President Yuan.

Among the Chih-li men was President Feng Kuo-chang, who became naturally

their leader. President Feng and Premier Tuan intrigued against each other in all possible ways. When Premier Tuan ordered troops to fight the south,



HSU SHIH-CHANG

*President of the Chinese Republic  
(Keystone View Company)*

the three provinces of Kiangsu, Kiangsi and Hupeh, all occupying strategic positions along the Yangtze and controlled by the President's followers, not only would not help, but even made their neutrality friendly to the south. But the two factions never came to an open fight till July of this year, under President Hsu Shih-chang.

President Hsu has never openly identified himself with any faction. He is, however, in favor of peace with the south, and is opposed in that by the Anfu Club. He has favored Chih-li men in both Cabinet and Tuchun appointments. The recent fighting around Peking illustrates clearly how the two factions intrigue against each other.

Next to General Tuan in control of the Anfu Club is General Hsu Shu-tseng,

commonly called "little Hsu." He was the Commissioner in Mongolia, and had under his command an enormous army. To the east of his post is Manchuria, controlled by General Chang Tso-lin, a Chih-li man, and to the south is the

"little Hsu" and was badly beaten. With the defeat of General Tuan and General Hsu, the Anfu Club steps back to a secondary position in the politics of the North. It is quite possible that the day of Anfu is already over. How far President Hsu can control his friends, the Chih-li Tuchuns, is the anxious question before all who sympathize with the President. If he can control them, he will have brought the country much nearer to ordered government. The Chih-li Tuchuns profess to be in favor of the rule of civilians: we must wait before we can tell what they really wish to do.

For the moment, the country rejoices at the defeat of Anfu. For Anfu has committed the sin, unpardonable in the eyes of the Chinese people, of favoring direct negotiations with Japan in regard to Shantung, and of having used Japanese money and arms to fight Chinese.

#### FACTIONS OF THE SOUTH

The dissension among leaders of the South is still more disheartening. Here, as in the North, personal motives count for a great deal. The southern government originally consisted of a part of the old Parliament and of an administration directorate of seven men, including Sun Yat-sen, Wu Ting-fang, Tang Shao-yi, Chen Chun-hsien and Lu Yunting. At present the two factions, Sun Wu-Tang and Chen-Lu, are the nuclei for two opposing Governments.

The reasons for starting the new Government were stated concisely in Dr. Wu's manifesto: (1) Chen and his followers often disregarded the will of the majority of the Directorate; (2) Chen misapplied funds set aside for the payment of members of Parliament for paying his own troops; (3) Chen and his Kuangsi supporters intrigued to oust General Tang Chi-yao, a Sun Wu-Tang follower, and to put in his place General Li Kuan-yuan; (4) Chen conducted secret negotiations with the Chih-li group. The Chen-Lu faction, on the other hand, retaliated by charging the Sun-Wu-Tang with secret negotiations with the Anfu Club. At present the Chen-Lu holds authority in Canton, while the Sun-Wu-Tang and its Parliamentary followers



GENERAL TUAN CHIH-JUI

*Former Premier of China, recent leader of Anfu forces*

*(Photo Bain News Service)*

province of Chih-li, controlled by Tsao Kun, also a Chih-li man. These two men had three grievances against Anfu: They alleged that "little Hsu" wanted to replace them, thus bringing the solid North under Anfu; they also charged that the Minister of Finance, an Anfu man, supplied funds to Anfu troops regularly, but not to their (Chih-li) troops; furthermore, they said that the resignation of Premier Ching Yun-pen was caused by the pressure of Anfu. President Hsu dismissed "little Hsu" from his post in Mongolia; "little Hsu" openly defied Presidential orders. Chang Tso-lin and Tsao Kun embraced the cause of the President and started to punish "little Hsu."

#### THE ANFU CLUB'S REVERSE

General Tuan took up the cause of



threaten to start a new Constitutional Government in Yunnan.

### DISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES

The provinces of China are distributed among the four factions as follows:

- I. Provinces controlled by the "North":
  - (a) Provinces controlled by the Chih-li Group of the North are: Manchuria, Chih-li, Shantung, Koangsu, Hupeh, Kiangsi.
  - (b) Provinces controlled by the Anfu Club of the North are: Fukien (in part), Chekiang, Anhwei and Shensi.
  - (c) Provinces controlled by the North, but independent of both Chih-li and Anfu, are: Shansi and Kansu.
- II. Provinces controlled by the "South":
  - (a) Provinces controlled by the Chen-Lu Group of the South are: Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hunan.
  - (b) Provinces controlled by the Sun-Wu-Tang Group of the South are: Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan and Fukien (in part).

In government the four groups are more or less cohesive. Each province with its Tuchun is quite independent of the others. Between the groups the relation is not definite. There are constant public telegraphic consultations of one with the other. Nominally, they are at war with each other; actually they guard their own borders and fight only rarely. Besides the Tuchun or military Governor, each province has a civil Governor, who is overshadowed in many places by his military colleague and a provincial assembly. Each province attends to its own education and has its own troops.

The Central Government at Peking is the only one recognized by foreign nations. It has a President, a Cabinet, a Parliament of two Houses and a Supreme Court. Although it will be long before these various organs will function properly, each in its own defined sphere, the general framework of Government will stay. The Supreme Court has done good work. Chief Justice Yao Tseng has compiled a volume of decisions rendered by the court, which will serve as law in future cases. A Law Codification Commission has been at work systematizing the laws of the land. Thus the country is gradually emerging from custom law into positive written law. Prison reform is also being pushed, with

a number of model prisons scattered over the country.

The Government expends annually \$600,000,000 Mexican and gets a total revenue of \$500,000,000. This deficit would not occur if military expenditure were not so heavy as it is. Fully one-third of the total expenditure is for an army which not only does not protect the country from internal disturbance and foreign aggression, but brings fear and suffering to the people wherever it goes. The deficit has been made up by internal and foreign loans. The main sources of revenue are the land tax, customs revenue, salt revenue and likin. Although proper accounting and auditing are things still to be achieved in the work of the Ministry of Finance, the budget is a recognized part of administration and will receive more and more emphasis from all reformers.

### THE NEW CONSORTIUM

The new consortium has not been as popular with the Chinese people as its promoters expected. The reasons are obvious. Finance is the most convenient channel of peaceful penetration, leading to military and political occupation of a country, as in Egypt. Secondly, the popular cause against the Government has always labored under heavy difficulties because the Government has been able to borrow from foreign countries; it was so when the revolutionists tried to overthrow the Manchus; it has been so during the present struggle of the South with the North.

Mr. Lamont, the American representative in the consortium, has repeatedly assured the Chinese people that it will strive to follow their will. The hard-headed Chinese public men want to know from whom the consortium will take the indication of the popular will. However, the consortium has new features that make it a case by itself; if, in its first activities, it shows itself true to its professions, the Chinese people will not fail to appreciate its services.

China has figured largely in international finance; the impression is abroad that the country is financially unsound. As a matter of fact, the country's wealth

is by no means meagre, as shown by the deposits in treaty-port banks. Under the Manchus the Government failed again and again to live up to its financial obligations to its citizens, but the Republican Government has changed all that, and the result is that all internal loans are fully subscribed by the citizens.

### SIGNS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS

In industry, commerce and education the country has made progress. The only question is, Is the progress so far fast enough? We can take the few available statistics as indices. The American-Chinese trade is a good instance. The volume of that trade increased 93 per cent. from 1914 to 1918. In 1914 China bought from the United States \$600,000 worth of machinery; in 1918 she bought \$1,700,000 worth. Right at this moment there is a number of big Chinese buyers in America, seeking machinery and placing orders that can only be delivered in two or three years. Again, in 1914 China bought \$3,000,000 worth of cotton goods from America, but in 1918 she bought only \$400,000 worth. This shows that China is beginning to do her own manufacturing. Native industries of all kinds are reviving. Many projects are afoot aiming to improve them. But Chinese industry is probably as far advanced as England was at the year 1800. America has an industrial army of 8,000,000 workers, while China has only 100,000 persons in her factories. In America the laborer works from eight to ten hours a day, earning from \$6 to \$12; in China the laborer works from two to twelve hours a day, earning from 40 cents to \$1.

But there are two factors which will tend to make the industrial development of the country rapid: the abundance of natural resources and of labor and the ability of China's industrial leaders. The latter are both public spirited and enterprising. A Chinese buyer was recently offered some second-hand machinery by an American dealer at very reasonable rates. His reply was that he, too, would like to scrap his plant in China—that he himself had some second-hand machinery to sell; what he wanted

was American machinery of the latest model.

The total foreign trade of China in 1919 was, in round numbers, \$1,300,000,000, an increase of 150 per cent. over that of 1913.

American-Chinese co-operation in business is increasing every day. Many joint enterprises are securing charters from American State Governments and from the Chinese Ministry of Commerce. The opportunities for this are excellent. Although the Central Government in China is unstable, business interests involving foreign capital are always and everywhere well protected by the provincial Governments. In dealing with Chinese merchants Americans run very little risk. Most Chinese merchants of any standing belong to co-operative societies which help them to tide over stringencies if they are able, and to petition the Government for help if they are not. Furthermore, Chinese business is surefooted. There is little speculation.

### PROGRESS IN EDUCATION

In education China has made advances that are large in themselves, but small in relation to the needs of the country. In 1913 there were altogether 2,933,387 students in Chinese schools; in 1916 (the latest Governmental figures obtainable in America) that number had almost doubled, reaching 4,294,251. At present the emphasis is naturally on normal schools; of a total educational expenditure of \$40,000,000, one-tenth is spent in training teachers.

Compared with American figures, the inadequacy of Chinese education stands out clearly. America, with a population of 100,000,000, has 20,000,000 in her schools; China, with a population of 400,000,000, has only 4,000,000 in her schools. In America, one out of every five of her population is in school; in China, it is one out of every hundred.

But education is receiving great attention from the Government as well as from the public. The National Educational Conference of 1919 made fifteen recommendations to the Ministry of Education, the first of which was to cut down military expenditures in order to in-



crease funds for education. One can see the wisdom of that recommendation when one remembers that China spends on her army five times as much as on education.

What is done in the Province of Shansi represents the general aspirations of the country. The Governor first ordered a census to find out how many were in school and how many should be. He then drew up a program, aiming to bring about universal education in his province in 1923. Each year he knows how much progress he must make, and he sees to it that the province is not falling behind his program. Among his administrative measures are the repair of roads, the installation of telephone lines all over the province and the requirement of all district Magistrates to ride on bicycles. By these means he secures quick execution of his orders. Men from all parts of China have visited Shansi to see how Tsuchun Yen has reformed his province.

#### NEW INTELLECTUAL IDEALS

But the greatest progress that the Chinese people have made under the republic, it seems to me, is the introduction of new social and intellectual ideals. The Chinese mind is, for the first time since the Tang Dynasty (600-900 A. D.), adopting a frankly scientific and pragmatic attitude toward all problems. In fact, there is stirring in China a new cultural movement of far-reaching significance. It has manifested itself in the literary revolution, the language revolution, political liberalism and social justice, especially between the sexes.

Chinese literature has been in style very classic, so much so that the literary language is entirely different from the spoken language. The situation was very much like that in Europe when all literature was in Latin and the spoken language was considered vulgar, crude, unfit for literary use. Professors Chen and Hu of Peking University have boldly broken away from that tradition and written in the vernacular; they exposed the falsity of the old literary philosophy, and in the brief interval of five years have succeeded in getting fully one-third of the magazines in the country to print either all or some articles in vernacular.

Even the more conservative, who refuse to use the vernacular outright, have ceased to crowd their writings with obscene allusions, worn-out metaphors and strained parallelisms. Scholars like the two professors mentioned and Liang Chichao have shown how good prose and good poetry can be written in the speech of the people. Much work remains to be done in overcoming the prejudices of the old scholars, who have a kind of vested interest in the old literary language, but the divergence between the spoken and written languages will be diminished more and more from now on.

Hand in hand with the literary revolution is the language revolution. The Chinese language has never reached the alphabetic stage; it consists of a great number of independent symbols and their derivations. It is extremely hard to learn; it makes all indexing difficult. A number of educators studied phonetics and evolved an alphabet of thirty-nine letters. The Ministry of Education has adopted officially the new phonetic alphabet and is teaching it in all normal schools. The intention is not to get rid of the old language, but to supplement it with a phonetic spelling, which shows how a word should be pronounced. This will make the acquisition of the language easier; it will also solve the problem of indices; above all, it will help in standardizing the dialects of the country.

#### EFFECTS OF NEW MOVEMENT

In politics the new movement is for popular government. But it is not metaphysical; it does not dwell on abstract liberty, equality and fraternity. It plainly recognizes that Chinese conditions are different from European and American conditions; it has learned from bitter experience that revolutions do not revolutionize. As Liang Chi-chao has expressed it in his memoirs, China has not been a true republic because there are no republicans; the few educated in foreign countries have tried to utilize the old officials to form a republic; they have found out their mistake and realize now that they must work from the bottom, carrying with them as they pro-



MAP OF CHINA SHOWING HOW THE VARIOUS PROVINCES ARE DIVIDED AMONG THE FOUR POLITICAL FACTIONS THAT ARE KEEPING THE COUNTRY IN CONSTANT CIVIL WAR

gress the entire Chinese people. Our institutions, when they take their definitive form, will be different from those in America and Europe, but they will be very democratic.

Men of this movement have made significant efforts to solve this Chinese-Japanese problem by a union of the liberals of the two countries. Students of the two countries have exchanged delegations. Literary fraternalizing occurs every day in Chinese and Japanese magazines. On both sides it is realized that neither the Chinese people nor the Japanese will gain anything from Chino-Japanese animosity. In this undertaking both the Chinese and the Japanese liberals will have to meet the stubborn op-

position of militarists in both countries. I venture to suggest that a liberal Chino-Japanese union is the ideal solution of the Far Eastern problem—maybe too ideal for this world.

In social politics the movement tries to save China from the horrors that the early years of the industrial revolution inflicted upon the laboring classes. Socialism is widely discussed, but the thoughtful are concerned more about wages and hours than about any class struggle. The fact is, the leaders of the movement think that the West is suffering from the class struggle, and that China must take measures to forestall any such possibility.

Secondly, the movement is interested



in the emancipation of women. This will come, according to the leaders, from education and from self-determination in marriage, as opposed to parental authority. Last year the Peking Government University took the revolutionary step of admitting women. That example has been followed by the Nanking Teachers' College. All over the land women are demanding equal educational opportunities. The Chinese suffrage movement began in the first year of the republic.

At the International Suffrage Conference held recently in England, Chinese women had three representatives. The awakening of Chinese womanhood is one of the most remarkable events in the history of the republic.

"What progress we have made has been made despite our politics rather than because of it." So a leading American journal commented on the turn of affairs in America. If that is true here, it is ten times truer in the republic on the other shore of the Pacific.



ELECTRIC TRAIN OF EIGHTY-TWO CARS IN SILVER BOW CANYON, PASSING THROUGH THE SECTION THAT FURNISHES 70 PER CENT. OF THE WATER POWER OF THE UNITED STATES

(Courtesy of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway)

## The March of Science

### White Coal for Black: American Achievements in Water-Power Electricity

FROM the droning water mill that ground the grists or sawed the lumber of a Colonial countryside to the castlelike power house which now makes a thundering waterfall in the Rockies drive trains over hundreds of miles of railroad by electrical power—such is the historic span of American industrial progress. A purling brook afforded as much mechanical power as the pioneers

knew how to utilize. Gradually rivers were applied to larger mills. The persistent demand for higher and higher power, as for metal working on a large scale, and for power that could move things from place to place, as for driving ships and locomotives, brought in the age of coal and oil and steam power.

Now, however, the world has passed the peak of its oil production, and national powers are plotting to get control



GREAT FALLS, MONTANA, ONE OF THE MANY "WHITE COAL MINES" OF THE NORTHWEST FROM WHICH THE NATION IS DRAWING ELECTRICAL POWER FOR TRANSPORTATION AND MANUFACTURING PURPOSES

of the oil fields that are left. Coal, too, though still existent in large reserves here between the oceans, must now evidently be relieved of the drain it has stood for over a century. Science as yet foresees no means of doing without coal to put power on shipping after the oil supply is used up. The stupendous increase in shipping since the beginning of the war has made it imperative to conserve coal especially for this purpose. So must oil be saved for aviation and motoring. Moreover, the increasing difficulty and expense of producing coal are raising its price well toward the prohibitive point.

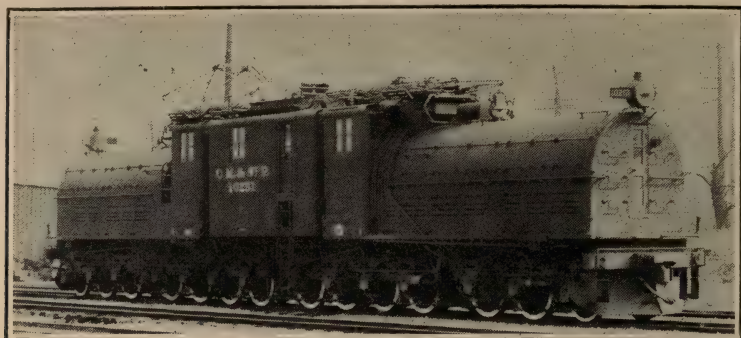
Other power is needed, power that can be transmitted great distances to cheapen the mining and distribution of coal itself, namely, electricity. The recent electrification of the Norfolk & Western Railroad in West Virginia was made possible by linking together three large central electric stations, which produce the requisite electricity solely by means of coal-made steam. This is the most modern achievement of the age of coal. But, though this railroad is thus enabled to operate more cheaply and efficiently than otherwise, the rising price of coal still makes the process too dear.

Far more according to the need and spirit of the times is the recent electrifi-

cation of the Pacific Coast Division of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad through Washington, Idaho and into Montana. This gave to the United States the longest electrified railroad in the world without the aid of a pound of coal, and marked the crowning achievement of the first decade of the new age of the long-neglected water power. Little millbrooks are often made to generate electric power; but all the electric current used to operate this vast transportation system, 860 miles long, between Harlowton, Mon., and the Pacific Coast, by way of Othello, Tacoma and Seattle, is generated from a chain of waterfall plants, including one where the magnificent Snoqualmie Falls thunder from a height of 270 feet.

On the west side of the Cascade Mountains the Puget Sound Traction, Light and Power Company has three hydro-electric plants, one on the Snoqualmie River and two that utilize the waters of the White River and the Puyallup River. These three plants, being interconnected, have a combined generating capacity of 114,533 horse power, besides 45,000 horse power available from an auxiliary steam plant. This system is in turn connected with a like system of equal capacity on the east side of the Cascades, including the Long Lake plant of the Washington





THE MOST POWERFUL LOCOMOTIVE IN THE WORLD, WHICH IS RUN BY ELECTRICITY, AND WHICH HAULS TEN-CAR PASSENGER TRAINS UNAIDED OVER ROCKY MOUNTAIN RIDGES 6,000 FEET HIGH

Water Power Company on the Spokane River. Thus some 1,500 miles of transmission lines are united in one system.

The newest section of the division, 207 miles of track from Othello, in Central Washington, to Tacoma, receives its power from the Snoqualmie and Long Lake plants. The current is delivered to the railroad's transmission lines along its right of way at 100,000 volts, and stepped down at eight sub-stations between Othello and Tacoma to 3,000 volts direct current. This is carried over the rails by overhead trolley wires. About 200 miles of track between Othello and Avery, Idaho, are not yet fully electrified.

#### POWER COSTS REDUCED

The 90 locomotives used on the electrified division, including passenger, freight and switching types, have released for service elsewhere about 250 steam locomotives. This railroad now hauls its total tonnage by electric power for approximately one-third the cost of the same work when steam engines are used. Its electric operation has reduced the average time per train 22.5 per cent. Nearly 30 per cent. more tonnage can be handled in 80 per cent. of the time it formerly took to handle less tonnage by steam engines, thus increasing the road's capacity 50 per cent. One of the 3,000-volt direct-current gearless locomotives recently astonished the railroad world by winning a tug of war with two steam engines at Erie, Pa.

One of these electric locomotives, the most powerful passenger locomotive known, takes the steepest grades on the line over the Rockies and Cascades, drawing a ten-car passenger train without a helper. On level stretches it draws such a train at the rate of sixty miles an hour, and on a twenty-mile stretch of track, where a 2 per cent. grade means a steady upward pull of 105 feet to the mile, the same locomotive keeps up a speed of twenty miles an hour. The highest point on the road is 6,322 feet above sea level.

In the vital matter of fuel saving, figures taken on this railroad's electrified zone during 1918 and figures from steam operation during the same period show such gains from electrification as to indicate that if all the railroads in the United States had been electrified by water power in 1918 approximately 122,500,000 tons of coal would have been saved—more than two-thirds of the coal now burned in the 63,000 steam locomotives used in this country. One may furthermore conclude that, with no change in the present operating expenses or track congestion, the railroads, so electrified, could carry one-fifth more revenue-paying freight than they do now.

#### NEW WATER-POWER LAW

When, on June 18, President Wilson put his signature to the Water Power bill passed by Congress in the closing



HYDROELECTRIC PLANT AT GREAT FALLS, MON., WHICH FURNISHES MOST OF THE POWER FOR A RAILWAY LINE STRETCHING FROM MONTANA TO THE PACIFIC COAST

(Photo courtesy of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway)

days of its last session, he awarded victory to the efforts of those who during the last ten years have struggled to open the way to a vast increase in the country's industrial energy. This new law places all power sites over which the United States has jurisdiction under the control of the Water Power Commission, composed of the Secretaries of the Interior, War and Agriculture. Avoiding duplication, they will co-ordinate their efforts in a common policy to further a constructive program of intelligent, economical utilization of our water power resources.

Under this new system the exploitation of water power by private enterprise will be encouraged and fostered in every way, while safeguarding the public domain. The first effects expected of the new law will be the further electrification of railroads, the development of new water power plants and the transmission of power over long distances. Vast projects are under way, as fast as

the work can be financed, to connect the great hydroelectric system of the eleven Pacific and Mountain States and form a stupendous linking together of networks to carry on the industries of the region, to supply light, heat and power to the home and factory, to railways, to mines and irrigation areas.

All this is necessary for industrial expansion in the West. Owing to the topography of that region it contains nearly 70 per cent. of the total potential water power of the United States, which is estimated by the United States Geological Survey at 63,490,000 horse power. The Western States have already achieved remarkable results in developing hydroelectric power. Though the water power of the Eastern and Central States can never be expected to meet more than a minor part of the horse power required in these States, the tendency of wages and of transportation conditions demands the co-ordinated development and application of hydroelectric power wherever available.

## Scientific Progress in Other Lines

### NEW SAFETY LAMPS FOR MINES

—Condemnation of the wonderful lamp invented by Sir Humphry Davy a hundred years ago for safety in coal mines in favor of a type more suited to American mining conditions has resulted from

recent tests carried out by the United States Bureau of Mines. Not that the bureau has discredited the great work of Davy, or even belittled it, for the protective principles advocated by him are used in almost all the modern types of



safety lamps. But as a safety device his single-gauze, unbonneted flame lamp, which has been used in coal mines for a century, is finally outclassed by the double-gauze bonneted lamp. Of the several types tested the Davy type proved to be the least safe in the presence of dangerous accumulations of the explosive coal-mine gas known as methane.

Illumination is not the sole purpose of flame safety lamps. They are used also as detectors of the presence of dangerous percentages of methane mixed in the air of the mine. The safety of the lamp depends mainly on the cooling qualities of the wire gauze used to permit the free circulation of air through the lamp. If the air is mixed with methane and the gas ignited by the wick, a swift air current in the mine may drive the burning gases through the gauze. The gauze, if it is of proper design and material, will cool the gases so as not to ignite them. In proving the effectiveness of each lamp the tests were made in moving explosive mixtures of air and methane to simulate mine conditions.

Gauzes of steel, brass and copper were tested. Steel proved superior to either brass or copper for conditions of high temperature. For low temperatures the three metals were about equally good. A high standard of safety in mines is expected to result from the requirement of the double-gauze bonneted lamp.

**AMERICA TO LEAD IN BIG LENSES**—Wartime experiments in the production of large telescope lenses, under the auspices of the Geophysical Laboratory of the Carnegie Institute in Washington, have solved the problem of making lenses in this country even larger than those produced elsewhere and of equal quality. Plans for turning them out on a large scale in the United States are under way, according to Dr. George W. Morey, a member of the American Chemical Society.

When the United States entered the war all the lenses in the field glasses, range finders, telescopes and other instruments of precision used in the American army and navy had been "made in

Germany." Many opera glasses and binoculars also were lent by private citizens to equip the fighting forces. But the Carnegie Institute experiments developed proper preparation and handling of ingredients for making pure and flawless glass, especially evolving a novel method of cooling the new glass so that the disks would not crack in the annealing.

American lens manufacturers, after considerable experiment, succeeded in Feb. 15, 1920, in bringing forth the first perfect 12-inch lens, and now a large optical glass company lists this size for delivery at short notice.

However, difficulties increase in this industry with the size of diameters, and the American makers found their problem especially complex when they attempted a 20-inch lens. They turned out several flawless ones, but these cracked in the annealing. Experiments at the Geophysical Laboratory continued until concentrated ingenuity discovered just how slowly the temperature of the disk must be lowered. The scientists made out a cooling schedule to be implicitly followed. The cold weather of last March interfered, and one disk strained and broke just before they got it ready to take from the oven. Then the equipment in use was discarded, and experts of an electric company designed a special electric furnace provided with an automatic device for holding the temperature to a fraction of a degree while the glass is undergoing treatment to remove strain and for lowering the temperature a few degrees a week. The recent completion of this apparatus is believed to remove the last obstacle in the way of American production of the largest lenses.

**VULCANIZING COLD RUBBER**—A revolutionary process of vulcanizing rubber has been evolved by experiments at the College of Technology, Manchester, England. Authentic reports sent to Washington state that the process sets two gases, sulphuretted hydrogen and sulphur dioxide, to react on each other and thus produce water and free sulphur.

Treating crude rubber with these gases during this reaction vulcanizes the rubber, whether the rubber be in solid form or in solution. Furthermore, a variety of useful purposes are served if the rubber is mixed with sawdust, scraps of leather or paper, or certain other waste and the mixture vulcanized. This vulcanizing process also does away with the present necessity of vulcanizing the rubber at a temperature of 138 degrees Centigrade, which precludes the possibility of combining rubber with such reinforcements. The new process of vulcanizing the rubber cold makes it possible to manufacture stitchless one-piece boots, linoleum floor coverings, artificial leather, wallpapers and even motor tires,

all of greater durability and, at will, more delicate colors.

**A USEFUL CHINESE SCERET**—A Chinese art craft has recently been found so valuable as to be adopted in the repair departments of certain great American stores. This is a fine cement which will mend broken porcelain, earthenware and glass so that the ware will not break again in the same places. Flint glass is ground to an impalpable powder on a painter's stone, mixed with the white of an egg and beaten to a froth and laid on the broken edges. The pieces are then matched and bound firmly in place and allowed to harden and set for a month.

## The America's Cup Remains at Home

**SIR THOMAS LIPTON**, in failing to win the America's Cup, was again disappointed as the result of the series of yacht races run off Sandy Hook by the Shamrock IV. and the Resolute, from July 15 to 27. For the first time in thirty years he glimpsed a real chance of carrying the cup back to England—its original home—when his new Shamrock took two races out of five. The Resolute, however, accomplished the unprecedented in winning all three of the last races, and the fond hopes of the Irish Baronet were dashed to the ground.

A summary of the 1920 races follows:

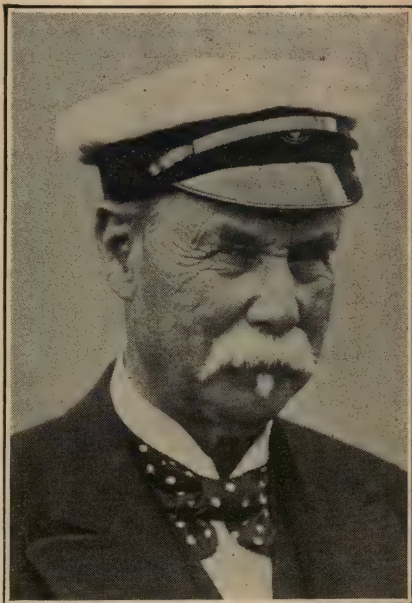
First race, won by Shamrock IV. Thursday, July 15, fifteen miles to windward and return, in light southwest wind. The Resolute's throat halyards parted, dropping her gaff and letting her mainsail down, as she was about to round the fifteen-mile turn a mile ahead of the Shamrock. The Resolute withdrew, the Shamrock finishing in 4:25:12, elapsed time.

Second race, called off Saturday, July 17, after yachts failed to cover a thirty-mile triangle in very light wind within the six-hour time limit. The Resolute was a half hour ahead when the race was called off.

Second race resailed Tuesday, July 20, won by the Shamrock. Thirty-mile triangular course. Shamrock won by 9 minutes 27 seconds elapsed time, 2 min-

utes 26 seconds corrected time. At this time the Shamrock needed to win only one race more to regain the cup.

Third race, Wednesday, July 21, won by the Resolute over windward and leeward course in light southwest wind. Had there been no time allowance the contestants would have sailed a tie. Each took 4 hours 3 minutes and 6 seconds to



SIR THOMAS LIPTON



cover the course. The Resolute won by her time allowance, 7 minutes 1 second.

Fourth race, Friday, July 23, won by the Resolute, boat for boat, over thirty-mile triangular course in squally weather. The Resolute, leading from the start, won by 3 minutes 18 seconds elapsed time, 9 minutes 58 seconds corrected time.

Fifth race, postponed Saturday, July 24, because of twenty-five-mile southwester.

Fifth race, called off Monday, July 26, after yachts failed to cover thirty-mile windward and leeward course within six-hour time limit.

Fifth race, Tuesday, July 27, won by the Resolute over a windward and leeward course in light southwest wind. Resolute won by 13 minutes 5 seconds elapsed time, 19 minutes 45 seconds corrected time.

Thus failed Sir Thomas Lipton's fourth attempt since 1899 to realize a cherished ambition and to return to the Royal Ulster Yacht Club the precious

cup which four successive Shamrocks have been unable to regain. But never before had the Irish yachtsman been so near success. The clever handling of the Resolute by her skipper, Charles Francis Adams, proved a prominent factor in the American victory. Following the last race of the series Sir Thomas said: "I am very sorry, but the best boat won." He added: "We have all done our best—skipper, designer and crew—and we have been beaten fair and square. I have been treated throughout with the greatest fairness and sportsmanship by the Americans, and I am taking home the very best memories of this contest."

Sir Thomas announced that he was not discouraged and that a new challenger—the Shamrock V.—would again seek to win back the famous cup in 1922.

## Sentiment in the Philippines

A BILL pending in Congress undertakes to place the Philippine Islands under the new coastwise shipping law—at the discretion of the President. This measure has aroused strong opposition in the Pacific dependency. Fidel A. Reyes, Director of the Bureau of Commerce and Industry of the Philippine Government, in a statement published in New York on July 30, admitted that the extension of this coastwise law to the islands was strongly opposed both by the Philippine Government and by the Filipino people. "Their attitude," said Mr. Reyes, "is prompted by the consciousness that the operation of these laws would be a terrible blow not only to the material interest of the Filipinos but also to their political ideals." The feeling on the subject was manifesting itself in mass meetings of popular protest, but without any idea of forcible resistance; he denounced the statement of a correspondent that Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate, was heading a movement for war on the United States. Señor Quezon himself had explicitly denied any such intention.

Declarations in favor of independence for the Philippines were made on Aug. 2 by Congressmen S. G. Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee; U. A. Frear of Wisconsin, and John H. Small of North Carolina, at a banquet given in Manila by the Philippine Chamber of Commerce to the Congressional party touring the Far East. Mr. Porter told the Filipinos that their Government was more developed than was the Government of Cuba when it was recognized by the United States. Mr. Frear declared that the United States would fulfill its promise to grant independence as soon as a stable Government was organized.

The earnestness of public sentiment regarding independence was evidenced at this date by a strike of Filipino printers and editors, who refused to continue work on three local American newspapers that had contained the assertion that the Filipinos were not ready for independence. The papers were forced to suspend temporarily. The strikers returned five days later without concessions.

# CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

## With the Best Cartoons of the Month From Many Nations

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1920]

### THE PILGRIM TERCENTENARY

AS the first feature of the Mayflower tercentenary, which is to be honored by various ceremonies in England, Holland and the United States this Fall, the citizens of Southampton, England, on July 25 enacted a pageant called "John Alden's Choice." This play, which was written by Miss Myra Lovett, daughter of Canon Lovett, was staged on the old Southampton quay, the very spot from which the Pilgrim Fathers started 300 years ago on their great adventure. The players were all local amateurs who had been rehearsing for months.

The principal figure of the pageant was John Alden, the only one of the Pilgrim Fathers who came from Southampton. According to tradition, Alden was a New Forest gypsy. It is certain that he was a cooper's apprentice, and that he was not a Puritan, but joined the Pilgrims through love of Priscilla Mullen and a desire for adventure. John Carver, William Brewster, Edward Winslow, Isaac Allerton, Miles Standish and William Bradford all appeared in the play, which reproduced in John Alden's dream of the future the inauguration of Washington, the Boston Tea Party, civil war scenes, and America coming to the aid of Great Britain in the war against Germany. The final scene was the embarkation of the Pilgrims, while hundreds of assembled townspeople watched the departure from the same spot where their ancestors had watched the original Pilgrims sail away 300 years before. All sang the hymn, "O God of Jacob, by Whose Hand." Above the scene stood the Pilgrims' Memorial, and a few yards away, beside the old walls of Southampton, was the old Huguenot Church where the Pilgrims worshipped long ago. The pageant was opened by Lord Birkenhead,

Lord Chancellor of England, and a number of distinguished Englishmen and Americans were present.

Similar pageants are to be held in Plymouth, the final port of departure,

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

### And the More He Eats the Thinner He Gets



—© New York Tribune

where the Mayflower and the Speedwell put in. The 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, Mass., on Dec. 21, 1620, will be celebrated by nation-wide observances in the United States, in accordance with a proclamation to that effect issued by President Wilson on Aug. 4.



## NEW ASSISTANT WAR SECRETARY

**B**ENEDICT CROWELL'S resignation as Assistant Secretary of War, to take effect on June 30, was announced by Secretary Baker on June 25. The War Secretary's announcement said in part:

Mr. Crowell came into the service as a Major of Ordnance during the war and devoted his time and talents as an engineer to the creation of facilities for the production of cannon and other arms. Later, as Assistant Secretary of War, he took charge of the munitions program, and since the armistice has supervised the industrial demobilization of munitions making enterprises and the settlement of war contracts and claims. His work has been of the highest value to the Government, and he generously resisted the pressure of his private affairs until his war work, with its consequences of intricate and varied contracts and claims, was practically cleaned up.

William R. Williams of Richmond, Va., was appointed on July 29 to take Mr. Crowell's place. Mr. Williams took the oath of office on the following day. The new Assistant Secretary was for many years associated with the American Locomotive Company, and at the time of his appointment was connected with the Richmond Forging Company.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate, handed in his resignation as Assistant Secretary of the Navy on July 24, to take effect on Aug. 9, the day on which Mr. Roosevelt was formally notified of his nomination at his home in Hyde Park, N. Y.

\* \* \*

## 3,374 STRIKES IN 1919

**A** REPORT issued by the Department of Labor on July 7 showed that strikes and lockouts in the United States in 1919 totaled 3,374 and affected more than 4,000,000 workers. Approximately one-half of these strikes occurred in five

States—New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. Thirty-seven more labor conflicts were reported than for the previous year, but the total for 1919 was materially under that for 1916

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## THEY'RE OFF!



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

and 1917. On the other hand, no less than nine walkouts involved the labor of more than 60,000 men in 1919, while in the previous year no such number was at any time involved.

\* \* \*

## THE RACE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE

**O**NE peculiar feature of the Presidential race between Governor Cox and Senator Harding is the fact that both candidates started their careers as editors and publishers of newspapers in Ohio. A cartoon which appeared only a few months before the nominations, showing the owners of The Marion Star (Harding) and The Dayton News (Cox) disputing as newsboys for the right to

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

THIS WOULD TICKLE BEN FRANKLIN  
TO DEATH

—From The Providence Journal

deliver their respective papers to the White House, proved prophetic. Apart from these biographical similarities, however, a sharp line of cleavage exists between the two candidates in the position taken by each on the League of Nations, Governor Cox favoring America's entering the League, as desired by President Wilson, and Senator Harding opposing it on the ground that it would impair the principles of independence and liberty by which America has hitherto been guided. While this issue is inspiring thousands of partisan cartoons, the fact that both candidates are Ohioans and newspaper men is productive also of many cartoons in a larger spirit, several of which are reproduced in these pages.

MARSHAL FOCH ON THE FRENCH WAR  
EFFORT

AT a great national manifestation organized by the Union des Grandes Associations Françaises (devoted to the reconstruction of the devastated areas) and held at the Sorbonne in Paris on June 20, Marshal Foch, as one of a list of eminent speakers, took occasion to review France's total war effort. His audience included M. Poincaré, the former President; the Presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, the Ministers of Public Instruction and the Mayors and other representatives of towns within the devastated districts.

On the eve of mobilization, said Mar-



shal Foch, the French Army was composed of 817,000 men, exclusive of native troops. The mobilization of Aug. 15, 1914, brought this effective army up to 2,287,000. By Oct. 1, 1918, after the calling to the colors of all classes, including 250,000 native troops from North Africa and 215,000 from other French colonies, France was able to oppose to the German advance a formidable fighting force of some 8,307,000 men, of whom 90,000 had been mobilized as officers in 1914. The development of artillery and aviation power was no less remarkable. Ordinary field artillery pieces rose from 3,840 to 5,000 by 1918; heavy artillery from 308 to 5,550; shock artillery, non-existent at the time of mobilization, numbered 2,600 cannon at the time of the armistice. The increase of shells and other munitions was equally great. Airplanes in 1914 totaled only 200; in 1918

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## NOT ROOM FOR BOTH



—From The San Francisco Chronicle

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## SLOW BUT SURE



—Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland

some 3,174 planes were actively employed at the front.

Thus organized and equipped the French armies from 1914 to 1918 held—out of a total front of 680 kilometers, extending from the North Sea to Switzerland—a line varying from 650 to 671 kilometers, and constantly changing with the flux of battle. "It will be," said Marshal Foch, "one of the amazements of history that our soldiers should have been able for fifty-two months to continue an unceasing battle, ending with a redoubling of activity and energy on their part." The losses, he admitted, had been grievous. Some 1,357,000 had been killed or listed as missing (including 71,000 native troops); 377,000 had been mutilated. In the aggregate the nation had lost the man power of 1,760,000, or about

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## SLEEPING SICKNESS



—From The Montgomery Advertiser

one man out of every five mobilized. Considering this enormous effort and its results, Marshal Foch emphasized the necessity of full and complete compensations by Germany. In this regard he said:

If the peaceful France of 1914 may today gaze with legitimate and sorrowful pride on the victory which her armies gained, she also has the right to insist upon reparations for the injuries caused her by the most iniquitous of aggressions. Moreover, after having suffered the cruel losses enumerated and undergone far-reaching devastations wrought, in the majority of cases, systematically and without military necessity; after having seen her people inflicted with the most barbarous treatment, it is her duty, in order to live and to heal her wounds, to assume without delay these heavy obligations. She cannot bear up beneath them unless the pledges signed by the enemy be fulfilled completely.

## A STATUE OF LINCOLN IN LONDON

THE bronze replica of the Saint-Gaudens statue of Abraham Lincoln—"The Liberator"—the original of which stands in Lincoln Park, Chicago, was unveiled by the Duke of Connaught in Canning Square, London, just opposite Westminster Abbey, on July 28. The ceremony took place in a pouring rain in the presence of thousands who had stood for hours to witness the unveiling. The speech of presentation to England was made by Elihu Root, whom Lord Bryce introduced. Mr. Root recounted Lincoln's life struggles and his ideals, and declared that the conceptions of justice and liberty which Lincoln embodied were shared in common by America and Great Britain. In developing this thought, he said:

It is the identical fundamental conceptions in both countries which make it

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## THE BUCKEYE BABY



—Cincinnati Post



impossible that in any great world emergency Great Britain and America can be on opposing sides. Those conceptions of justice and liberty are the breath of life for both. While they prevail both nations will endure; if they perish, both nations will die. These were Lincoln's inheritance. \* \* \* We may disregard all life's prejudices and quarrels that result from casual friction and pin-pricks, and from outside misrepresentation and distraction, and rest upon Lincoln's unerring judgment of his countrymen and his race. We may be assured that \* \* \* the peace and friendship between Great Britain and America will prove to be as Lincoln desired to make them, perpetual.

Accepting the statue on behalf of the British Nation, Lloyd George, the British Premier, declared that men like Lincoln were needed now more than ever in the settlement of world affairs. Lincoln, he said, was no longer merely a great American, he was one of those giant figures who lost their nationality in death, for he belonged to the whole of mankind. The nation which produced such men, he added, must be sound to the core. In conclusion, he de-

[DUTCH CARTOON]

## IN HUNGARY



The Crucified Proletariat —De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

[GERMAN CARTOON]

## POLAND AND RED RUSSIA



—From Ulls, Berlin  
Will it collapse?

[ENGLISH CARTOON]

## CONFOUND THOSE CATS!



—Westminster Gazette, London

clared, amid enthusiastic applause: "This torn and bleeding earth is calling to-day for the help of the America of Abraham Lincoln."

\* \* \*

## FISHERIES TREATY WITH CANADA

THE conclusion of a treaty between the United States and Canada for the protection and conservation of the great salmon fisheries of the Fraser River and Puget Sound was announced by the State Department at Washington on July 26. The necessity for such a treaty is seen in the fact that the output of these fisheries had dwindled from 2,300,000 cases of canned salmon in 1913 to about 65,000 cases in 1918, and has now reached an even lower figure. The treaty will come before the Senate at its next session for ratification. The whaling industry is also the subject of consideration by the two Governments, and a world-wide conference is proposed, with the object of saving the remnants of the once mighty herds that roamed the seas in the great days of the whaling industry. These facts were disclosed by publication of the report of the International Commission, which in 1918 assembled to study the outstanding fisheries questions of the United States and Canada.

\* \* \*

## SURRENDER OF A SUPER-ZEPPELIN

FROM Alhorn, Germany, on Wednesday evening, June 30, a gigantic flying ship, painted grimly black, rose in the air and beat



[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## THE OPEN SEASON FOR FAMILY SKELETONS NOW ON!



—From The Tacoma News-Tribune

across the North Sea against a twenty-mile wind. On board was a crew consisting of twenty-one Germans, two German officers and three British officers. Their departure was unheralded, and their arrival over Pulham, England, in the early morning of July 1 was unexpected. The great ship, finding no landing party there, made off and hovered long over Norwich, whose inhabitants gazed upward at the great black hull with strange feelings compounded

of reminiscence and relief from fear. For the big airship was the super-Zeppelin L-71, and in the dark days of the war with Germany she had hung over Norwich before and dropped devastating bombs all around the city. In those anxious days the citizens of Norwich had been forbidden by the authorities even to light a match in the darkness. Under the terms of the Versailles Treaty Germany pledged herself to surrender to Great Britain this identical Zeppelin.

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## A FULL HOUSE



—From The Cincinnati Post

After considerable manoeuvring the L-71 finally returned to Pulham, gracefully settled down on British soil, and was berthed by the efforts of 300 soldiers in the Pulham aerodrome, where the R-34 had been berthed after her epoch-making transatlantic cruise. The L-71 was formally surrendered in the Pulham aerodrome on the morning of July 22, and so another of the many pledges which Germany was forced to give at Versailles was fulfilled.

Another of Germany's great airships, the L-72, was surrendered to France at the beginning of August, and after a sen-

sational flight over Paris was assigned for active use in the Mediterranean region in the service of the French Navy.

\* \* \*

## CHARGES OF TERRORISM IN HUNGARY

THE Horthy Government in Hungary, by its measures of repression against the Communists of the Bela Kun type, has brought about a situation which a delegation of the British labor unionists, sent specially to investigate charges of atrocities and persecution of the laboring classes, has declared to amount to a White Terror. In view of this state of



[DUTCH CARTOON]

## THE LABOR BOYCOTT AND THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam

affairs the International Federation of Trade Unions, in convention at Amsterdam, declared a boycott of all Hungary's means of communication by sea and by land, in which all the labor organizations of Austria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Italy were summoned to participate. This boycott, which began June 20, was to go on until

the Hungarian Government's methods were reformed. In its declaration of the boycott, the International Federation stated that 51,000 Hungarian workers had been executed before the beginning of the present year, and that thousands of others had been assassinated by bands of officers without trial. Details of the tortures to which many had been put

[DUTCH CARTOON]

## POLAND AND THE RISING TIDE OF BOLSHEVISM

—From *De Amsterdamer*, Amsterdam

Poland: "Help me, boys, or I can't hold the fort"

[ITALIAN CARTOON]

## THE WAR PROFITEERS



Here are two who don't intend to disgorge

—From *Il Travaso*, Rome



were revolting. Protests to the Hungarian Government and to the League of Nations having proved unavailing, the federation organized its boycott, which virtually cut off Hungary from the rest of the world for two months. The agitation of the subject by the trade union delegates in Amsterdam produced the two terrible cartoons herewith reproduced from De Notenkraker of Amsterdam.

\* \* \*

#### GERMANY GIVES UP MASTERPIECES

ONE of Germany's reparation pledges was fulfilled early in July when the German Government delivered to Belgium the wings of the great "Adoration of the Lamb," painted by Hubert and Jan van Eyck for the Cathedral of St. Bavon at Ghent, and the wings of the polyptych, "The Last Supper," by Die-

[GERMAN CARTOON]

### THE MOLOCH



—From Wahre Jacob, Stuttgart

[The German artist represents Austria and Germany as about to throw their starved and naked children into the fire under compulsion of the peace terms, while the Gallic cock, representing France, crows lustily]

rich Bouts, of which the central panel, painted for the Church of St. Pierre at Louvain in 1467, survived in some mysterious way the destruction brought on the peaceful university city by the Germans at the time of their invasion. In justice to Germany it should be said that the restored masterpieces were not war booty, but were purchased by the German Government through intermediaries from the French Museum, where they had been stored since the French Republicans brought them from Belgium in 1794. Twelve panels in all were ceded by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin. "The Adoration of the Lamb" was counted among the choicest art treasures of Prussia. "The Last Supper" of Bouts is a striking example of grim Flemish realism. M. Paul Lambotte, Director of the Beaux Arts of Brussels, has announced that an epoch-making exhibition will soon be held, of which the restored and united paintings will be the centre. The German Government, on July 25, also delivered to the City of Louvain the first consignment of 10,000 books from Germany for the library of Louvain University, in accordance with the terms of the Peace Treaty.

\* \* \*

#### BRITISH OFFICER'S ADVENTURES IN ASIA

A DETAILED account of the amazing adventures of Major F. M. Bailey of the British Indian Army in Bolshevik Asia was received in London toward the end of June. Major Bailey, after a period of prolonged silence in Central Asia, recently appeared on the Persian frontier. The story he told rivals that of Richard Burton's adventures in Mecca a generation ago. Sent on a political mission to Tashkent, in Turkestan, he was suspected of anti-Red propaganda by the

Bolshevist authorities and detained under surveillance pending the receipt of orders from Moscow. The British Major disappeared, and finally left the city disguised as a carter. Finding it impossible to leave Turkestan, he finally returned to Tashkent after a counter-revolutionary outbreak which the Bolsheviks suppressed and punished by the execution of some 4,000 victims. There he remained for a time in hiding, hoping for an advance of the British forces, which did not materialize.

Despairing of escape by any other means, Major Bailey decided on a bold stroke, and in the guise of an Austrian officer who spoke English actually succeeded in obtaining a position on the Bolshevik Espionage Staff. Dressed in full Russian uniform, the adventurous officer finally reached Bokhara, where he again disappeared for two months. He then secretly left the city with other refugees, and after many vicissitudes reached Meshed, on the Persian frontier, in safety. An amusing feature of his career as Bolshevik Intelligence Officer was the receipt by him while on his way to Bokhara of a dispatch from Moscow asking him to report on the whereabouts "of Major Bailey." His reply, needless to say, was far from a model of exactness.

\* \* \*

#### GREAT BRITAIN'S TROUBLES

**F**ACED with enemies and dangers on all sides, Great Britain has had little rest since the ending of the war. Haunted by the spectre of Indian insurrection, which the Indian Mohammedans threatened to materialize unless the Sultan were allowed to stay in Con-

stantinople, confronted by similar threats from the Bolsheviks unless peace were made with Soviet Russia, and by like implications from China in case the Anglo-Japanese alliance was renewed, the British Government has also been troubled by the separatist tendency in South Africa and by the secessionist activities of Sinn Fein in Ireland. It has shaped its foreign policy accordingly. The Sultan was left in Constantinople; peace negotiations have been initiated with Soviet Russia on the explicit understanding that anti-British propaganda in the Near and Far East should cease. In the case of the Anglo-Japanese alliance England has preferred to face

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

### BETWEEN TWO FIRES



—From The Dayton News



[DUTCH CARTOON]

## ENGLAND'S NIGHTMARE

—From *De Amsterdamer*, Amsterdam

*Saul (John Bull) to David (Lloyd George): "Play! Play on! Only your music can banish these dreadful visions!"*

the threat of China, rather than that of Japan. South Africa is the least of her troubles and Ireland is the greatest. Lloyd George, the Premier, whose skill and resolution are acknowledged by the whole nation, continues with unimpaired power to pilot the British ship of state through perilous seas.

\* \* \*

## DIVORCE IN JAPAN

ONE result of the financial strain of the war in Turkey was the reduction in the number of wives kept in the harems. A somewhat similar effect, according to the Tokio correspondent of *The London Morning Post*, has been the marked increase in divorces in Japan, especially since the recent financial panic which upset the country, and which Japanese financial experts attribute directly to conditions growing out of the war. This unprecedented increase of divorces was announced by the Japanese Police

Headquarters. The Japanese law vests the power of divorce—as well as of marriage—in the police, instead of in the courts, a qualification which gives the Japanese police a far greater degree of importance than the police of any other country. The marriage ceremony consists in merely bringing the woman to the police station and having her registered as a member of the household. Only one woman may be thus legally registered, though polygamy is allowed without necessity of registration. Divorce is obtained by merely having the woman's name erased from the police registry. If a woman objects to such summary divorce, she may appeal to the law courts, but such appeals are very rare, and the thousands of divorces now being put through are effected solely by the police. The woman, for reasons of economy, is simply turned out to shift for herself, and she solves her new problems by obtaining work or by entering into a

[ENGLISH OPPOSITION CARTOON]

## PICTURE PUZZLE—FIND GERMANY



—From The Star, London

*The Allied Pecksniffs (to Russia): "How can you expect decent people to associate with you when you follow this policy of revenge? When will you learn to love your enemies as—ahem!—we do?"*

new marriage, as the case may be. A number of Japanese girls are now advertising for husbands. The much-discussed system of marriage and divorce now being practiced in Soviet Russia, where these ceremonies are a mere matter of registration with the civic authorities, has long been practiced in Japan.

\* \* \*

## THE BATTLE OF THE HUNDRED DAYS

IN "The Story of the Fourth Army in the Battle of the Hundred Days" (Aug. 1 to Nov. 11, 1918), by Major Gen. Sir Archibald Montgomery, a book which recently appeared in England, is given the first detailed story of the famous battles of the Hundred Days, which proved decisive in the war against Germany. General Montgomery, as the Chief of Staff of the Fourth Army, gives an authoritative account of the storming of the formidable Hindenburg line by the

three British armies in co-operation, bringing into strong relief the brilliant part played by the Fourth Army in crossing the St. Quentin Canal. From this point onward the story is one of steady pursuit, occasionally and only momentarily checked by the despairing resistance of a beaten foe, whose ratio of retreat was conditioned only by the allied capacity of supply.

One of the most interesting features of the work is a preface by Major Gen. Lord Rawlinson, who commanded one of the British Armies that participated in this fighting. Lord Rawlinson disputes the view that the armistice was premature, and denies the presumption that if operations had continued for a few weeks the Germans would have been compelled to surrender unconditionally. Owing to the systematic manner in which the Germans were destroying the com-



munications behind them, Lord Rawlinson declares, the British Armies would have been starved had they tried to continue their advance rapidly and in full strength.

\* \* \*

#### HOLDING GERMANY TO THE TREATY

THE main conflict at the Spa Conference, apart from the question of coal deliveries to France, was over the question of disarmament; to this the Allies subordinated all other points. It was only after considerable resistance that Germany agreed once more to the disarmament conditions of the Versailles Treaty; at the beginning of the conference she declared, in view of the internal situation, that they were impossible. While the Spa Conference was still in session, a new danger presented itself with the collapse of the Polish campaign against Bolshevik Russia: The Soviet forces might join hands with the Germans of East Prussia if their victorious advance against Poland were allowed to continue. An allied note to Moscow asking for an armistice on behalf of Poland was rejected. Poland was then told by the allied Governments to apply for such an armistice herself. This was done, and Moscow gave its consent to negotiations for a truce.

Meanwhile, however, the Soviet Army pushed on toward Warsaw. The allied Governments hurried munitions and supplies to Poland in case the Russians attempted to infringe the boundaries originally laid down for Poland by the Supreme Council. The opposition press in England has been unwearying in its gibes at the allied policy pursued in respect to both Poland and Germany. This attitude is reflected in the accompanying cartoon from The London Star.

[CANADIAN CARTOON]

### SO PATHETIC !



—From The Montreal Star

Convicted Assassin: "Oh, please, Mr. Judge, let me keep these harmless things. I love them so!"

The Montreal Star's cartoon is in the nature of a retort.

\* \* \*

#### GERMAN PRIZE SHIPS REACH AMERICA

FIVE vessels that had once been German fighting ships crawled into New York Harbor on Aug. 8, four of them in tow, and all manned by American sailors and flying the Stars and Stripes. They were the sole trophies accepted by the Government of the United States in the distribution following the victory of the allied arms. Under the terms of the award they must be destroyed within one year. After the American public has been given ample opportunity to view them at their moorings in the Hudson they are to be towed out to sea and to be shot by the guns of the American Navy into battered piles of junk and sent to the bottom. There was a dramatic element in this ignominious end of ships,

[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## Nine Lives? It Must Have Ninety!



—From The Cincinnati Post

four of which had shared in the battle of Jutland.

\* \* \*

## NEW WORLD SOCIETY CREATED

A NEW world society was launched on July 5 in London under the name of the British Institute of International Affairs. Many distinguished people were present, and addresses were delivered by Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Clynes, the British labor leader. In his resolution for the creation of this new society, Viscount Grey explained its object and scope. The institute would devote itself, he said, to the study of international affairs, and would attempt to teach knowledge, comprehension and perspective. It would make no attempt to formulate foreign policy or distribute propaganda, but would seek only to enlighten public opinion and to increase the store of national wisdom, and to help the nation to think, not nationally, but inter-

nationally. He hoped, he said, that similar institutes would be established in the United States and other parts of the world, and that they would act together. Mr. Balfour stressed the service which the new institute could render in supplying men of trained ability for the public service, and in cultivating mutual comprehension between different nations. Mr. Clynes spoke on the advantages of such an institute from the viewpoint of labor, and lauded its foundation as a solid basis of the new ideal of internationalism. Lord Cecil, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Clynes were elected Presidents of the new institute.

\* \* \*

## FRENCH MONUMENT TO WRIGHT BROTHERS

WHILE airplanes were flying overhead, prominent Frenchmen and Americans, on July 17, dedicated the monument erected at Le

Mans, France, in honor of Wilbur Wright, commemorating his first public flight at Le Mans and the pioneer work of both the Wright brothers in developing the flying machine. The American Ambassador to France and the Aero Club of America were represented among the American speakers. The monument was the gift of Commodore Beaumont, who was also present. It was erected on a foundation presented through French subscriptions. It stands in the centre of the city, beside the cathedral. It is of granite and is about forty feet high. The shaft is surmounted by the figure of a man striving to fly through space without wings. The statue is the work of Paul Landowski.

\* \* \*

## THE ESPERANTO CONGRESS

THE Thirteenth Annual Congress of the Esperanto Association of North America opened on July 22 in the Bahai



[GERMAN-SWISS CARTOON]

## EUROPE'S JOURNEY BACK TO PEACE



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich

Europe (bowed under burden of war spirit): "And this is what men call 'Recovery'!"

Library in New York. Edward S. Payson of Boston presided, and the address of welcome was delivered by Miss Cora L. Butler, President of the New York Esperanto Association. The annual report stated that the new universal lan-

guage had been made compulsory in the schools of Russia, and either compulsory or optional in the schools of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Saxony, Serbia and in many foreign cities, including Barcelona, Amsterdam, Grenoble and

[ENGLISH CARTOON]

**GOD SAVE IRELAND !**

(Since the Government will not)

—From *The People*, London*We need strong men—we get weaklings!**We need actions—we get words!**We need Martial Law—We get the Curfew!*

Lille. The congress closed its sessions on July 24.

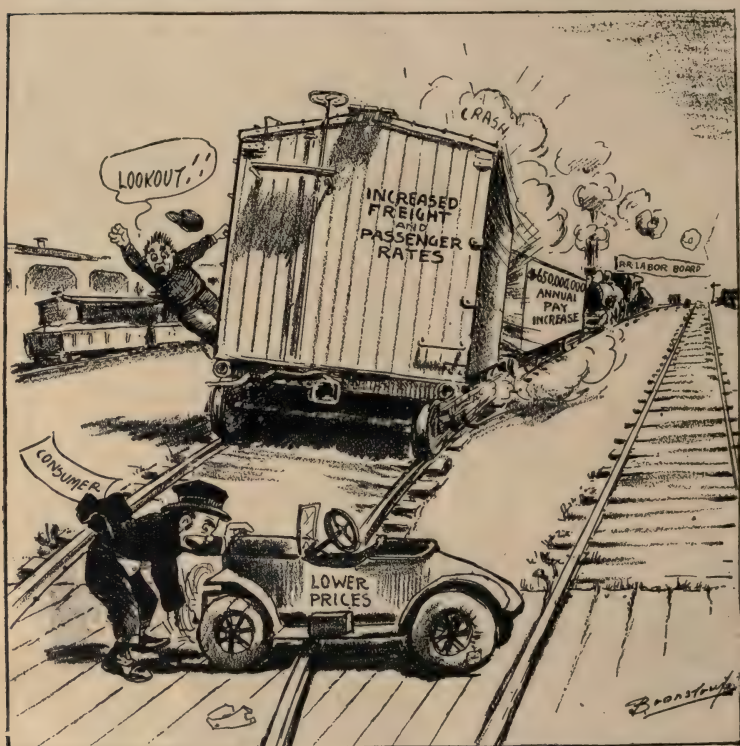
About 400 delegates, representing many countries, including the United States, attended the International Esperanto Conference at The Hague on Aug. 9. Speeches were made in Esper-

anto by the delegates of nearly every country. The Hague Burgomaster, Patyn, welcomed the congress, and in lauding the advantages of Esperanto referred to the difficulty which President Wilson and Premier Orlando of Italy had in understanding one another



[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## SOMEBODY IS GOING TO GET BUMPED



—From The San Francisco Chronicle

at the Peace Conference. The speech of the Italian delegate was received with great applause. The President of the congress read a telegram in Esperanto from Sir Eric Drummond, expressing his regret at being unable to represent the League of Nations at the conference, owing to the meeting of the League at San Sebastian.

\* \* \*

## THE CENTRAL PACIFIC ISLANDS

THE problems arising from the redistribution of the Central Pacific Islands formerly owned by Germany have not proved easy of solution for any of the new owners, whether British, French, Australians, New Zealanders, or Japanese. These hundreds of tiny islands belonging to various groups, and

occupying a central position between Australia, America and Japan, are now coming into their own with the recognition of their great naval value and the richness of their phosphate deposits and characteristic products.

According to a decision made by the Council of Three (Clemenceau, Wilson, Lloyd George) at the Peace Conference on May 6, 1919, all former German colonies were to be ruled under mandates from the League of Nations. The German islands in the Pacific were divided into two main groups. Japan got the mandate for all the islands north of the equator, while most of those south of the equator were divided between Australia and New Zealand. Thus German New Guinea came under the rule of Australia,

[POLISH CARTOON]

## AT THE GRAVE OF THE FOURTEEN POINTS



—From Mucha, Warsaw

*Germania (to John Bull): "And what about Wilson's Fourteen Points?"*

*John Bull: "We will bury them. Poland can mourn them. Disappointment is nothing to her. She is used to it"*

along with the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands.

The Gilbert and Ellice colony has always been owned by the British. They have now taken over the island of Nauru under a mandate issued by the League, and have begun to cope with the vital questions of administration in their usual energetic way, while far to the east the French are struggling with their own problems in trying to rule over the remnants of the Tahitians and Paumotuans and Marquesans.

New Zealand has exercised control over the Cook Islands since 1901. This group consists of about a dozen islands, scattered over a radius of more than 100 miles, and inhabited by about 12,000

people of the Polynesian type. To these possessions New Zealand has now added the Samoan Islands, for which she received a mandate under the League of Nations. The difficulties of the task of administering Samoa have already become apparent to the New Zealand Government. The objections to securing labor for plantation work through the importation of Chinese indentured workers have been recognized, and in this, as in matters of religion, education, sanitation and otherwise, the New Zealand Government has sought to further the interests of the Samoan people and to prove its fitness to exercise the mandate under the League.

As for the Japanese, though they also



[AMERICAN CARTOON]

## THE OLIVE BRANCH



—From The New York Times

*Allies: "Wonder if it's poison ivy?"*

have tried to impress upon the natives of the Marshall Islands, which they occupied shortly after the war began, the kindliness of their intentions, they have not succeeded in making their rule popular. The natives, who had been harshly treated under German rule prior to 1914, and who had hoped after the close of the war to pass under either British or American administration, were grievously disappointed when the mandate was given to the Japanese. The action of the Japanese in closing the American Mission schools, and in opening in their stead other schools taught by Japanese

schoolmasters in the Japanese language, was not received with satisfaction. Though the Japanese have founded hospitals and introduced sanitation, their administrative order calling on the natives to plant coconut trees in all waste and hurricane-swept portions of the group—with the object of tripling the copra product within a few years—has impressed the natives, already working under strict regulations, with the idea that they are being forced to work very hard for the prosperity of the Japanese and very little for their own emolument.

[GERMAN CARTOON]

## AT SPA



—From Ulk, Berlin

*Admitting Germania to the peace negotiations at Spa*

## DEATH OF ACCUSER OF SERBIA

THE death of Dr. Heinrich Friedjung, the Austrian historian, was reported from Vienna on July 14. Dr. Friedjung gained great notoriety in 1909 by an attack on the Serbo-Croatian leaders in Austria-Hungary and on the Serbian Government. Early in that year, when war with Serbia was believed to be imminent, a selection of so-called "proofs" of Serbian machinations against Austria was placed in Dr. Friedjung's hands. On these he based a series of violent articles published in the Vienna press, in which he accused M. Supilo, the Serbo-Croatian leader, and several other prominent Serbs and Croats in Austria-Hungary of corrupt and treasonable in-

tercourse with the Serbian Government. For these public attacks he was prosecuted in December of the same year. At the trial it was proved that his so-called "proofs" were clumsy forgeries. Dr. Masaryk in 1910 showed that they were the work of a man named Vasitch, employed for this purpose by a member of the Austro-Hungarian Legation at Belgrade. Friedjung's articles were then hastily disavowed by Count Aehrenthal, the Austrian Foreign Minister, who had furnished the "proofs" in question, and it was clearly shown that Friedjung had been the Foreign Minister's unsuspecting tool. This unfortunate excursion into politics is the one blot on a long and scholarly career, for Dr. Friedjung



[DUTCH CARTOON]

## THE SPA CURE

—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam

*Bathing Master (to Fritz): "First you go under the douche before you get into the bath"*

ranks with the leading Austrian historians of Pan-German tendency; one work particularly—"Der Kampf um die Herrschaft in Deutschland," ("The Struggle for Power in Germany")—had given him a prominent position among German writers in this field.

\* \* \*

## THE HEART OF GAMBETTA

THE heart of that great Frenchman, Gambetta, is to be transferred to the Panthéon in September, according to an official announcement made by the French Government on July 8. On Sept. 4, commemorating the half century of the French Republic, the heart of the man who was the incarnation of France's patriotic faith and whose stirring speeches comforted the French people after the national humiliation of 1870 will be taken from Les Jardies and brought to the Panthéon, where France's

greatest lie. The heart, inclosed in an urn made from a spruce tree taken from the Vosges, has been at Les Jardies since Gambetta's death; his remains still lie at Nice. The ceremony of transferring the heart of the leader who, like Aeneas, never despaired, and in the darkest hours exhorted his people to "keep themselves for better things," will be characterized by great solemnity, as symbolizing the definite victory of democracy and the triumph of the armies of the republic. M. Honnorat, Minister of Public Instruction, will draw up the program of the ceremony. It has been planned to convey Gambetta's heart to the Arc de Triomphe on Sept. 3, where it will be guarded by the veterans who fought in the war of 1870, and who will accompany the urn to the Panthéon on the following day. A delegation of Mayors of France will attend. Victo-

[ENGLISH CARTOON]

## THE PERIPATETIC ANGELS OF PEACE

—From *The Star*, London

rious poilus will march between the lines of the 1870 veterans on the Place de la Nation, and illuminations and public rejoicings will end this national festivity.

\* \* \*

## ANGLO-FRENCH OIL AGREEMENT

**A**N agreement signed by Great Britain and France at San Remo on April 24 for co-operation and reciprocity with regard to Anglo-French oil interests in Rumania, Asia Minor, Russia, Galicia and the French and British colonies was presented textually in the British Parliament on July 23. An equal division of interests and exploitation in Rumania was provided for. For Mesopotamia Great Britain grants France 25 per cent. of the net output of crude oil at current market rates, or, in the case of a private company, a 25 per cent. share of the capital. On the other hand, Great Britain agrees to support France in getting 25 per cent. of the Anglo-Persian Company's oil piped from Persia to the Mediterranean through territory under

French mandate. France, in exchange, agrees to construct two special pipe lines and branch railways for the transport of oil from Mesopotamia and Persia through French spheres of influence to the Eastern Mediterranean. The Mesopotamian provisions are in recognition of French oil interests in Mosul. This question not so long ago was heatedly discussed in the French Senate, and the necessity of safeguarding French oil interests in the Mosul region against British claims was energetically set forth.

\* \* \*

## RED RADICALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

**T**HE trial of William Bross Lloyd, millionaire Socialist of Chicago, on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States ended on Aug. 2, after having lasted eighty-five days. The defendant was found guilty and was sentenced to pay a fine of \$3,000 and to be imprisoned in the State Penitentiary at Joliet from one to five years. At the same time nineteen



[DUTCH CARTOON]

## DIVIDING THE TURKISH CRESCENT

—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam

*Millerand of France:* "We should share alike. You only gave me an eighth!"

*Lloyd George of England:* "Well, do you want the moon?"

other members of the Communist Labor Party were found guilty on the same count, fined and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. The adoption of the Bolshevist program to overthrow capitalistic Governments was proved by the State.

Lloyd, a Harvard graduate, who inherited wealth from his father, the late Henry D. Lloyd, a Boston philanthropist, was put on trial, together with thirty-seven other officers of the Communist Labor Party, on May 10. He was indicted with John Reed, also a graduate of Harvard. Among the other men indicted were prominent radicals, whose movement was alleged to have been

fostered by Lloyd as one of several persons of inherited wealth and no occupation. Several of those indicted fled to Mexico. Reed went to Russia, and was subsequently arrested in Finland on a charge of smuggling.

In his opening argument the Assistant State's Attorney charged that it was the intention of the defendants to tear down the Stars and Stripes and to substitute the red flag as a national emblem; to annihilate the American Government and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. Laboring men, he charged, were urged to dynamite the banks and arsenals to get money and arms with which to carry on the fight

[GERMAN-SWISS CARTOON]

## EBERT THE FORSAKEN



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich

*Alone in the German internal political desert*

for a Soviet system of government. All the convicted men were allowed bail, and were planning to appeal for a new trial.

The disposition of other anarchistic Communists remained a problem for the Government, because of the lack of transportation. Toward the middle of July some 500 aliens ordered deported during the first six months of the year by the Department of Labor still remained in the country through this cause. About 100 were awaiting deportation at Ellis Island at the end of July. Frederick A. Wallis, the new Commissioner of Immigration, said at that time:

When a man has had a chance to help build up this country, and fails to help, turning his energies toward pulling down

our institutions, he is not only an ingrate, but a betrayer of the nation's confidence. The best way to get rid of him, after a fair trial in court, is the quickest way. I intend to make short work of these Bolshevik deportees.

Hearings to determine whether Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the unrecognized Ambassador of the Soviet Republic, should also be deported, were continuing at Ellis Island at the end of July. Before the hearing of July 29 Martens declared that he would continue to refuse to answer questions put by Government officials, on the ground of his alleged diplomatic status, which, he asserted, made him immune to deportation.



[GERMAN-SWISS CARTOON]

## THE WORLD SITUATION



Europe dances madly, at leisure, for the grave is already dug.



In Asia everything goes according to plan. This little fellow is steadily developing into the real yellow peril.



America is scarcely recognizable. Hoarded food and money have made him so fat that he is near the bursting point. Let's hope he will soon burst; we may then stand a chance of getting food and money.



—Nebelspalter, Zurich

In Africa things are fine. The negroes, having become rich through their salvation of freedom, justice and morality, are now able to engage white servants.

# CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS

*CURRENT HISTORY undertakes in this department to publish such open letters as it considers of general interest. No letter will be used without the name and address of the writer. On controversial questions it will be the aim to give all sides an equal chance at representation; CURRENT HISTORY, however, aiming to record events as nearly as possible without comment or bias, does not necessarily indorse opinions contained in these letters.*

## A REPLY TO MR. BURROUGHS

*To the Editor of Current History:*

In *CURRENT HISTORY* for July John Burroughs pays his respects to Professor Paul Rohrbach in no uncertain terms. He prolongs the note of international discord and continues to sing that song of hate that should be consigned to oblivion. It strikes the casual reader, however, that had Mr. Burroughs been less vindictive and more judicious, more historical and philosophical, he might have gained a more patient hearing.

The war is over and the time is past for the uttering of spleneticisms against Germany or any other country. What the intelligent world now demands—and the demand is just—is judicial investigation, historical fairness, an honest balancing of accounts, an unbiased presentation of the real facts so far as they have been discovered, and reasonable conclusions drawn therefrom. A verbal exhibition of acerbity of soul convinces no one; the language of hate is not argument, it is always discordant, seldom historical, never judicial. When private or public necessity demands that we inflict wounds upon the person or heart of an enemy, the commonest kind of altruism and Christian charity demands, the necessity having ceased to exist, that we assist in healing those wounds.

The amount of blame, if any, that attaches to each nation for its part in causing the war cannot be adequately discussed in a communication necessarily so limited; but it is now certain from well attested facts of history that no one of the great nations of Europe can prove a complete alibi; all have left fingerprints on European diplomacy which will condemn them long after their war camouflage and soles of hate have been consigned to oblivion, and the world, let us hope, has become more altruistic.

The vindictive misrepresentation of Germany has, perhaps, been nowhere more apparent than in many rhetorical flourishes in denunciation of German Kultur, almost without exception leaving the impression that Kultur is not far removed from barbarism. The *Standard Dictionary* informs us that Kultur means progress, achievement, efficiency in all phases, practical or theoretical, of social, scientific, political, economic or artistic life. It includes the processes involved and the material and mental results obtained. The word Kultur, therefore, means all, or practically all, the human mind occupies itself with. This word has

no synonym in the English language, and our word culture suggests but a very small fraction of the meaning suggested by the German word. It has been the fashion in America to denounce this German Kultur in the most bitter terms as the mainspring of all the moral, social, religious and political debauchery that has characterized Europe for many decades. That this picture, or caricature, of Kultur has been extravagantly overdrawn is proved by the testimony of such an unimpeachable witness as Lloyd George. In a speech on Jan. 28, 1916, he said:

"I think that America and all of us should realize that there were two Germanys before the war. On one hand, there was the industrial, commercial and intellectual Germany, and in a most remarkable way she had blended the three elements. Now, that Germany was rendering a great service to civilization. It was conquering the world by the success of its methods and example. That conquest would have proved a very genuine blessing; it would have been the means of saving some of the terrible waste from which most of the social evils of humanity are spreading. As an ardent social reformer I freely confess I was learning a good deal from that side of Germany, particularly in the direction of municipal and national organization. \* \* \* The Germany of quiet, pacific development, the Germany that was concerning herself with the improvement of the condition of her people, the Germany that was increasing her democrats by the million at each successive election, would vanish from the sight of this generation" [if the militarists should win in this war].

That industrial, commercial and intellectual Germany, that Germany of peaceful, quiet development—probably not less than 80 per cent. of the German people—represented German Kultur, and Lloyd George spoke with an open mind and heart in just praise of it. That was the Kultur which the German Emperor in 1894, I believe it was, said was destined to conquer the world, and which Lloyd George said in 1916 was conquering the world before the war, at least.

Mr. Burroughs says: "We are not through with the Huns yet. They cannot change and do not want to change." I quite agree. That Kultur of which Lloyd George speaks so highly is part and parcel of the German's nature; he can no more divest himself of the desire to be thorough, efficient and effective in everything he does than he can



divest himself of the desire for food. As a result of this psychological attribute, if the German must have a machine it must be the best producible; if he must have an organization it must be efficient; if he must have an army and a navy they must be better than others. It is puerile to attribute the German desire for efficiency to a barbarous desire to kill and to conquer.

Whether or not Germany was actually surrounded by a cordon of hostile nations, one thing is certain—the utterances of the British press and statesmen for many years before the war tended strongly to convince Germany that that was the real object of British diplomacy. For instance, William T. Stead, then England's greatest editor, said: "While Great Britain continues to rule the seas the German head is in the British lion's mouth." Germany and all the rest of Europe believed that Mr. Stead spoke the truth. Later, when Lord Haldane visited Germany and demanded of the Emperor and his Chancellor that they promise him that Germany would build no more warships, and they refused, he said: "If Germany builds more warships, England will build two to her one." Germany must then have understood that the purpose of Great Britain was to keep the German head in the British lion's mouth. The situation for Germany must have been intolerable.

J. W. LOCKHART.

St. John, Wash., July 16, 1920.

## THE GREEKS IN ASIA MINOR

*To the Editor of Current History:*

Less than a week ago in Smyrna a friend said to me, "The Greek Army is standing with one foot off the ground, ready to move forward." Today the big map of Asia Minor on my office wall has small Greek flags marking many cities far in advance of the Greek frontier of last week. For many months the Greeks had faced a most peculiar situation. They had occupied a territory with a large army, with all necessary force, and yet were held in leash by a small body of representatives who were waiting in San Remo for the Turkish Government, whatever that is, to agree to formal terms of peace.

In the meantime in Smyrna the Turks had their own telegraph office; their flags were being used promiscuously over buildings and ships. During the great religious festival about the middle of June the Turks were allowed freedom in discharging cannon, in marching about the cities and giving patriotic demonstrations. A prominent Greek General said to me that the Greeks did not wish to interfere with any religious ceremonies of the Turks. Perhaps the most tantalizing position in which the Greek was thrown was when he had to hold his stations at the front and see bands of Turkish brigands massing their forces, bringing up munitions and supplies in preparation to attack him, yet was powerless to attempt an earlier countermovement.

A few days ago a Turkish ammunition train was captured near Kinik because it was passing over allied territory. Skirmishes have been taking place for months along the front.

The foot which has been off the ground has taken a forward step. The large cannon which have stood loaded and ready are being rolled across the bridges recently reinforced for this purpose. The big trucks which I have recently seen standing in line loaded with provisions and ammunition, with the chauffeurs at the wheels, are today carrying these supplies to the rapidly advancing Greek troops. The large camps which for months have been teeming with the restless Greek soldiers are today left deserted. Again the race which once followed Miltiades to Marathon and Alexander the Great to Babylon are marching across the mountains and valleys of Asia Minor. After 500 years of slavery the Greek is bursting his shackles, literally, because the army of occupation is largely composed of the Greeks of Asia Minor, who have endured untold sufferings at the hands of their Turkish masters. It looks now as if the question of the Balkans and Asia Minor would be settled, and in the only way which the peoples of this country understand.

Turmoil and unrest, massacres and privations ran riot in this country while the great nations discussed self-determination and benevolent mandates. The American people have said much, but acted not at all; the English have contented themselves with holding the much-coveted Constantinople; the French have woefully fallen down in Cilicia, and no wonder, with all the irons they had in the fire; the Italians seem tired of the part they were to play, and have apparently lost much of their interest. The peoples of the Balkan States have reverted to their natural way of settling such difficulties, except that there is very marked evidence of a humane standard being set up and a strong desire on the part of the Greek directors, both military and civil, to administer these occupied territories in a most benevolent manner.

M. A. HENDERSON,

General Director American Y. M. C. A. with  
Greek Army, 44 Metropolitan Street,  
Athens, Greece, June 30, 1920.

## CORRECTION FROM DEMETRA VAKA

*To the Editor of Current History:*

In your number of July, 1920, on Page 621, you have a map of Greece. Under that map you write: "The Dodecanese Islands, marked 'to Italy' on the map, were at once handed over to Greece by the Italians." Now, this is a misstatement. First of all they were not handed at once. They were the cause of a great deal of bargaining, and at the end Italy kept Rhodes, which is practically the only island that counts. Italy asserts that she will hand it over to Greece only when Great Britain hands over Cyprus! We

look to your magazine for accuracy. The fact that in your accompanying article you correct—more or less—the statement quoted above does not excuse you for having said what you did under the map. We must have faith in you, and not be left to wonder, when we read you, whether you are well informed or not.

DEMETRA KENNETH-BROWN  
(DEMETRA VAKA),

The Arundel, Kennebunkport, Me., July 16,  
1920.

## THE ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING IN PANAMA

*To the Editor of Current History:*

In a recent issue of your magazine there appeared an article entitled "Panamanian-American Relations in Chirique," by Elbridge Colby. Most of the gentleman's statements were correct. The Hay-Varilla treaty is an iron one, and though the iron enter our souls we must grin and bear it, for there is no use kicking against the pricks. The anti-American feeling in the republic was fostered by the Americans themselves when they came; we opened our arms to receive them, but they shrunk away within themselves and, looking down from the heights of their "superiority," termed us "an inferior people," nicknaming us "Spigotys," or "Spigs." Such action on their part could hardly create a pro-American feeling among a sensitive people.

It is on account of patriotic prompting that I pen these lines, in the hope that I may correct an error on the part of Mr. Colby. He states that, "when General Pershing visited the Panama Canal on May 3, the Panamanians turned out in a torch-light parade in large numbers to protest against the taking of the Island of Taboga by the United States military authorities. They halted the automobile, in which the General was going to the ball given in his honor at the Union Club, and forced it to return to his hotel." Why did General Pershing return to his hotel? Was it because the great hero of the European war was afraid of a handful of unarmed Panama civilians, who did not wish to cause a riot, and who were only seizing the opportunity to voice their protest in the presence of a man whom they knew America held in high esteem? It seems hardly possible. A riot was impossible, as there were doubtless hundreds of United States soldiers in the city, come to see the hero; they would soon have knocked the few "Spigs" silly for that hero's sake! On the other hand, did the General allow the cold reception of an "inferior people" to annoy him so much that he returned to his hotel? I think this latter reason is the true one, and that Mr. Colby had an erroneous conception of the facts. He looked at the question through prejudiced American eyes.

Taboga is dear to the poor people who live

there. If the Americans take the place the islanders will be turned out of their homes and they are afraid that the remuneration they will receive will be about a quarter of its meagre value, as was the case with the landowners at Mount Hope when the Government took over the land. But God is in His heaven, and the Mount Hope people have seen swift retribution fall on the man who was instrumental in undervaluing their land.

Oh, when will the North American cease to show up only the despicable side of Latin America?

SANTIAGO CECLELO RODRIGUEZ.  
Panama, July 14, 1920.

## REFORMS IN BULGARIA

*To the Editor of Current History:*

The following news item in the American paper, *The Orient*, published in Constantinople, on June 19, 1920, has been read with great satisfaction by Bulgarians in the United States:

"Bulgaria is embarking on a new and most interesting program, which deserves our attention. A bill, fostered by the Premier, Alexander Stambolisky, and his agrarian party, is before the Parliament and will probably pass. It embodies some progressive social experiments which, if put into operation, should very soon make Bulgaria one of the most prosperous of the Balkan States. The bill involves the drafting of the young men of what we have been accustomed to term military age for service as laborers instead of as soldiers; they are then to be grouped according to choice or ability and set at various tasks under the direction of experts. Some will carry out irrigation schemes in arid districts; some will reforest denuded mountain sides; some will build roads and railways, or schoolhouses and public buildings; some will work the Government mines and others communal tracts of land. During such service the young men will have the advantage of lectures, evening classes and other means of improvement.

"In place of maintaining a standing army, which destroys millions of pounds of ammunition in target practice yearly and can perform no productive labor, the country will be supporting an equal standing army which is receiving the best sort of training in agriculture and public works and is producing results that will enrich the country by developing its resources.

"Such a progressive step shows the truly peaceful aspirations of Bulgaria and is a guarantee in itself for the future peace of the Balkans. Instead of nourishing revenge in their hearts because of the lopping off of regions they consider as purely Bulgarian in population; instead of preparing an army for future retaliation, or for 'redemption' of their 'enslaved' brethren, the Bulgarians are doing their very best for the commercial and economic prosperity of what is left to them. Bravo, Bulgaria! We hope we may



soon hear that this compulsory labor bill has passed and is being put in operation; and we confidently look for an era of unprecedented prosperity for this progressive and much-misrepresented nation."

This bill has since been passed by the House of Representatives and is now a law.  
EM. ANASTASSOFF.

505 World Building., New York City, Aug. 5, 1920.

## Italy's Most Socialistic City

**I**N an article published by the *Vossische Zeitung* and reproduced in translation by *The Living Age* in its issue of July 31 Mario Passarge describes present-day Bologna, which he calls the Red City of Italy. He explains:

Bologna is the Red City of Italy, the centre of Socialist power and agitation; its people and those of the surrounding country are overwhelmingly Socialist. Its Mayor is a Socialist, its Aldermen are Socialists, and even its middle-class citizens, though they belong nominally to other parties, are more or less touched with the spirit of Socialism.

By a curious contrast, Bologna, seat of a famous old university, has become

a hive of business, full of people inspired with the joy of living and the passions of the day. They have gone as far with socialization as it is possible to go under a non-Socialist Government. None the less, the shops invite the customers with richer and more attractive show-window displays than in any other great city of Italy. Graceful automobiles glide by; the theatres are going full blast; wealth displays itself everywhere; poverty keeps out of sight. \* \* \* No one denies that Bologna has the best municipal administration in Italy. One street has been christened Spartacus Street. \* \* \* The People's Theatre plays for the proletariat.

Public restaurants dispense food at a lower rate than in any other city, this writer observes. The town's atmosphere of contentment is a relief after the depressing aspects of other Italian cities. And yet the Socialist leaders are seriously alarmed by the condition of the country as a whole, and the eventual explosion is feared by them as much if not

more than it is desired. Signor Passarge says:

The country is in a ferment and the controversies between the peasants and the land owners are so bitter that there is little hope of compromise. First the peasants organized, then the landlords imitated their example. But the organized peasants refused to deal with the organized proprietors. They realize their power, and are determined to break up the association formed by their opponents. Crops are not harvested and cattle are dying. I discussed this serious situation with one of the Socialist leaders. He was seriously concerned. The Socialists had organized this powerful society of men of the plow and sickle, but found it difficult to guide that society's policy. The peasants are to own the land. That is universally agreed. But the idea that the peasant is to work for the community under Socialist régime, just as the factory operative has to work for the community, presents itself to these humble countrymen as a return to compulsory feudal service. So there is plenty of tinder to start a big blaze.

I am told that no one wants an explosion. People here do not confound the colors of flame and blood with the colors of roses. The leaders keep telling me: "These men of the masses do not know what they want to do, and they do not know what they are doing." Claudius Tréves, the Socialist delegate to Parliament, whose name is so identified with this city, recently said in an address before that body: "You bourgeois are no longer competent to run the Government; we Socialists know that our rank and file are not yet competent to take the task from your hands. That is the tragedy."

Meanwhile Bologna continues to be a city of industrious men who work hard and live well; therein, says Signor Passarge, lies the best guarantee of the future.

# Ireland's Reign of Terror—and Why

By JOHN W. HARDING

[AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT OF LONDON CHRONICLE]

*"While in the act of crossing himself, having dipped his fingers in the holy water font, Police Sergeant Mulhern, Chief of the Intelligence Department of West Cork, was shot dead in a church at Bandon by two masked men hiding on the porch who fired several revolver shots at him and then escaped."*—News Item.

IF the foregoing has attracted the passing attention of the newspaper reader it is because of the unusually dramatic features of the crime. Yet it is merely an incident in a shocking and prolonged reign of terror in Ireland that has failed to arouse so much as an apathetic interest in the American public, and until the last few weeks even in the public of Great Britain, whom it affects nearly and vitally.

The reason for this is, of course, that the public mind in both countries is blasé—"fed up," as our cousins across the Atlantic would say—with the horrors of the World War and of the Bolshevik terror in Russia, which is an outcome of it.

Belgium under the heel of the Kaiser and Petrograd under the yoke of Lenin and Trotzky have, in fact, furnished a hardly less terrible spectacle of cowardly ferocity than does Southern Ireland under the rule of the Sinn Fein. For under the rule of that revolutionary organization it unquestionably is. The power for the time being has passed from Dublin Castle to the leaders of the republican movement. South of the division of Ulster nearly all the County and District Councils have proclaimed allegiance to the Dail Eireann, or Irish Parliament. Three grades of courts for civil and criminal cases have been set up. Military areas have been established in which by proclamation of the "Irish Republic" it is decreed that:

Every person in the pay of England (Magistrates, jurors, &c.) who helps England to rule this country or who assists in any way the upholders of the foreign Government will be deemed to have forfeited his life.

Civilians who give information to the

police or soldiery, especially such information as is of a serious character, if convicted, will be executed; i. e., shot or hanged.

Police, doctors or prison officials who assist at, or who countenance, or who are responsible for, or who are in any way connected with, the drugging of an Irish citizen for the purpose of obtaining information will be deemed to have forfeited their lives and may be hanged or drowned or shot at sight, as common outlaws.

## TYPICAL OUTRAGES

A British Government White Paper, issued in April, recorded 1,089 outrages during the first three months of the year, including 36 cases of murder. Since then these crimes have steadily increased in number and audacity, until recent unofficial figures placed them at 3,000, including 70 murders. To cite a few of the most sensational and cold-blooded:

There was the doing to death in March of Alan Bell, a 70-year-old Magistrate, who, because he presided over an inquiry into the dealings of the Sinn Fein with Irish banks, was dragged from a street car, where he had been reading a newspaper, and riddled with revolver bullets by a small group of men. There was the assassination of Colonel Smyth, a gallant war veteran, decorated with the Victoria Cross, who had been appointed Divisional Commissioner for Munster of the Royal Irish Constabulary. He was shot dead while sitting chatting with friends in the Cork Country Club by intruders, who burst in suddenly. Recently Frank Brooke, Chairman of the Dublin & Southeastern Railway Company and Deputy Lieutenant for County Wicklow, was murdered in his office at the company's headquarters in Dublin. And less tragic in its first effects, which were indeed not without humor, was the capture on June 27 of General Lucas, who was



peaceably fishing at the time, and who escaped a month later, the escape being attended by the killing of two soldiers and the wounding of three others during an attempt to recapture him.

The list of crimes that have terrorized more especially the Counties of Leinster, Connaught, Cork, Kerry and Munster runs very nearly the whole gamut. It includes, in addition to murders, the burning of Court Houses and tax offices, with their records, all over South Ireland, attacks with bombs and firearms on police stations, robberies of mail trains, firing into houses, burning of private residences, seizing of land and farms, driving off of cattle, boycotting and raids for arms, in which old men, women and children are pulled from their beds and made to face the wall while revolvers are pressed against their heads, and they are threatened with death if they look around or give information. To such an extent has this terrorism been practiced that Magistrates and members of the Constabulary have resigned in large numbers in the absence of adequate protection, and few recruits have been induced to replace the vacancies in the police ranks.

#### AMERICAN SENTIMENT

"Why," the writer was asked the other day by an American business man, "does the British Government allow this state of things to continue? Why doesn't it give Ireland home rule—real home rule of the Dominion kind—and have done with it? What is the matter with the British anyway?"

Like many another busy reader of newspapers, the questioner's knowledge of the problem was superficial. The sympathies of the average American have, on general principles, always been with the aspirations of the Irish for self-government. He has from boyhood heard about the terrible oppression their "distressful country" is groaning under. He has heard the "Wearing of the Green" wheezed or rattled out by every hurdy-gurdy, ancient and modern. He has had the misrepresentations of the professional Irish "patriots," who for generations have made a fat living here by agitation, dinned into his ears. But he has

never taken the trouble—simply because, as has been said, he has lacked the necessary interest—to find out for himself whether or to what extent these charges against England have been justified. Knowing the geographical relation of Ireland to Great Britain, however, his concept of self-government for the Emerald Isle has rarely gone beyond that of the freedom of managing its own affairs enjoyed by the several States under our own Constitution.

#### BRITISH PUBLIC'S ATTITUDE

The attitude of the average Briton is an equally tolerant one at bottom. To him the periodical recrudescence of the Irish question is an affliction as unescapable as death. He always associates it with agitators in Ireland, and especially in the United States, who find it to their interest to keep the fires of revolt smoldering, and at intervals to fan them into a conflagration. He is justly proud of the great national empire system, and satisfied with the form of government he lives under, which he conceives to be the best in the world. He knows that every Irishman shares, or can share if he wants to, in equal degree his own rights and privileges, and he grumblingly asks himself why the people of the South cannot find happiness under the common system.

Aside from agitation and propaganda he ascribes their discontent to the traditional restlessness and combativeness of the Irish nature. He frankly admits—how could he do otherwise?—that Ireland of the distant past was the object of dreadful tyranny and suppression by England. And to this extent he deems that the rebellious, vengeful spirit of those ancient times was a good deal more than justified. He cannot, by any process of reasoning, comprehend its survival to this day. The undoubted hatred of the Southern Irishman for him is not reciprocated—not in the faintest degree. It puzzles and worries him. For conditions long since have changed to a point where he sometimes asks himself whether Ireland is not being pampered at the expense of other sections of the United Kingdom in the desire to conciliate and make amends—the plain, un-

varnished truth is that it is—and he is a little impatient of this insistence on time-moldered wrongs.

The process of evolution in which he has become resigned to the home rule idea has been a lengthy one, to be sure—far too lengthy, as he now is disposed to admit—but it is complete. As far as he himself is concerned he is willing to hand to Ireland on a silver platter the broadest measure of self-government short of actual independence that can be drafted. Beyond that he will never go, nor can he be expected to. A hostile Pacific Coast State might just as reasonably demand separation from our Union. If Ireland were a thousand miles from England's shores the case would be different. It is unlikely that he would raise any objection if such a turbulent member insisted on breaking away from the family circle. As it is, he is prepared to make any concession consistent with what he judges is Great Britain's self-preservation; failing this, he will, though reluctantly and with a sad heart, in sheer desperation, assent to any measures of main force that may be necessary to keep Ireland within the kingdom and secure from possible domination by a foreign foe.

This, then, is the mental attitude of the average Briton toward the Irish problem. He is more than willing to do his part. He wishes the Irish factions would help along the desideratum of an era of definite tranquillity and co-operation by doing theirs—that is, by getting together and conducting their affairs through one local Parliament functioning with the loyal support of all the people, both of the Protestant North and the Catholic South.

#### EFFORTS FOR HOME RULE

This also is the solution desired by the British Government, which has done everything possible to bring it about. In 1914, forty-four years after the home rule agitation was first begun, Mr. Asquith, then Premier, put through Parliament a bill which is still on the statutes, and which would establish an Irish Parliament, leaving the six counties of Ulster outside its jurisdiction for six years. It was hoped that in that period Ulster would become reconciled to the

situation and rally voluntarily to the Parliamentary régime, the latter having demonstrated its entire competency and its good faith toward the North, which lives its own life quite apart. In any case, the six counties would, at the expiration of the delay fixed, become subordinate to the Parliament.

No attempt ever has been made to put this law into effect for the reason that Ulster would have none of it. It resulted in a provisional government being formed at Belfast "to hold the province in trust for the United Kingdom," as Sir Edward Carson, leader of the insurrection, proclaimed; in a volunteer army raised and every preparation made to resist to the last. That Ulster was in deadly earnest was made very plain to Westminster.

#### DISLOYALTY OF THE SOUTH

But then came the World War and the Lloyd George Government. Having received assurances that the Home Rule act would not be promulgated, the North "did its bit," and Sir Edward Carson became a member of the War Cabinet. But what did the South do? It seized the opportunity to show its disloyalty by intriguing and co-operating with the enemies of civilization and aiding them by resisting the conscription law, so that it would have meant diverting large forces to apply it at the time the Entente armies were the most desperately in need of men, and by attempting an uprising in 1916 at Dublin. The fact that the United States, from which the Home Rule Party had always drawn its sinews of war, entered the conflict, thereby proving beyond possibility of doubt that the cause of the Allies was just and Germany a universal danger, made no difference. For the sake of the record it must be recalled that while the United States was pouring out unstintingly its blood and treasure, while American boys were dying for liberty in Flanders and Argonne, and American sailors were risking their lives every minute to overcome the terrible menace of the submarine, these same sailors were insulted and assaulted as enemies by South of Ireland men.

After the part taken by Ulster in the



war it naturally seemed to Lloyd George that it would be the extreme of ingratitude to force the Home Rule act on Ulster, whose determination to resist it, arms in hand, remained unshaken. He conceived the idea of a convention at which delegates from the North and the South should assemble with representatives of the Government to try to reach a mutual understanding. This was in 1917. It was not without misgiving that Ulster went into it. "We agreed to it," said Sir Edward Carson, "because his Majesty's Government told us that it was in the interest of the empire and of the prosecution of the war and was a factor in bringing America into the conflict."

### THE IRISH CONVENTION

For the first time the destiny of Ireland had been remitted for settlement to a purely Irish body with the certainty that no plan on which they agreed would be opposed by Great Britain. It was an offer of "self-determination" in the fullest sense. Hopes therefore ran high throughout the empire and—outside of Sinn Féin circles—in the United States. But no means to safeguard Ulster that were satisfactory to the rest of Ireland could be devised. The aversion of Irish Unionists generally—for they are not all in Ulster—to any scheme of self-government could not be overcome. The conference therefore failed. It had one good result, however; it proved that the Irish problem was not one of British oppression or even of interference, but of Irish disunion. Many persons in the United States seem to have forgotten this fact. It is true that the country has had other and, to it, more important and momentous things to think of since the happenings of the convention.

With the failure of the convention the Home Rule Party in Ireland demanded the application of the self-government law passed by Parliament, and raised loud cries that Ireland was being betrayed. Asquith opposition backed their demand, as also did radical labor in England. But this involved forcing the law down the throats of the North with British bayonets and indefinite occupa-

tion of that area by a large army. Therefore Lloyd George resisted this pressure. He said that what was wanted was union with Ireland, not grappling-hook methods applied either to the North or the South. And the great Premier who had overcome all difficulties and "impossibilities" in the war and in the peace settlements devised yet another scheme, the Home Rule bill now under discussion in the Commons.

### THE HOME RULE BILL

Broadly, it contemplates two Parliaments, one for the North and one for the South, with a National Council composed of twenty members of each Legislature under a President appointed by the Crown, and a separate judiciary in each area, with a high court of appeal for the whole of Ireland.

It was the thought of the Premier that the Council would eventually, by a natural process of evolution, be transformed into a single national Parliament, since wide powers are to be vested in it. It will have the authority of private legislation and to make laws with respect to railways. It may consider any questions bearing on the welfare of the country as a whole and make suggestions by resolution. The two Parliaments may delegate to the Council any of their powers and are empowered to establish by identical acts a national Legislature to supersede the Council. Complete fiscal autonomy—control of customs and excise—is then to be bestowed, with control of the Royal Constabulary.

A free gift of £1,000,000 (\$5,000,000) is to be made to each Government to cover the initial expenditure of setting up the new machinery. The land annuities, amounting to £3,000,000 a year, will be handed to the Governments as a free gift. Ireland is to make a contribution to imperial expenses of £18,000,000 a year, of which 56 per cent. is apportioned to Southern Ireland and 44 per cent to the North, a joint Exchequer Board to settle a fair contribution for the future at the end of two years. And Ireland is to be represented in the Im-



UNIONIST WOMEN CHEERING THE ARRIVAL OF BRITISH TROOPS IN LONDONDERRY  
(© Central News Service)

perial Parliament by forty-two members instead of 105 as at present.

The following powers are reserved to the Imperial Parliament: The Crown, peace and war, the fighting forces, treaties and relations with foreign States and with other foreign parts of the empire, titles of honor, treason and nationalization, trade outside the area of each Irish Parliament, submarine cables, wireless telegraphy, aerial navigation, lighthouses, coinage, trademarks, copyrights and patent rights.

The measure, however, pleases no party or faction outside the coalition Unionists. Ulster in recognition of the Premier's efforts at harmony has given reluctant assent, but Mr. Asquith has denounced it as "the most fantastic and impracticable scheme of the greatest travesty and mockery of real self-government that was ever offered to a nation." He adheres to his own home rule plan. Mr. Lloyd George, however, has announced that he will not be deviated from his purpose, and that the plan will be enforced with all the power at the Government's command. If the South refuses the Parliament offered to it, then it will be administered by an Imperial Commission while the North governs itself.

#### EFFORTS TO PRESERVE ORDER

"In the meantime the Government has endeavored to preserve order in Ireland with the minimum of interference following the fiasco of its early attempts to put an end to the revolution by wholesale arrests of Sinn Féin leaders. The prisoners, it will be remembered, went on a hunger strike, and rather than furnish such a torch as this form of suicide would have been for the Irish agitators here, with which to fire American public opinion, the British authorities decided to release them. Since then things have gone from bad to worse, as the introduction to this article shows. General Sir N. Macready, Commissioner of the London police, was appointed recently to co-ordinate the efforts of the constabulary and of the more than 60,000 troops drafted to the island. But all his efforts have been in vain. Exactly what is to be done to save the country from complete anarchy has not been determined at the time of writing this article.

Thus far the efforts of the army had been directed principally to preventing the general civil strife that was apprehended, bloody outbreaks of which have occurred in Londonderry and other cities. That it had not been engaged very ac-



tively in suppressing the revolutionists was evidenced by the frequency with which patrols and small guard posts were raided by Sinn Fein desperadoes and the soldiers relieved of their rifles and cartridges. As to the Sinn Fein courts, their activities had been treated in civil matters as arbitrations with which the Government had no concern. In criminal matters it was different. The findings were regarded as illegal and persons punished by them were entitled to police protection. The policy of the Government seemingly was to let affairs drift as much as this could be done pending the establishment of the Parliaments.

### JOHN REDMOND'S STATEMENT

Now just what is the measure of liberty enjoyed by Irishmen in normal conditions? To just what extent are they "oppressed" by England? Let no less a person than John Redmond, head of the Irish Home Rule Party, tell in his own words. In the Summer of 1915 a delegation of Australian ecclesiastics visited Ireland and were duly banqueted by the City of Dublin. This was on July 1. Mr. Redmond addressed the visitors, and in his speech, as reported in the Freeman's Journal of July 2, he said, dwelling on conditions of life in Ireland:

Today the people, broadly speaking, own the soil. Today the laborers live in decent houses. Today there is absolute freedom in the local government and local taxation of the country. Today we have the widest Parliamentary and municipal franchise. Today we know that the evicted tenants have been restored to their homes. We know that the congested districts have been transformed, that the farms have been enlarged, and a new spirit of hope and independence is today among the people. We know that in the towns legislation has been passed facilitating the working classes so far as town tenants are concerned.

We have this consolation, that we have had an act passed for Ireland whereby they are protected against arbitrary eviction and given compensation, not only for disturbance from their homes, but for the good-will of the business that they have created—a piece of legislation FAR IN ADVANCE OF ANYTHING OBTAINED FOR THE TOWN TENANTS OF ENGLAND.

We know that at last we have won educational freedom in university educa-

tion for most of the youth of Ireland. Today we have a system of old-age pensions in Ireland whereby every old man and woman over 70 is safe from the workhouse and free to spend his or her last days in comparative comfort. Today we have a system of national industrial insurance which provides for the health of the people and makes it impossible for a poor, hard-working man or woman, when sickness comes to the door, to be carried away to the workhouse hospital, and makes it certain that they will receive decent Christian treatment during their illness.

Do the people of any State in our American Union enjoy greater individual or collective freedom than this, or a larger measure of social well-being? There remains only to add that Ireland with one-tenth of the population of the United Kingdom has one-sixth of the representation in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster.

### PROSPERITY OF IRISH PEOPLE

To the illusion that Ireland is down-trodden the uninformed American couples another—that Ireland is miserably poor, whereas it is one of the most prosperous countries in the world. With an area only a little over two-thirds that of the State of New York—32,605 square miles—and a population one and a half millions less than that of New York City—4,390,129 according to the last census, taken in 1911—the latest available statistics, for the year 1917, when the world war was at its height, reveal the following:

Tonnage at Irish ports: Imports, 120,621,682; exports, 134,562,448.

Exports of livestock: Horses, 5,602; cattle, 888,866; sheep, 763,111; pigs, 199,331.

The fisheries produced 28,547 tons (exclusive of salmon), valued at \$2,836,880.

Land under cultivation was: Cereal crops, 1,305,881 acres; green crops, 987,456 acres; flax, 91,454 acres; fruit, 15,567 acres.

The deposits and cash balances in joint-stock banks for this same year of 1917 totaled \$456,805,000. The balance in the Post Office savings banks on Dec. 31 was \$56,320,000 and in trustee savings banks \$12,265,000.

In the fiscal year 1918-19 the revenues not only met expenditures but left a considerable surplus. The total revenue as contributed amounted to \$155,740,000 and local expenditures to \$110,807,500, leaving

a balance available for imperial expenditures of \$44,932,500.

Tempting pickings there, indeed!

#### CHIEF ISSUES AT STAKE

It was mainly on the rock of fiscal autonomy that the convention of 1917-18 was wrecked. Under no circumstances would Ulster consent that the control of the island's finances should pass from the Imperial Government to a Parliament in which it was feared the North would soon be hopelessly outvoted and overruled.

On the part of the revolutionary agricultural South there is no disposition to consider any natural prejudices of the industrial North, alien to it in both its political and religious viewpoints. It is not willing to attempt to bring about probable unity by accepting the plan of the two Parliaments, bridged by a joint Council, and by adopting toward the Ulsterites a policy of patience, conciliation and good faith. And it is no part of the game of the Sinn Féin leaders in Ireland and elsewhere that the South should. For where would they come in? They are for a short cut to supreme control by themselves of the island and all its resources through severance of the tie of empire and the roughshod subjugation of the North.

In this they are aided and abetted by the Roman Catholic priesthood. Or are they aiding and abetting the latter? For it is by the disloyal clergy that the Church-ridden South has during the last century been kept in more or less active revolutionary ferment, through misrepresentation and the exploitation of its religious susceptibilities, to the prejudice of the Protestant North and of Protestant Britain. It will not take any student of Irish conditions long to realize that. Much could be written under this head, but it suffices for the purposes of the present review to touch upon it in passing.

#### AGITATION IN AMERICA

Who hears but one bell hears only one sound, as the French say. And the Gaelic "patriots" have been, and are, more than ever, clanging that bell ever-

lastingly, and deafeningly in the ears of the people of the United States. For long years these vociferous disruptionists, who cannot even agree among themselves, have been operating behind the safe shield of Columbia. Now, seizing the opportunity of the world in turmoil, they have become emboldened to the point of ordering the conventions of the great American parties to espouse their cause in uncompromising, warlike planks in their platforms, under threat of the millions of votes they assert they can swing, and of bringing similar pressure to bear on Congress and individual Congressmen, and to attempt to float a "loan"—in reality to raise a subscription—of \$10,000,000 among the people.

To what extent this "loan" has been successful, or unsuccessful, its promoters alone know. They assert, but adduce no proof, that it has been oversubscribed. However this may be, one of the purposes for which the money is needed is to carry on intensive propaganda having for its object to incite the people of the United States through their representatives in Congress to recognize the Irish Republic and to back this recognition if necessary by employing the army and navy to compel Great Britain to let Ireland go, as they forced Spain to relinquish Cuba. They well know that a declaration of recognition would of itself be the likely equivalent of an act of war, since the great British Empire would certainly resent it as unjustifiable interference with its internal affairs, not to be tolerated for a moment.

Thus to serve their own selfish ends these American-Irish, Irish-American and alien-Irish conspirators, befrocked and frockless, who exhausted all means to prevent this country from saving the liberty of the world by drawing the sword against Germany, would without hesitation exultantly drive us into fratricidal strife with friendly, allied—and mighty—England, a calamity from which reeling civilization would collapse utterly.

Subjoined is one of the forms this propaganda is taking. It is the copy of



a handbill that was distributed on July 31 to passengers on the White Star liner Olympic and among the crowds attracted to the vessel's pier by the anti-British demonstration organized when Archbishop Mannix from Australia sailed away.

#### NINE THINGS YOU DO WHEN YOU TRADE WITH ENGLAND:

- (1) You give preference to the greatest militaristic nation of the world.
- (2) You support a nation whose aggressive foreign policy has hurt America in every country in the world.
- (3) You strengthen America's competitor to grab the world's market.
- (4) You enable her to maintain armies of occupation in countries that are America's prospective customers.
- (5) You help to kill off and keep in economic subjection the population of countries that are friendly to this country and whose trade would be an asset.
- (6) Every ounce of English goods represents a murdered national of one of the subject nations.
- (7) Every dollar spent in England is a dollar spent to maintain political and

economic slavery in three-quarters of the world.

(8) Every dollar spent in England strengthens America's rival and weakens America's friends.

(9) Every dollar spent in England is a dollar spent to retard the progress of civilization and further the progress of imperialism.

DON'T TRADE WITH ENGLAND.

DON'T LET AMERICAN MONEY  
MURDER IRISH, HINDUS AND EGYPTIANS.

DON'T TRADE WITH A BANKRUPT  
WHO CANNOT PAY INTEREST ON  
WHAT SHE OWES ALREADY.

CALL THE LOAN AND REFUSE TO  
TRADE WITH THE LAST DECLINING  
RELIC OF EUROPEAN AUTOCRACY.

Women's Irish Education League.

And it is with such frantic, mendacious nonsense as this that it is hoped to dethrone the reason of the United States! Can any American wonder that, faced by the sinister plotters who stand for this sort of thing, the North of Ireland men, at present free, should rally to defend their rights to the last trench, as they have sworn to do?

## Ireland's Independence

### A Statement of the Rights of Ireland as Seen from the Sinn Fein Viewpoint

By MICHAEL O'REILLY

[OF THE EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE GAELIC AMERICAN, A LEADING SINN FEIN SUPPORTER]

*There is no such record of failure in human affairs, go where you will seek it; there is no such record of failure, as in the treatment of Ireland by England for 700 years, during which time I may say there has not been 700 days—certainly not 700 weeks—of content and satisfaction. Every horror and every shame that could disgrace the relations between a strong country and a weak one is written upon almost every page of the history of our dealing with Ireland.—GLADSTONE, 1887.*

**T**HIRTY-THREE years have elapsed since Gladstone made the foregoing declaration, and the relations between the two countries are today more strained than at any period since the Norman conqueror first set foot in Ireland. The new Coercion act for Ireland, which became law on Aug. 9 last, deprives the Irish people

of every semblance of liberty. It is doubtful if any despotic monarchy in ancient or modern times ever enacted such a drastic and comprehensive measure of oppression.

To create an atmosphere favorable to this liberty-stifling measure, Ireland has been represented on the highways of the world as reeking with crime and lawlessness. Every triviality, such as a threatening letter or notice, has been magnified a hundredfold. Judges are creatures of the Government and in times of political turmoil their pronouncements favor the official side of the controversy. Like every other civilized country, Ireland is not free from crime, but it is if England's record in this respect is as good as that of "John

Bull's other island." In Ireland the people are subjected to greater provocation, meetings are proclaimed, sports are stopped, concerts are prohibited and the military police insult and browbeat everybody without regard to rank or sex. Peaceful meetings are dispersed at the point of the bayonet, men are arrested and thrown into jail without charge or trial. Yet, in spite of this provocation, it is doubtful if Ireland has proportionately as much crime as England, which is seething with lawlessness of all kinds, murders, bank robberies, burglaries, hold-ups and Post Office raids.

### CRIME IN ENGLAND

During the month of February thirty-one murders were committed in England, the majority of the victims being women. The New York Times of Jan. 22 describes as follows this wave of crime in England:

LONDON, Jan. 21.—The outbreak of crime in England continues, and is causing the police and the public much uneasiness. Three new outrages were committed yesterday, the murder of an old man by a burglar at Bolton, and two Post Office raids, one hold-up by armed men and the other a safe robbery in which the thieves escaped in an automobile. No clue was left by the thieves, who stole £10,000 worth of jewels from Lady Loughborough at Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, nor is any progress reported in the tasks of tracing the murderers of Miss Shore, who was killed in a train, and Mrs. Francis Burton, who was killed in her inn at Chelsea. \* \* \* Figures issued by Scotland Yard show that during the two months ended on Jan. 15 there were in the London district 26 arrests for burglary, 48 for housebreaking, 150 for shopbreaking, 19 for robbery and 25 for serious larceny.

The London Times, discussing the causes of this carnival of lawlessness, stated:

The probability of a wave of crime after the war had been foreseen and foretold by students of social problems, and some of its causes, at all events, are obvious. They include the release from the army and return to their old life of a large number of professional criminals. The failure and disinclination of a certain proportion of soldiers to obtain work, decreased regard for the sacredness of life caused by familiarity with bloodshed, and the unhealthy influence, especially upon youths, of the violence of war are prominent features.

The English moralize on crime in England; they pass repressive legislation for crime in Ireland. Is the life of an Irish policeman more sacred than that of an English woman? The shooting of an Irish policeman is cabled to the ends of the globe, a short paragraph in the English press is considered sufficient for the murder of an English girl, and English crimes are very rarely featured in any papers outside of England.

### IRELAND'S RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE

English politicians and publicists are very insistent on comparing the relation between Ireland and England with that which exists between one of the American States and the United States. No more fallacious comparison could be made. Nature has placed an angry sea between Ireland and England, and it requires no parallels of latitude or meridians of longitude to define her boundaries. Ireland has all the characteristics of a nation—racial, linguistic and historical. Unlike one of our States, she has never consented to partnership in the British Empire. For 700 years she has been held in subjection by force. Unlike the Governor of an American State, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is appointed by the King, not elected by the people, and he is invariably not a native of Ireland. The States of the Union came in voluntarily. Ireland has steadfastly refused to acquiesce in English domination.

England's spokesmen are very persistent in stating that Ireland's grievances are historical, that they belong to the past, and they are willing to admit that in the past Ireland was grievously wronged and oppressed. But while they are willing to admit that their ancestors were guilty of cruel wrongs, they are unwilling to admit that England is wrong today. In fact, every act of England today is right if their word is to be accepted without question. Is not the new Coercion act of today wrong? Is the indiscriminate shooting of men and women and children, which is taking place daily in Ireland, to be condoned? There are hundreds of "Boston massacres" taking place in Ireland. English soldiers



to the number of 200,000 are quartered in Ireland and their upkeep charged to the Irish people.

#### LAND PURCHASE AND PENSIONS

"What is the matter with the Irish?" exclaims the English propagandist. "We have purchased their holdings for the farmers and we have given them old-age pensions. What more do they expect us to do?"

The money expended on land purchase has come from Irish taxation and the Irish farmer has to pay every cent of the money loaned for the purchase of his farm. Until that is finally paid the County Council is held responsible for the purchase money and any default in the payment of the annual annuities is charged to the local rates. England has no responsibility in regard to the money advances and it is simply a stock exchange transaction. With regard to old-age pensions, the money is also paid by the Irish people themselves. For the fiscal year 1919 Ireland had a surplus of \$75,590, after paying for Irish services, and this surplus was retained by the English Treasury. Ireland is treated to her own money. Is the generosity on the part of Great Britain?

Perhaps the most prevalent misconception is that the Irish cannot agree among themselves and that poor John Bull is worried to death by the quarrels between the opposing Irish factions. That Ulster is opposed to the rest of Ireland, or to put it in the words used by Lloyd George, the North is opposed to the South. The East and the West are ignored. Let it not be forgotten that four only of the nine counties of Ulster are opposed to an Irish republic and in these counties there is a considerable minority of Sinn Feiners. The counties supporting the Irish Republic are Donegal, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Monaghan and Cavan. At the local elections held last June for members of the County Councils the Sinn Feiners won five and the Unionists four of the Ulster counties. In all Ireland there are thirty-three County Councils, and of this number the Irish Republicans won twenty-nine, the Unionists four. Is there in any country in the world a greater spectacle of unity

than this? If majority rule counts for anything, why should it not prevail in Ireland? The Unionists are in a minority in Ulster and it is erroneous to say that Ulster is against the rest of Ireland. In face of the local elections the fallacy still persists that Ulster is against the Irish Republic.

#### MAJORITY RULE MUST PREVAIL

There can be no democracy where majority rule does not prevail. Lincoln in his first inaugural address states:

A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

If England had been sincere in her professions toward Ireland she would pay no heed to the protests of a small minority, pampered by Government paternalism. The planters in Ulster had special land laws which did not prevail in the rest of Ireland. Every position of trust in the gift of the Government went to the minority. Small wonder that the favorites were loyal—loyal to their pockets. In the four northern counties the number of those opposed to the Irish Republic is growing daily less. The Ulster bogey is dying and in a short time the English Government will have to manufacture some other shibboleth to smoke-screen the Irish question.

The much-discussed Lloyd George convention was not in any sense of the word a representative body. It was hand-picked, and elements were brought together that could not coalesce. In fact, the purpose of the Premier could have been nothing else than to make unanimous agreement impossible, for the purpose of giving him an opportunity to say that the Irish people could not agree among themselves and that England was willing to carry out any agreement unanimously arrived at. In the words of Lincoln, "unanimity is impossible," and has never been attained in any country in

the world. The purpose of this scheme was divined by the Sinn Feiners, who were accorded two seats in the convention, but they refused to enter the spider's web. The allotment of only two seats to the Sinn Feiners seems absurd in face of the fact that they carried three-fourths of the Irish Parliamentary seats and who recently captured twenty-nine out of the thirty-three County Councils. The Lloyd George convention aimed at shelving, not settling, the Irish question.

#### NO RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

The old boggy that the Irish are priest-ridden has no foundation in fact. The priests are naturally like their congregations, mindful of their duties and responsibilities to their country. In the present temper of the Irish people they would brook no interference from any outside source in regard to their political duties. Contrary to the widely circulated fallacy that the Irish Catholics are intolerant, there are no more tolerant people in the world. Over the West and South of Ireland there are small Protestant congregations and they have never been molested by their Catholic neighbors. They fraternize, visit each others' homes and mingle at fairs and markets and sports. This toleration is borne out by the testimony of reputable Protestants. At the Wesleyan Conference, held recently in Hull, Ernest Mercier, a member of the deputation from the Irish Methodist Conference, in an impassioned speech, said:

As far as I know, in a country place in Ireland, there has never been any interference, good, bad or indifferent, with the worship of Methodists. The courtesy and kindness shown to your representatives in Ireland is more than tongue can tell. I am as hopeful of Ireland as ever a man could be. I have never heard in this conference a word of praise for my beloved country.

Religious strife in Ulster is fomented for political purposes, and if outside influences were withdrawn there would be

no ill-feeling between Catholics and Protestants. And for more than eleven months in the year Ulster Protestants and Catholics keep on good terms; Ulster Volunteers and Irish Volunteers salute each other and fraternize at sports and other public functions. This harmonizing is not, however, agreeable to the politicians and the Orange drum has to be sounded at least once a year so that the English politicians can say that Ulster is against Ireland.

#### FREEDOM OR SUBJECTION

That Ireland is able to pay her own way when the English connection is finally dissolved is proved by the following figures, which have been compiled by the Irish Republicans:

**IRELAND HAS MORE PEOPLE THAN MANY OTHER SMALL NATIONS.**

NORWAY has a population of.....2,396,782

DENMARK has a population of.....2,940,990

SWITZERLAND has a population of.....3,888,500

**IRELAND has a population of.....4,390,219**

**IRELAND IS BIGGER THAN MANY OTHER SMALL NATIONS.**

Sq. Miles.

BELGIUM has an area of.....11,373

HOLLAND has an area of.....12,582

DENMARK has an area of.....15,042

SWITZERLAND has an area of.....15,976

**IRELAND has an area of.....32,531**

#### GOVERNMENTAL COST (1913.)

SERBIA .....\$26,250,000

GREECE .....27,000,000

SWITZERLAND .....35,000,000

BULGARIA .....35,000,000

NORWAY .....36,200,000

DENMARK .....47,500,000

**IRELAND .....65,000,000**

while in 1919 England spent \$65,000,000 in Ireland, but collected from

**IRELAND .....\$170,000,000**

All the small powers mentioned have maintained their own Governments, their own armies, and three of them have fleets as well. IT IS CHEAPER TO BE FREE THAN IN SLAVERY.

Liberty has cost only \$6 per capita per annum, in Greece and Serbia, \$7.50 in Bulgaria, \$9 in Switzerland, \$13 in Sweden, \$14 in Portugal, \$15 in Norway—while in IRELAND British militarism costs about \$40 per capita, per annum.



# AMONG THE NATIONS

## Survey of Important Developments in Half a Hundred Countries of Both Hemispheres

[For Alphabetical Index of Countries see Table of Contents]

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1920]

### Events in the British Empire

#### IRELAND

**C**ONDITIONS of actual civil war continued to prevail in Ireland throughout the month, with riots, shootings and open defiance of British law practically everywhere except in a section of Ulster.

On July 17 fourteen armed men forced their way into the Country Club at Cork and shot to death Commissioner Smyth of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Commissioner Smyth had just returned from London, whither he had been summoned to explain an order given at Listowel "not to be afraid to shoot with effect." His murder was presumably Irish vengeance for that order.

Closely upon this incident followed the bayoneting of a former soldier by the military, thus precipitating a night of terror in Cork on the 18th. Fighting between patrols of soldiers and bodies of Sinn Feiners extended to all parts of the city, sending frightened women and children hurrying into side streets and knocking frantically at numerous houses for admission. By early morning quiet was restored at the cost of 100 casualties.

A graphic description of the "perfect hell" to which the peaceful cathedral town of Tuam was reduced by the police after two of their comrades had been shot and killed from ambush was given by a correspondent of the London Daily News, who wrote:

As I entered the town this morning it recalled nothing so much as some of the ruined Belgian and French towns and bore a striking resemblance to wrecked Albert. "Mind you are not shot, the police barracks are up there!" shouted

a volunteer in derision to the sullen crowd that walked down Vicar Street. Tension had reached a dangerous level and business was suspended. Hastily constructed wooden shutters marked the wreck of the plate glass that lay strewn about the streets, and gray smoke still went up from the ruins of the Town Hall and a big drapery house.

An outbreak of disturbances in Belfast on July 21 led eventually to a repetition of scenes in Londonderry the previous month, if possible on a more serious scale. The origin of these disturbances was said to have been due to the ill feeling existing between the Unionist and Sinn Fein employes of two commercial houses. At a meeting of 5,000 Unionist workers a resolution was passed to boycott and refuse to work with Sinn Feiners. A committee was appointed to notify the Sinn Feiners and advise them to leave at once. Thereupon fighting began, and quickly spread through the city, taking on the color of religious partisanship. In a drive of the Orangemen to oust the Catholic workmen from the shipyards, many of the latter, hopelessly outnumbered, were compelled to attempt escape by swimming the channel. These, however, were met on the further side by another body of Orangemen and driven back.

By the 22d Belfast was given over to desperate riots. Though the soldiers came to aid the police, the Sinn Feiners retaliated in three districts. Women dug up pavements, raining cobbles on the soldiers' helmets. A notable incident of the day was the sniping and killing of Brother Michael Morgan while standing at a window in Clonard Monastery. Over a scattered front, one of the fierc-

est sectors was the Kashmir Road, where, as night advanced, firing was practically continuous, and armored cars mounting Lewis guns were brought into action by the military.

On the 23d rioting broke out at Ballymacarret, where a mob attacked the Catholic Chapel of St. Matthew. Soldiers fired on the crowd after an unheeded warning to disperse. Indiscriminate looting went on for days, as shown later by evidence produced in court cases. The casualty list for the three days' fighting was given at fourteen dead and 100 wounded, but these figures represented only cases actually treated at the hospitals, which, at one period of the fighting resembled clearing stations at a battle front.

Steady reinforcements of the military, aided by a continued downpour of rain, finally succeeded in bringing a semblance of order to the city and surrounding districts. The authorities, however, increased their precautionary measures. By the 26th it was announced that a few Catholic workmen had returned to the shipyards and factories from which they had been driven; the police were finally making efforts to prevent the looting of Catholic shops in Orange districts, and for the time being a truce prevailed between the Unionist and Sinn Fein factions.

Brigadier General Lucas, who had been captured by the Sinn Feiners in County Cork more than a month before, managed to effect his escape on July 31. The last act in his curious adventure was as dramatic as the first. After wandering over the countryside for some hours in the early morning, he was picked up by a military lorry. Almost immediately this was attacked by a large number of armed Sinn Feiners. After a desperate fight a second lorry came up and drove off the attackers. While two soldiers were killed and three wounded, the General was brought into Tipperary unhurt.

Three armed men on July 30 entered the private office of Frank Brooke, Chairman of the Dublin and Southwestern Railway, while a fourth waited outside. Without warning the three men

fired simultaneously at Mr. Brooke, killing him instantly. The men were not disguised, and after the killing walked calmly away. Apart from Mr. Brooke's professional standing, he was Deputy Lieutenant for County Wicklow, a prominent figure in Irish racing circles and a close friend of the Viceroy, Lord French.

Vice-Chairman Hennesy of the Queenstown Urban Council made a statement on August 3 that the Dail Eireann ("Irish Republican Parliament") would shortly issue a decree prohibiting emigration from Ireland without written authority from the "Home Secretary of the Irish Republic." Advices of the same date repeated a published story that during the last three weeks of July 132 magistrates had resigned their British commissions. The resignations in some cases were ascribed to dislike of the present methods of British administration, but most of them, it was asserted, were due to Sinn Fein terrorism.

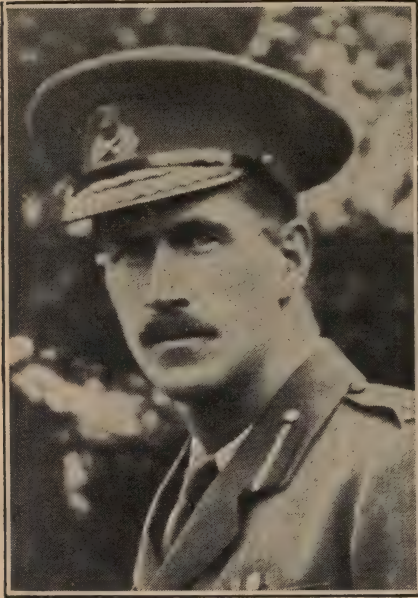
Toward the middle of August there were indications that the Sinn Feiners were preparing to inaugurate a "war" against the "British invaders" upon a much larger scale during the next three months. To this end recruiting for the "Republican Brotherhood," regarded as the brains of the Sinn Fein army, was being carried on with increased vigor. The railways were still unable to transport troops, and the authorities were using lorries and torpedo boat destroyers for the movement of armed men and munitions.

Premier Lloyd George, on Aug. 16, just before Parliament adjourned until Oct. 19, set at rest rumors that the Government had decided to grant dominion rule to all of Ireland, with Ulster's assent, by announcing that the necessary conditions precedent to any further parley between the Government and Irish factions were: (1) That the six counties of Ulster must be treated separately; (2) that there must be no secession of any part of Ireland from the United Kingdom; (3) that nothing would be agreed to that would "detract from the security



or safety of the islands of the United Kingdom in case of war."

**IRISH CRIMES BILL**—The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress on July 24 presented to Premier Lloyd George its scheme for the pacification of Ireland, based on with-



BRIG. GEN. LUCAS

*Who was kidnapped by the Sinn Feiners  
and Escaped  
(Wide World Photos)*

drawal of the present Home Rule bill and the substitution of Dominion Home Rule, with provisions whereby the Ulster Council would have an option on acceptance. In reply the Premier said that he was willing to discuss the propositions with any one having authority to negotiate, but the Trades Union Congress was not in that position. "There is only one body of opinion," he asserted, "that can make an arrangement, and that is the organized opinion of the Irish people."

Government plans for co-ordinating the activities of the police and the military to stamp out terrorism in Ireland were made public on the 29th. These plans included the enlistment of a considerable number of ex-officers with dis-

tinguished war records, to be attached to the Royal Irish Constabulary as instructors with the rank of cadets. Recruiting had been opened for two weeks, and more than 1,000 applications filed.

The terms of the new measure, popularly known as the Crimes bill, were made public on Aug. 3. The bill proposed to turn over the duties of Crown tribunals in Ireland to courts-martial, even to the extent of settling civil disputes, infliction of fines, and the binding of accused persons to keep the peace. Provision, however, was made for excluding Ulster from operation of the law. An influential deputation of Irish business men from Dublin and Cork, representative among Unionists and Nationalists, Catholics and Protestants, called on Premier Lloyd George on Aug. 4 and expressed unanimous denunciation of the pending bill.

After exciting scenes in the House of Commons on the night of Aug. 5 the second reading of the Restoration of Order in Ireland bill (Crimes bill) was carried amid boisterous cheers by 239 to 71. Mr. Asquith, in attacking the Government, charged it with responsibility for the present state of things, and pleaded for some generous scheme of self-government on Dominion lines. In a counter attack, Mr. Lloyd George challenged Mr. Asquith to give authority for his belief that Dominion home rule would be accepted in Ireland. In a vigorous speech the Premier declared that there was no proposal which the British Government could bring forward which would be acceptable to any party that could speak with authority in Ireland; until such time as a satisfactory measure of conciliation could be found it was the duty of the Government to protect life and property, and to maintain authority; but the Sinn Fein demand for a republic, which no Britisher could concede, he added, must be emphatically rejected.

When the Crimes bill came up for final passage on Aug. 6, Joseph Devlin, Nationalist member for Belfast, became the centre of a stormy scene. After taunting Premier Lloyd George,

Mr. Asquith and Bonar Law with not being present to share responsibility for "one of the most infamous transactions of which any Government had been guilty," he defied the chair and was suspended. As he left the Chamber he was followed by the Irish Nationalists together with the majority of the Labor members. An amendment to the bill, offered by Sir Donald MacLean to limit its operation to one year, was rejected by a large majority on the understanding, given by Sir Hamar Greenwood, Chief Secretary for Ireland, that the Government would consider the repeal of the act at the earliest possible time after order had been restored. The bill was adopted under closure by a vote of 206 to 18.

An extraordinary incident marked the passage of this Coercion bill through the House of Lords on Aug. 9. After the Lord Chancellor had briefly moved the second reading of this "drastic but very necessary bill," the Right Hon. Alexander M. Carlisle, an Irish Privy Councillor and prominent Belfast shipbuilder, called out from the steps of the throne where he was privileged to stand by virtue of his office: "My Lords, if you pass this bill you may kill England, but you will not kill Ireland." The Lord Chancellor at once rose and motioned the Sergeant at Arms, but before a challenge could be addressed to the intruder Mr. Carlisle had disappeared. Subsequently the bill passed the House of Lords without a division, and became law with the giving of the royal assent. Carlisle on Aug. 16 was debarred from the House of Lords.

## ENGLAND

In England a political and journalistic sensation was caused by the publication of an article by Winston Churchill, Secretary of State for War, advocating an invitation to Germany to join with the Allies in resisting the advance of Bolshevik Russia. In spite of an adroit defense of the War Secretary's action by Premier Lloyd George in the House of Commons, the Independent Labor Party took the remarkable course of deciding to submit to the forthcoming conference of the Scottish Labor Party in Glasgow,

Sept. 25, a motion demanding that the Government arrest and impeach Winston Churchill at the Bar of Parliament "for violating the Constitution by using British military resources to assist reactionary elements in Europe to make war against Soviet Russia without the con-



BRIG. GEN. R. E. H. DYER  
*Whose action in firing on a mob in India  
is hotly debated in England  
(Illustrated London News)*

sent of the British Parliament or people."

The case of Brig. Gen. R. E. H. Dyer, C. B., who was held responsible by the Hunter Committee for a wholesale shooting of natives at Amritsar, India, in April, 1919, and whose subsequent removal from further employment in India by the Commander in Chief was approved by the Army Council, became a subject of lively debate in both houses of Parliament. While General Dyer declared that he had not received a fair hearing, and brought forward facts with the object of proving that what he had to deal with at Amritsar was an organized rebellion, his critics charged him



not only with an error of judgment, but with positive inhumanity in ruthlessly firing upon the crowd. The London Morning Post came out as a champion of General Dyer's cause, proclaimed him "The Man who Saved India," and opened its columns to a public subscription on his behalf. The response was immediate from many quarters, rising rapidly to £20,000, or nearly \$100,000 (normal exchange).

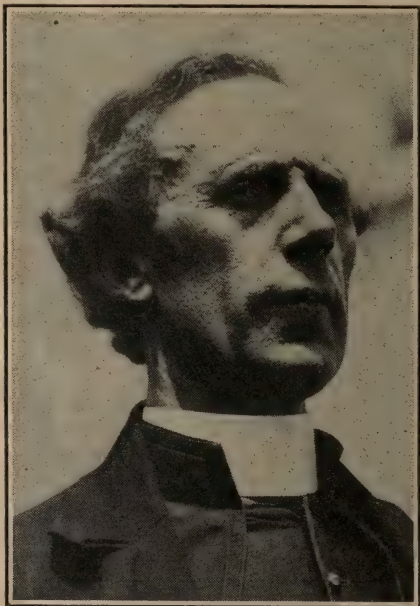
Dr. Daniel Mannix, Archbishop of Melbourne, whose visit to the United States en route from Australia to Europe was punctuated by denunciatory speeches against British rule in Ireland—and by Irish-American demonstrations approving his speeches—sailed from New York on the Baltic on July 30 in spite of Premier Lloyd George's official warning that he would not be permitted to land in Ireland. Extensive preparations to welcome him were made at Liverpool, Cork and elsewhere. As the Baltic approached Queenstown, however, the vessel was met by two torpedo destroyers, one of which, through an officer sent aboard the liner, placed the Archbishop under technical arrest and set him ashore at Penzance, in a remote corner of England. Archbishop Mannix arrived unexpectedly in London on Aug. 10 to take up a temporary residence at St. Mary's Training College, Hammersmith. He said on Aug. 12: "I intend to stay here until I go to Ireland. I mean to see this business through to the end."

A White Paper of recent issue contained a statement of expenditure by the British Government on naval and military operations in Russia from the date of the armistice to March 31 last. Of a total expenditure of just under £56,000,000 all but some £3,400,000 went in cash or marketable stores.

A huge loss in operation of the railroads was reported by the Minister of Transport to the Rates Advisory Committee since the issue of his directions on Dec. 20-23, 1919. It was estimated that the financial result of working British railways (including Ireland) would show a deficit as from April 1, 1920, at the rate of £54,000,000 per annum; this included increases in salaries

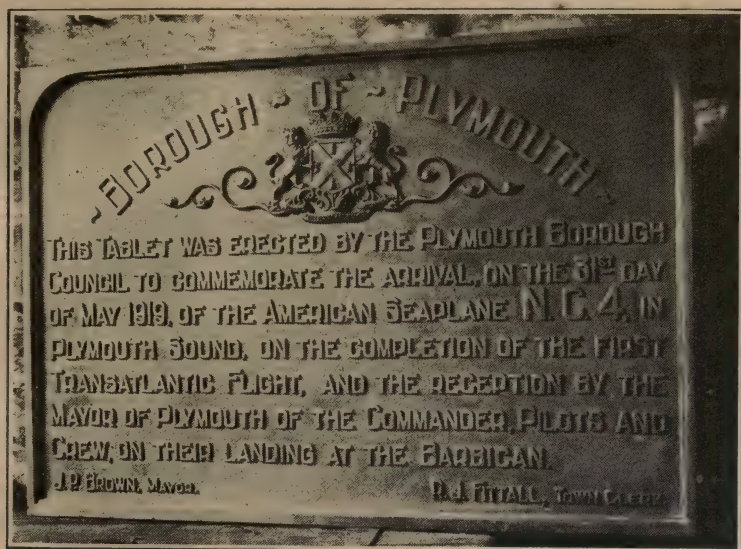
and wages of £4,400,000, which came into force July 1 under the provisions of the sliding scale.

At the Miners' Federation Conference it was decided to demand of the Government a reduction in the price of domestic coal by 14s. 2d. per ton (the amount of the increase imposed last May), and



ARCHBISHOP DANIEL MANNIX  
*Irish-Australian prelate who was not  
allowed to land in Ireland*  
(Keystone View Co.)

advances of wages ranging from 2s. per day for adults to 9d. for workers under 16 years old. Critics pointed out that the two proposals were mutually destructive of each other. The flat rate advance of 2s. per adult's day meant an addition of £30,000,000 a year to the wage bill of the industry, and added something like 3s. per ton to the cost of production. On the other hand, the lowering of the price of domestic coal by 14s. 2d. per ton was estimated by the miners' President to mean a loss of £36,000,000 per annum in the income of the industry. Thus the cost in higher wages and lessened income in conceding these demands would be £66,000,000, or the actual amount at



BRONZE TABLET COMMEMORATING THE ARRIVAL OF THE NC-4 AT PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND, MAY 31, 1919; TO BE PLACED NEAR THE MAYFLOWER STONE

(© International)

which the miners estimated the surplus income of the industry.

For the first time women jurors were impaneled in England when, on July 28, six women formed a part of the jury in the British Quarter Sessions. At the outset the prosecuting attorney roused a murmur throughout the court when, instead of addressing the jury by the time-worn phrase "Gentlemen of the jury," he said, "Ladies and gentlemen of the jury." He proceeded to congratulate the women jurors for "at last taking their proper place in the administration of justice in England," and added that the cause of justice was also to be congratulated. The women jurors sat throughout the day and heard six cases, but at the close two women, mothers, asked to be excused from further service owing to the claim upon them by their children. The Judge granted their request, whereupon two other women immediately volunteered and were accepted.

## CANADA

Political experts are exercised over the results of the provincial general

elections held in Nova Scotia July 27. The return of the Liberal Government, headed by the Hon. George H. Murray, who has been Premier for thirty-four consecutive years, was expected, and the result furnished no surprise in that regard. Significance lies in the obliteration of the Conservative Party, which elected only one member, compared with the thirteen it had in the last Legislature, and the success of the Labor and Farmer Parties. Labor elected six out of thirteen candidates, and the Farmers seven out of fifteen. The standing of the parties in the new Legislature will be: Liberal (Government) 29, Farmers 7, Labor 6, Conservatives (formerly the only Opposition) 1.

Nova Scotia is traditionally slow to change politically, and the fact that the Labor and Farmer Parties made so good a showing in their first organized battle on a pretentious scale is held to point to still greater changes when the Federal elections are held. In the interim there will be a Federal by-election in Colchester, where the Hon. F. B. McCurdy, who has been appointed Minister of Pub-



lie Works in the Federal—or Dominion—Government, must seek the confidence of the electorate. This constituency, usually Conservative, elected two Farmer candidates in the provincial contest. It is represented in the Federal Parliament by Mr. McCurdy, who it was at first thought would not be opposed on his elevation to Cabinet rank in the Dominion Government. There is no such intention now, and Mr. McCurdy will probably have a hard fight against a Farmer-Labor and probably Liberal combination.

A bitter fight is being waged against illicit liquor trading along the Ontario-Michigan frontier. Stung by the impudent daring of Canadian-American gangs of bootleggers and smugglers, the Ontario Government has sought the aid of the Michigan and United States Federal authorities to put a stop to conditions that have outraged all the decencies. It has increased the provincial police and liquor license enforcement forces at strategic points along the frontier and obtained from the Dominion Government the promise of detachments of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police—formerly the Royal Northwest Mounted Police—famed for the manner in which they have upheld the law in the Far West and the Arctic North. One of the recent appointments as License Inspector is that of the Rev. J.O. Spracklin of Sandwich, Ontario, “a fighting parson” in every sense of the term, who has accused some of the police officials of dereliction of duty. He has already made two arrests of alleged bootleggers, having to fire upon them before they surrendered.

The British and overseas delegates to the Imperial Press Conference after three days business sessions at Ottawa are now finishing one of the most pretentious tours of Canada that any large body has ever made. Special trains furnished by the Canadian National Railways (the Government system) and the Canadian Pacific Railway are conveying the visitors all over the country. In the course of their formal sessions the delegates passed many resolutions having regard principally to improving communications between Britain and

the overseas sections of the empire. The hope was expressed that eventually a cable rate of 1 penny (2 cents) a word would be possible, and that arrangements for a systematic supplying of British Empire news would be established on a satisfactory basis. The subject of newsprint supply furnished material for a discussion that was in many respects the most interesting of the meeting. A standing committee was appointed, charged with the duty of attempting to secure adequate supplies throughout the empire.

Three-fourths of the capital in the Canadian pulp and paper industry, one speaker said, had come from the United States. Other things being equal, production naturally favored the source of capital. Until British capital interested itself more extensively in the development of the pulp and paper industry, trade with the old land would never reach the extent it ought to. In an address of welcome by the Hon. Arthur Meighen, Premier of Canada, and more formal statements to Canadian newspaper men, Canada's status as a self-governing nation within the empire, loyal to the empire and the Crown, was emphasized.

## AUSTRALIA

The long drought in Australia, lasting many months, was broken in July, and crop prospects were considered excellent. It was expected that Australia would have an exportable surplus of wheat this year. In this connection a plan to solve the problem of railway transportation has been evolved by Under Treasurer Minogue of Victoria. This problem has been vexing Australians for a generation. Almost all the railways are the property of the State Governments, and there are three different railway gauges used, so that on the line linking all the capitals freight and passengers had to be transferred to other trains. Mr. Minogue proposes to obviate the necessity of changing trains at five different points on the transcontinental journey by a double system of rails at a cost of \$25,000,000 as compared with the \$465,000,000 that would be involved by the establishment

of a uniform gauge under the previous plan.

American shipping interests are warned of an acute fuel oil shortage in Australia, and the United States Consul at Sydney suggested the advisability of diverting oil-burning ships from the Australian trade altogether. Two American steamers were forced to lay up at Sydney to have coal-burning equipment substituted for oil burning, because they were unable to obtain sufficient oil to take them to the next port.

As a substitute for the Arbitration Court, which Prime Minister Hughes pronounces totally unfitted for solving certain problems connected with coal and other industries, the Government proposes the establishment of mixed tribunals of employers and employees, with jurisdiction over special industries.

Australians have been taking great interest in the trip of Archbishop Mannix through the United States on his way to Europe. His utterances were denounced at a big mass meeting held in Sydney on July 19, and Premier Hughes, in a speech at Bendigo on July 25, declared that Australia repudiated him. Strong remonstrances were sent to the Vatican stating that the prelate's views did not represent the feeling prevalent in Australia. On the other hand, Archbishop Mannix, in an interview in New York, characterized the Australian Pre-

mier as a "renegade and a British imperialist of the worst type."

Perhaps to offset Archbishop Mannix's activities Mgr. Cattaneo, Apostolic Delegate to Australia, and Archbishop Duhig of Queensland visited the Prince of Wales at Brisbane on July 29, and formally presented their homage to the Throne, assuring the Crown Prince of the loyalty of the whole Roman Catholic community of Australia. The Prince had just arrived after a brief visit to Tasmania. He has ended his Australian tour and is homeward bound, intending to visit Jamaica on Sept. 15.

## NEW ZEALAND

Often spoken of as the "Switzerland of the Antipodes," New Zealand is planning to put her numerous watercourses to some practical use. The Government is about to expend \$22,000,000 in the development of a large hydroelectric station south of Auckland, which will furnish 160,000 horse power to the city. A dam is to be constructed forming an artificial lake eighteen miles in length to run the necessary machinery. Extensive harbor improvements for Wellington and Lyttleton are under way, and a good roads campaign is being backed in all sections of the country. A royal commission has been appointed to report upon an important arterial road in the North Island, extending from Helensville to Hamilton, about 120 miles.

# Developments in France and Italy

## French Criticism of the Spa Terms

### FRANCE

THE crisis with Germany over the question of coal deliveries was settled by M. Millerand at Spa, but with a condition attached to it which was by no means agreeable to the nation as a whole, namely, the one providing that France should make cash advances to Germany to facilitate her industrial task and to help her make the coal deliveries agreed upon. Having reported the arrangement made and re-

ceived a preliminary vote of confidence, M. Millerand awaited the report of the Commission on Finance. This report was unfavorable. The debate in the Chamber on July 30 showed that opposition existed, but the French Premier succeeded in obtaining a favorable vote of 356 against 169, and the recommendation of a 200,000,000 franc monthly advance to Germany was approved. In speaking for the bill, Premier Millerand said:



Coal is the question of the hour. The Spa agreement gives us 80 per cent. of our needs at a price one-fifth less than now. If there were no opposition party, this arrangement would be approved unanimously.

The Premier explained how Germany would be interested in deliveries through the five marks gold per ton payment for feeding the miners and through the advances agreed upon on condition that full deliveries were made. Warning of the consequences of rejection, he said:

If you refuse to pass this bill, then our obligation to make advances ceases, but at the same time there disappears the coal protocol for 2,000,000 tons monthly to the Allies, the control commission vanishes, and finally there vanishes the provision for occupation of the Ruhr if Germany does not deliver 6,000,000 tons at the date fixed. You take also from our Belgian and Italian friends the coal Germany promised to deliver. \* \* \* Let me confront you with your responsibilities. There will be not only responsibility for a coal shortage just before Winter, but a higher and more serious one. \* \* \* There is needed the close, intimate, confident union of all the Allies and of the Allies alone.

M. Marsal, the Minister of Finance, demanded an immediate discussion of the bill. Deputy Bokanowski, speaking for the Commission of Finance, which had reported adversely, said:

The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, in voting the heaviest tax burden a nation ever consented to bear, have reached the extreme limit of the French taxpayers. It is impossible for France to assume any part of the obligations on Germany through the Versailles treaty. To go further would be to compromise France's financial situation.

M. Bokanowski then read the report opposing the Government amid a dead silence. The report recalled the vote of confidence given M. Millerand on his return from Spa, but added:

It was apparent that the Spa agreement constituted not a simple interpretation, but a real alteration of one of the most essential provisions of the treaty. At the moment when the Allies ought to compel those responsible for the destruction of our mines to execute their engagements, it is not relief that they bring to France, but an increase of her burdens. It is surprising that the first concern of the Allies should be to strengthen the activity of German industries. Germany alone will benefit by the international loan con-

templated at Boulogne; once again France makes herself Germany's banker.

While the Commission of Finance thus repudiated the Spa agreements, the Foreign Affairs Commission approved the measure as the only thing to be done, though deploring the bitterness of France's fate. M. Rollin, speaking for this commission, recalled that the Spa agreement assured France 80 per cent. of her coal requirements. He declared, however, that "the extreme limit of concessions from France has been reached." The taking of the vote closed the debate. The result was a personal triumph for Millerand, 356 voting for and only 169 against the bill.

New difficulties for the Government arose with the defeat of the Polish armies by the Bolsheviki, and the refusal of the Moscow Government to open armistice negotiations with France's protégé, Poland. The decisions taken by France and Great Britain both at Boulogne and at Hythe, as well as the bomb-shell exploded by France with her independent recognition of the *de facto* Government of General Wrangel in South Russia, are treated in the articles on Poland and Russia elsewhere in these pages.

Another important phase of France's foreign policy—the French campaign against the Emir Feisal in Syria—was discussed at the session of the Chamber held at the end of July. In these debates France's intention to maintain her supremacy in Syria was emphasized. The culminating discussion took place on July 30, when M. Millerand announced the occupation of Damascus by the French troops under General Gouraud (See article on Syria), the overthrow of the recalcitrant and aggressive Emir, and the formation of a new power which declared its willingness to collaborate with France. In the Senate a vote of 205 against 84 in favor of the financial credits proposed for Syria showed that the Senate supported the Government's policy in this region.

The navy budget was voted on July 26; its passing was preceded by a discussion which emphasized France's need of a strong navy.

The Finance Commission at the session of July 23 voted the credits necessary for the re-establishment of the French Embassy to the Vatican, after previously declaring that the question must be deferred. At this session M. Millerand was personally present, and disclosed to the commission the reasons why an adjournment was unwise. He also defended the Government's project as drawn against numerous objections, including a counterproject to accredit a diplomatic representative of rank inferior to an Ambassador. With the credits voted and the Government project sanctioned, the whole subject of execution of the mandate was scheduled to come up at the Fall session of the Senate, and no steps were to be taken toward a resumption of official relations during the Summer.

In matters of internal policy the course followed by the French Government was one of conciliation toward political prisoners, and of protective legislation for the nation's health and general welfare. The general discussion of the project of amnesty was closed in the chamber at the session of July 21. The Government put through its bill for amnesty, excluding the mutineers of the Black Sea and those of the Chemin des Dames in 1917. All attempts to extend the amnesty to the leaders of the agitation by which the French sailors and soldiers had been misled were defeated, as were all counterprojects. An amendment to differentiate between these leaders and their victims, though not admitting of full pardon, was supported. Amnesty did not extend to the rioters of May Day, to the men responsible for the second strike of the railway men, or to the Frenchmen who had stayed in America disregarding France's call, even though they had fought in France under the American flag.

The general budget for 1921 was discussed in the Senate at the end of July. M. Thoumyre, Under Secretary of State for Food Supplies, on July 26 replied to observations regarding the state of irritation through most of the departments by the continuance of State control. He stated that the Government was striving to restore complete commercial

liberty. Only the control of wheat and other cereal staples would be maintained for reasons of national welfare. The Government bill retaining this control, which had already passed the Chamber, was voted by the Senate at the session of July 27, after a discussion which showed strong feeling against the continuance of State control and of the heavy taxation, which weighed on the agriculturists.

The extraordinary budget of 750,000,-000 francs for the administration of Alsace and Lorraine was voted at the session of July 27, with the intimation that it would be the last extraordinary budget for these provinces, and that henceforth Alsace and Lorraine would be brought within the frame of purely French legislation, with a few exceptions. Germany, it was declared, should be given no opportunity to proclaim the existence of a separatist policy regarding the two former German territories.

A bill for 3,500,000 francs was brought before the Chamber on July 26 to cover the costs of the elaborate ceremonies planned by the Government to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the republic, Sept. 4, now a national holiday. A second bill provided for the transference of the heart of Gambetta to the Panthéon, to occur upon this day.

The high tax on cafés and music halls—50 per cent. of the receipts—has led in many cases to the dismissal of musicians. Montmartre lost thereby much of its gayety. The new finance law voted by the Senate on the night of July 31-Aug. 1 suppressed the favorite Casino of Enghien, as well as all other roulette sanctums within 100 kilometers of Paris.

Statements by the Government toward the end of July indicated that the plan to suppress the immoral posters exhibited through Paris, and to wage a war against immoral spectacles and propaganda, was being executed vigorously. All indecent posters had been torn down and destroyed, and cabaret owners were being prosecuted wherever guilty of infringement of the new law. The Government's desire to secure the well-being of the nation was also shown in the passing of a bill by the Senate shortly before July 12 making physical education compulsory for boys and girls. Plans to



acquire lands and buildings for this training were being considered during July. Two bills introduced in the Senate on July 24 sought to modify the stringency of the present marriage code, which forbids marriage without the consent of both parents and grandparents. The reform was opposed on the ground that it would lead to a slackening of family ties. Another bill, proposing that the word "obey" should be eliminated from the woman's part of the marriage contract, was severely commented on by the press; the feminist papers were especially hostile to it, declaring that it would lead to anarchy in the home.

### ITALY

The events of the month revealed that Italy, in spite of many troublesome obstacles—political, industrial and social—was slowly putting her house in order, even though the obstacles have been magnified abroad by prejudiced correspondents. She settled the difference with Greece in such a manner that the latter did not withhold her signature from the Treaty of Sèvres; she reached a protocol with Albania; debates in the Chamber promised thorough investigation of war profiteering and a more emphatic attitude on the part of the Deputies to support the Government in its measures to promote public order, and debates in the Senate threw a flood of light upon diplomatic relations with England and France which had too long been hidden. And toward the end of the period covered by this review there occurred two events which, it is believed, will have a measurable effect in strengthening the prestige of the Giolitti Government both at home and abroad—the publication of the report for the fiscal year 1919-20 and the issuance of the note addressed by the American Secretary of State to the Italian Ambassador at Washington.

The first of these two subjects may be dismissed in one sentence: For the fiscal year just ended the Italians paid 7,250,000,000 lire in taxes, surpassing by 2,500,000,000 the amount expected and by nearly 2,000,000,000 the payments of 1918-19. This shows that labor and in-

dustry, although still measurably handicapped by the lack of raw material, strikes and social unrest, were rapidly gaining ground.

When the note of Secretary of State Colby was issued on the same day that the Turkish Treaty was signed at Sèvres the Giolitti Government, under pressure from the extreme Socialists, was about to re-establish diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. Indeed, Ambassadors had already crossed each other on the way to their respective posts. It was expected that their exequaturs would now be changed to those of commercial agents, and that Italy would stand with the United States and France in declining to recognize the Moscow Government diplomatically, although she will not go as far as France by giving material aid to the enemies of Bolshevism—that is, not publicly, although the Vatican has aroused an intense enthusiasm among the Catholic, or Popular, Party for the cause of Poland. At any rate, the Colby note will measurably strengthen the hand of the Government in dealing with Bolshevism in the Peninsula.

The Italian Embassy explained the Italo-Greek difference as follows:

With the idea of elucidating the recent negotiations which took place between Greece and Italy in regard to the question of the Islands of the Dodecanese remaining in Italian possession since the war with Turkey of 1911-12 as a pawn for the execution of the Treaty of Lausanne, it is necessary to make known that the convention with Greece, concluded by their Excellencies Tittoni and Venizelos, in the Summer of 1919, made no assignment of territory—that would have been contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles—but designated a line of conduct to be maintained at the Peace Conference in order to readjust their respective aspirations in the Orient and the Balkans. This convention was denounced by the Italian Government on July 22 last on the basis of Article 7. That article, inserted at the request of Greece, declared that if Greece did not realize her aspirations in Thrace or Italy the mandate for the Valley of Meandro and in Adalia, in Asia Minor, the convention would be considered null and void, and each of the two Governments would recover its liberty of action.

On July 29 an Italo-Greek Commission adjusted the Adalia matter as follows:

Greece recognized that her troops had acted wrongly in crossing the Italian lines, and expressed disapprobation of this act. All Greek troops were to be withdrawn within their own lines pending the demarkation of the limits between Greek and Italian territory, and the Greek Government undertook that no military consideration should justify an advance of its troops beyond this boundary. The boundary was to be delimited by a joint commission of Italian and Greek officers. Italy then entered into another agreement with Greece similar to the Tittoni-Venizelos convention, which designated the Dodecanese as Greek, except Castellorizzo and Rhodes, the fate of the latter to be decided by plebiscitum after fifteen years. Greece then withdrew her objection to signing the Turkish Treaty of Peace.

Baron Carlo Aliotti, having failed in his negotiations with the Albanian Government at Tirana, was recalled and replaced by Count Manzoni, who succeeded in reaching the following protocol: Italy is to recognize complete Albanian independence, to surrender Avlona but retain and fortify the Island of Saseno at the entrance to the Bay of Avlona, also Punta Linguetta on the mainland, while military and commercial understandings are to be entered into between Rome and Tirana; Italian troops are to be withdrawn from Avlona and other Albanian ports as soon as the public order permits.

In Italy the war profiteers are called *pescecani*, not "dogfish," as the word seems to mean, but "sharks," and both individuals and corporations were asked by debates in the Chamber to account for their alleged ill-gotten gains and the Government to broaden the scope of taxable securities, and to see how far the *pescecani* were responsible for the organized unrest. Premier Giolitti declared in the Chamber on July 24:

We are no respecter of persons. If anybody imagines he can influence the political life of the country with ill-gotten millions this person will soon discover his foolish mistake.

In the Senate, on July 15, Signor Scialoja, who accompanied Signor Tit-

toni, the head of the second Italian peace delegation to Paris a year ago, stated that the "first greeting" to Tittoni and himself was a note signed by M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George which declared that the Treaty of London and subsequent conventions "could not be any longer considered as treaties having a juridical value, but as precedent acts which would serve as a basis for discussion." Signor Scialoja and his colleague protested until the status of the treaty was restored. However, he continued:

President Wilson was an immovable obstacle. This is shown by the correspondence published in the British White Book, and by a declaration made me by the new American Ambassador. The position was therefore exceedingly difficult. Italy, like the rest of Europe, was largely dependent upon America. There were grave drawbacks to the Treaty of London, but graver drawbacks to the solution proposed in the allied memorandum of December. My own reply to that memorandum persuaded the Allies to reconsider the question and make further concessions. With these, however, Mr. Wilson did not agree.

The Clemenceau-Lloyd George note bears date of June 28, 1919; that of the Tittoni reply is July 7.

**THE VATICAN**—The slight injury which Pope Benedict sustained by a fall in his library on Aug. 13 came at the end of a particularly long period of private audiences and confined work. As early as July 20 he received Miss Winifred Holt, President of an Italian-American Committee for the Protection of the Blind, and held a relatively long conversation with her, as he was much interested in her work, particularly in regard to that among war victims. On July 26 he was busy with a large budget of documents from Australian Catholics, both lay and clerical, objecting to the utterances made by Archbishop Daniel J. Mannix of Melbourne while in the United States. These he examined with the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gaspari.

On July 29 he received Mohammed Ali, head of the Indian Moslem delegation, and patiently listened to him while he expounded the status of the Calif-Sultan and the spirit of tolerance always shown by Indian Moslems toward other religions. On July 31 the Holy Father is-



sued a circular letter to the church in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the decree by which St. Joseph was named patron of the Universal Church. The letter said, among other things:

When the end of the war came, the minds of men, led astray by militarist passion, were exasperated by the length and bitterness of the conflict, and aggravated by famine on one side and accumulated riches in the hands of a few on the other. The war brought about two other evils—the diminution of conjugal fidelity and the diminution of respect for constituted authority. Licentious habits followed, even among young women, and there arose the fatal doctrine of Communism, with the absolute destruction of dutiful relations between nations and between fathers and children. Terrible consequences ensuing have already been experienced. Against all this should be observed the efficacy of the patronage of St. Joseph, since the society of mankind is founded on the family, and anything strengthening Christian domestic organization also strengthens human society.

By Aug. 6 the remonstrances against Archbishop Mannix had become so formidable that the Holy Father felt obliged to make a statement through Cardinal Gaspari. The latter declared that the Vatican had not placed and did not intend to place any impediment in the way of the Australian Archbishop's indulging in the struggle of Ireland with entire independence of action. On the occasion of the mass for the relief of Poland celebrated at the Church of Jesus, Rome, the Pope addressed a letter to the Cardinal Vicar which read in part:

The profound interest always shown Poland by the Holy See is well known, because the Holy See has many times had occasion in the past to protest against the dismemberment of Poland and against the oppression of the Poles. To-day Poland does not merely face a serious peril which threatens her existence, but all Europe is threatened by a new war.

Hence not only for the sake of Poland, but for the sake of all Europe, does the Holy Father desire that all people shall unite in imploring God to spare Poland a new calamity and to rescue Europe, already exhausted, from a new extermination.

## PORTUGAL

On account of the fact that Portugal is off the beaten track of news and has a population smaller than that of New York City, much happens there the story of which does not always reach the outer world. The sudden death of Antonio Maria Bautista, Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, took place on June 6, and was duly reported with some observations on his public service. The fact that for over a month Portugal then had a sort of Gubernatorial interregnum was not. Then the news came that Senhor Antonio Granja had constituted a Cabinet; which was approved by the President on July 19. Its composition was as follows:

Antonio Granja (Liberal), Prime Minister and Agriculture.

Mello Baretto (Reconstituent), Foreign.

Innocencio Camacho (Liberal), Finance.

Helder Ribeiro (Democrat), War.

Paes Gomes (Reconstituent), Marine.

Ferreira da Rocha (Liberal), Colonies.

Velhinho Correia (Democrat), Commerce.

Lima Duque (Liberal), Labor.

Lopes Cardoso (Reconstituent), Justice.

Barbosa Magalhaes, Instruction.

## SWITZERLAND

The Federal Parliament approved the proposal of the Government that Switzerland should contribute her share toward the international credit raised to assist the destitute countries of Central Europe. It has been decided that Switzerland should grant a credit of goods to the value of twenty-five million francs to German-Austria. Most of this will cover shipments of condensed milk. The sum includes the fourteen millions already lent to the German-Austrian republic.

An agreement has been concluded with Germany regarding the shipment of German coal. The agreement, fixed for six months, provides for a monthly delivery of 15,000 to 20,000 metric tons of Ruhr coal, chiefly in the form of cokes, and 15,000 tons of lignite.

# Belgium's Alliance With France

## Soldiers' Bonus Riot—Olympic Games

### BELGIUM

**M**ILITARY support of France by Belgium in future armed conflicts is pledged in the defensive alliance entered into between the two countries upon the condition that France prove not to have been the aggressor. Belgium also reserves the right to remain neutral in all disputes between the interests of France and other nations in France's colonial possessions. Before official promulgation, the terms of the treaty were to be submitted to the League of Nations for approval.

Hundreds of soldiers invaded the Chamber of Deputies in Brussels on July 29 in protest at what they called the Government's neglect of men who served in the war and demanding that a lump sum be paid them as bonus. After breaking doors and windows, they marched through the chamber with banners while the astonished Deputies sat powerless to quell the tumult. Two Deputies who had seen service promised that the Chamber would consider the claims of the soldiers, who then left in groups after an appeal for order by Burgomaster Max. About 150 demonstrators were arrested but were released on the intervention of the Speaker.

On the previous day the Chamber had passed a bill to revise Article 47 of the Constitution, accepting the principle that any future Parliament by a two-thirds majority may vote suffrage to women without necessitating a new revision of the Constitution.

Final selections for the American competitors in the Olympic games at Antwerp were made at Boston on July 18. They include 132 track and field stars from all parts of the United States, of whom twenty-one are from New York, fourteen being from the New York Athletic Club. Altogether 230 persons, including fourteen women, sailed on the Princess Matoika, a United States trans-

port, on July 27, for Antwerp, arriving on Aug. 6. One American team, already on the ground, won the final of the Olympic trap-shooting competition on July 23. An unpleasant incident in connection with the games was the refusal of the Executive Committee to allow Ireland to participate as a separate nation. The Irish athletes refused to compete under the British flag. As Ireland had not been included in the list of nations represented on the International Olympic Committee, the Belgian Executive Committee sought to gain Great Britain's consent, but failed.

The games were opened officially at the Olympic Stadium in presence of King Albert, before whom 3,000 athletes of twenty-seven different nations took the sportsmen's oath to participate in the games in a chivalrous spirit for the honor of their countries. The national flags were dipped after the King had declared the games open and Cardinal Mercier had pronounced a benediction.

The first winning flag to be hoisted in the regular events was that of Finland, whose team beat all records on Aug. 15 in throwing the javelin. One Finnish contestant, Myrra, reached the new record distance of 65.78 meters. A new world's record in hurdles was made on Aug. 16 by an American, Frank Loomis, who set a mark of 54 seconds in a 400-meter race. The American team took all three places.

### HOLLAND

Purchase of the house at Doorn and its improvements have been a heavy drain on the Kaiser's private fortune in Holland, which it is said now amounts to less than \$350,000. The sum has been placed in a Dutch bank in the name of the Kaiser's Hofmarshal, von Gothard, who has absolute authority in the Kaiser's household. The former Emperor has been unable to obtain any funds from his German properties.



# Germany in a Mood for Treaty Fulfillment

## Results of Prussian Plebiscites

### GERMANY

**D**ESPITE the German delegates' dire predictions of impending overthrow on account of the alleged severity of the terms of treaty fulfillment agreed upon at the Spa conference, the makeshift German Government managed to live through the month without any particular difficulty, and even scored several victories in the Reichstag.

The miners of the Ruhr district started no riots over the compulsion of Germany to agree to furnish 2,000,000 tons of coal a month in return for special food credits and allowances by the Entente. The men even decided, at a conference held on July 26, to increase the output in recognition of promises of more food, better housing and improved living conditions. At the same time they urged the nationalization of the mines as soon as possible. The National Economic Council declared its intention of doing its best to carry out the terms of the agreement. The heads of the various German States, gathered at Berlin on July 22, also unanimously decided to help in the work. It was reported that the miners' organizations had agreed with the Government to increase the working day to ten hours and a half, and to work two Sundays each month. The Reichstag, by a large majority, voted approval of the Spa agreement on July 28, the only opposition coming from the reactionary Nationalist Party and the Independent Socialists.

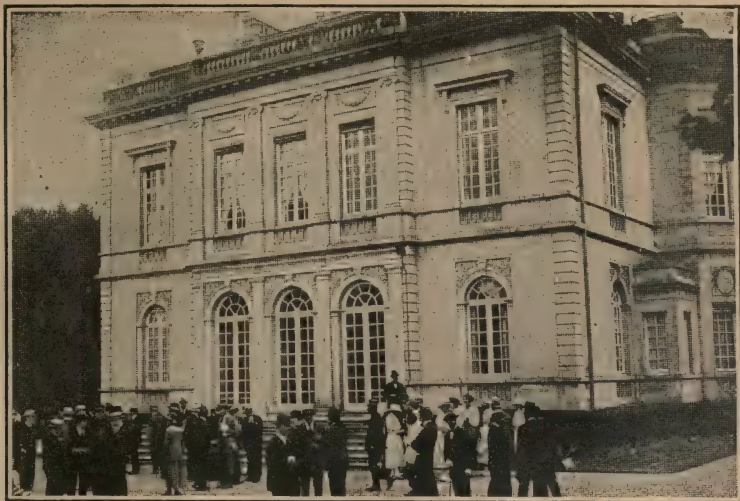
In connection with this vote Foreign Minister Simons delivered what the German press characterized as the most outspoken acknowledgment of the German defeat and responsibility that any high German official had made. Dr. Simons pointed out that Germany might as well make up its mind to accept the consequences of the war and do its best to live up to its agreements. Also he attacked the conduct of the leaders of the Reichswehr (regular army) in turning the salute to the French flag into

an outburst of defiance to the Entente. In this he had reference, among other matters, to the action of a German fanatic in hauling down the French colors from the Embassy Building on July 14. Dr. Simons somewhat modified his statements on the Reichswehr the next day.

In his speech he took occasion to point out that there was no use continuing to treat the Soviet Government of Russia as a pariah among the nations; that it was not as bad as it had been painted, and that he had faith in its promises not to attack Germany, as such action would not be to its interest. Dr. Simons's words stirred up a storm of protest on the part of the Junker element, but he was supported by the Majority Socialists and the moderates in general. Even the Independent organ, *Freiheit*, praised his honesty and desire to be just to all. His subsequent modifications detracted somewhat from the original good effect of the speech.

Another step toward carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles was taken on July 31, when the Reichstag passed a bill abolishing compulsory military service. The bill passed amid great excitement caused by a defense of the old Junker system by General von Gallwitz and the heaping of curses upon his head by Deputies Ledebour and Adolf Hoffmann, Independent Socialists. Opposition by the Extreme Left held up the passage of a bill calling for the disarming of the civilian population. The Cabinet approved this bill, but the Independent Socialists and the Communists insisted it was merely designed to make the working people helpless in case of another reactionary coup d'état, and that there would be no serious effort made to enforce it so far as the Junkers were concerned. The trade unions lined up with the Extreme Left against the bill.

On Aug. 2 a bill granting amnesty to all persons mixed up in the Kapp reactionary revolt of last March, with the exception of some leaders and ordinary



VILLA LA FRAINEUSE, WHERE THE SPA CONFERENCE WAS HELD

criminals, was put through the Reichstag after a lively debate.

Dr. Hans Dorten, the separatist leader in the Rhineland, was seized by three armed men while standing in front of his house in Wiesbaden, in occupied Germany, on July 23, and taken in an automobile to Leipsic on a warrant issued by the German Supreme Court charging him with a political offense. Following a prompt protest by the Allies at this violation of the Rhineland agreement, Dr. Dorten was released on July 26.

Agents of the French Government charged on Aug. 8 that a general strike in the Sarre Basin, which tied up coal deliveries to France, had been instigated by the German Government to hamper the League of Nations in its administration of the district. Herr Olmert, a former Deputy arrested at Strasbourg, was said to have been in possession of evidence proving the French charges. On Aug. 10 Paris cheered the flight over the city of Zeppelin L-72, turned over to France by Germany in execution of the Peace Treaty. On the same day Dr. Goepert, head of the German delegation in Paris, started for home following the dissolution of that body. On July 22

the L-64, a huge German airship, was delivered to Great Britain.

The food situation did not appear to be quite so difficult as during the previous period, as there were but few reports of demonstrations or outbreaks. The delivery of grain by the agrarians was accelerated by the National Food Ministry's adoption of a scale of prices running about 150 per cent. above those of last year. The basic price for rye to the farmer was fixed at 1,400 marks per metric ton (about \$1 a bushel at present exchange rates); 1,540 for wheat and 1,350 for barley and oats. Premiums for speedy deliveries add a few hundred more marks to the ton.

Dr. Simons declared in the Reichstag on Aug. 4 that East Prussia was filled with reactionary troops ready at any moment to take advantage of any opportunity to attempt re-establishment of the Junkertum, but up to Aug. 15 nothing happened.

The repercussion of the Soviet Russian drive on Warsaw made itself manifest in Germany in numerous ways. Both the reactionary press and the social revolutionists insisted upon observance of strict neutrality by Germany. This desire was repeatedly emphasized by Dr. Simons, particularly on Aug. 5, when he

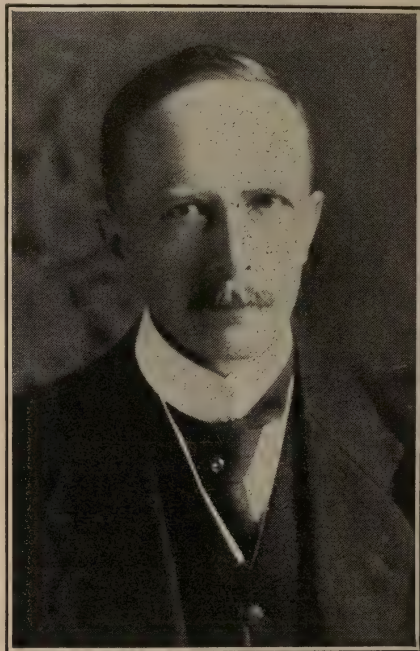


stated in the Reichstag that Germany would resist, by force if necessary, attempts by the Entente to send troops or munitions to Poland across German territory. On Aug. 8 this declaration was backed up by a call issued by the four leading Socialist organizations, i. e., the General Federation of Labor, the Majority Socialist Party, the Independent Socialists and the Spartacus League, urging the German workers to refuse to transport military supplies to Poland. The exception to the general stand for neutrality was furnished by General Ludendorff, who issued several long warnings as to the terrible fate menacing the whole civilized world if the Bolsheviks should destroy Poland, and practically offered to take charge of building a dam against the spread of the Red flood, part of such dam to be composed of German soldiers. Up to Aug. 15 no one had accepted Ludendorff's offer.

On July 25 a Polish supply train, evidently sent out from the American zone of the occupied German territory through a misunderstanding, was held up by German police and civilians at Marburg, sixty miles east of Coblenz, and looted. The Polish escort was forced to return to Coblenz. When the Bolshevik forces got close to the frontier of Germany in their pursuit of the Poles late in July the German Government asked permission from the Allies to rush extra troops to the eastern border to enforce neutrality. Receiving no answer up to Aug. 2, on that date the German Government notified Premier Millerand that, owing to the arrival of Russian troops on the border near Allenstein, it had decided to send reinforcements to that district. The frontier there was unprotected owing to the withdrawal of Italian troops after the plebiscite. Victor Kopp, the Soviet envoy in Berlin, repeatedly assured the Germans that the Soviet forces would not be allowed to cross the border, but Dr. Simons evidently was not taking chances.

It was asserted in connection with the publication of the results of the July plebiscite in the East and West Prussian

districts, surrounding Allenstein and Marienwerder, that the advance of the Soviet forces helped to dampen the enthusiasm of the supporters of Poland and to roll up the huge majorities in favor of remaining with Germany. The



DR. WALTER SIMONS  
New German Foreign Minister  
(Times Wide World Photos)

vote in West Prussia was 96,889 for Germany and 7,271 for Poland; in East Prussia it was 353,655 for Germany and 7,408 for Poland. This result was largely due also to the wholesale return to the plebiscite districts of Germans entitled to vote. Their number was put at about 150,000 by the German Protective League.

In sharp contrast with the German spirit of six years before was a demonstration by 25,000 persons in the Lustgarten in Berlin on Aug. 1. The anniversary of the declaration of war on Russia was there observed by pacifist speeches and vows of "never again." Hundreds of war cripples took part in the pacifist demonstration.

# Hungary and Her Neighbors

## Austria's Makeshift Laws

### HUNGARY

THE Governmental crisis precipitated by the announcement of the international labor blockade lasted throughout June and July. Unable to cope with the terrorism of the White officers, the Simonyi-Semadam Cabinet resigned on June 9, then withdrew its resignation, but resigned again. Regent Horthy negotiated with several leaders of the Christian National Union and the Small Landholders' Party, the two leading groups of the National Assembly. For a while it seemed that Count Stephen Bethlen, a Transylvanian nobleman known for his reactionary sympathies, would be named Premier.

At last, on July 20, another Transylvanian magnate, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Paul Teleki, was appointed Premier. The new Government assumed office with the indorsement of both the Christian Nationalists and the Small Landholders, as well as the so-called "dissident" group. Although the Small Landholders' Party has a plurality in the Assembly, the policy of the new administration is likely to be colored by the general attitude of the Christian Nationalists.

The most important problem facing the new administration is the curbing of the White Terror. Count Teleki's predecessor failed because he proved weak in the face of the mafia led by Lieutenant Hejjas, Major Pronay, Captain Ostenburg and the rest of the military leaders. It is pointed out, however, in the Vienna press that Count Teleki, instead of tackling the dissolution of the terrorist gangs first, engaged in an adventurous foreign policy by uttering high-sounding promises to help the Allies, above all France, against Red Russia. The Premier's purpose, it is said, is to keep the National Army intact and to strengthen it, if possible, although the country's most crying need is to get rid of what the émigré press of Vienna calls the "vampire army," the oversize mili-

tary establishment that is sucking the lifeblood of the nation.

The real aims of the officers' junta are revealed by reports published in the Vienna newspapers concerning a meeting held in the War Office at Budapest. The meeting was attended by the Minister of War, General Soos, the Generals Berzeviczy and Dani, the Aide de Camp to the Regent, Magashazy; further, a number of staff officers, and by the commanders of the notorious terror detachments, Baron Pronay, Count Ostenburg, Lieutenant Hejjas and the President of the Defense Union, Captain Gömbös. A resolution, submitted by Count Ostenburg, called for the establishment of a military dictatorship, and recommended, as preliminary measures, the seizure of the railroad terminals, post and telegraph offices and telephone exchanges, disarmament of the police, confiscation of all property owned by Jews, destruction of the plants of liberal and Jew-owned newspapers, and general massacre of all radicals, socialists and Jews. The comment of the Vienna newspapers is to the effect that the terrorist officers feel the days of their rule are numbered and are attempting to anticipate events.

The labor blockade imposed by the International Trade Union Congress continues in force, as negotiations between the Hungarian Government and the labor executive did not lead to satisfactory results. Strangely enough, one of the first effects of the blockade felt by the Hungarian city populations was a considerable reduction in the cost of living. As a consequence of the embargo the farmers of the great Magyar plain were prevented from exporting their wheat, fruit, vegetables, milk and meat to the neighboring countries, and were forced to sell in the home market at reduced prices. Now, in so far as the terrorist officers could at all reckon on popular support, it was to come from the wealthy peasants opposed to both



the Karolyi land reform and the socialization attempted by the Bolsheviks. These peasants now see their fruit and vegetables rotting on their hands on account of the blockade. The net result is a very marked turn in their political outlook.

Although the new Government of Count Paul Teleki promises to bridle the excesses of the White Terror, its program continues to be imbued with the spirit of anti-Semitism, of racial and class intolerance which marks counter-revolutionary Hungary.

## AUSTRIA

The appointment of the new Cabinet, supplanting that of the first Chancellor of the Austrian Republic, Dr. Renner, marks a novel departure in the history of parliamentary governments, inasmuch as the Ministers are not named by the Chief of State, President Seitz, but elected by their respective parties on the basis of proportional representation.

The Cabinet is headed by a Tyrolese professor, the Christian Socialist, Dr. Mayr, who, however, does not assume the title of Chancellor. He retains the portfolio of Constitutional Reform. Following is the list of Secretaries of State:

Interior —	Walter Kreisky,	Christian Socialist.
Commerce —	Deputy Heini,	Christian Socialist.
Agriculture —	Deputy Hausis,	Christian Socialist.
Religion—	Deputy Miklas,	Christian Socialist.
Foreign Affairs—	Dr. Renner,	Social Democrat.
National Defense —	Dr. Deutsch,	Social Democrat.
Social Affairs—	Deputy Hanusch,	Social Democrat.
Education—	Deputy Glockel,	Social Democrat.
Chairman of Committee for Socialization,	Dr. Ellenbogen,	Social Democrat.
Justice—	Dr. Roller,	Pan-Germanist.
Finance—	Dr. Reisch (old.)	
Food—	Lowenfeld-Russ (old.)	

Another novelty about the new Government is a provision of the inter-party agreement, on the basis of which the Cabinet was formed, to the effect that each Minister holds his portfolio on the strength of the confidence of his own

party only. In other words, each of the three parties represented in the coalition—the Christian Socialists, Social Democrats and Pan-Germans—is a Governmental party as far as its own members in the Cabinet are concerned, but each is at the same time in the opposition, too, so far as Ministers chosen from the other two parties are concerned.

This arrangement is ridiculed in the Berlin press as a typically Austrian makeshift, devised to evade a difficulty rather than solve it. Considering the fundamental differences separating the platforms and general outlook of the three parties, the Berlin newspapers say, the practical impossibility of the compromise will soon be apparent.

The Berlin newspapers also deplore the retention of the foreign portfolio by Chancellor Renner, whom they scorn as the tool and dupe of French influence.

One of the most important measures discussed in the Austrian Parliament, the bill for a capital levy, was passed after it underwent various amendments to conform to the attitude of the Christian Socialists, opponents of the bill in its original form. The bill provides for an exemption from the tax of all personal property up to 30,000 kronen. The tax on real estate is to be paid in twenty-two annual installments, the first two totaling 20 per cent. of the entire tax. The remaining 80 per cent. will be spread over twenty years. Factories and buildings will be assessed at their original cost and not at their present value, as demanded at first by the Social Democrats. The latter claim that the alleviations introduced by the Christian Socialists will mean a loss of 25 to 30 per cent. to the Treasury.

The Interallied Reparation Commission notified the Austrian Government that it insists on the priority of its claims on the proceeds of the capital levy.

A treaty has been concluded between the Republic of German Austria and Soviet Russia. The document pledges Austria to neutrality in all wars against Russia. It provides for the exchange of prisoners of war. Under this provision

the Austrian Government ordered Bela Kun, the Hungarian Communist leader, and his associates, interned at Karlstein since last September, be transported to Russia via Stettin.

A force of 800 Hungarian soldiers, fully armed and uniformed, crossed the Austrian frontier on July 30 and raided the arsenal of Fürstenfeld. Two thousand rifles, as many uniforms, and twenty-one machine guns were carried away by the looters. Other reports insist that the Hungarians obtained 4,000 rifles. The Austrian Government protested against this outrage both to the Hungarian Government and the Entente missions.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

After a delay of almost a year and a half the boundary question of Teschen, which in several instances threatened to cause war between Czechoslovakia and Poland, has been settled by the Council of Ambassadors at Paris. The original proposal to submit the decision to a plebiscite was abandoned by mutual consent. The arrangement practically divides the Duchy of Teschen in two. The western section, containing the Karwin district, most of the coveted coal mines and the important railroads, goes to Czechoslovakia, while the city of

Teschen with surroundings is awarded to Poland. Private property rights of both nationalities are guaranteed in either section. The Poles are also guaranteed to receive a yearly allotment of the coal output.

Interviewed by the correspondent of Ungvari Kozlony, a Magyar newspaper published in Slovakia, President Masaryk of the Czechoslovak Republic declared that Czechoslovakia wishes to live in peace with all the world, including Soviet Russia. Negotiations for a final peace treaty with Moscow will soon begin, the President said, and continued: "In our country one cannot speak of the danger of Bolshevism. The premises of establishing a Soviet régime are absent. The best method of fighting the spread of Bolshevism is through social reforms and through a real democracy that allows the proletariat the fullness of political rights. \* \* \* The victory of Bolshevism would destroy all that which we have acquired through long and patient toil."

The President also declared that Czechoslovakia wished to reach an agreement with Hungary and to co-operate peaceably with that State, but that this could not be until the Magyar Government stops its irredentist propaganda in Slovakia and withdraws its agents fomenting Bolshevism there.

## Progress in Scandinavian Countries

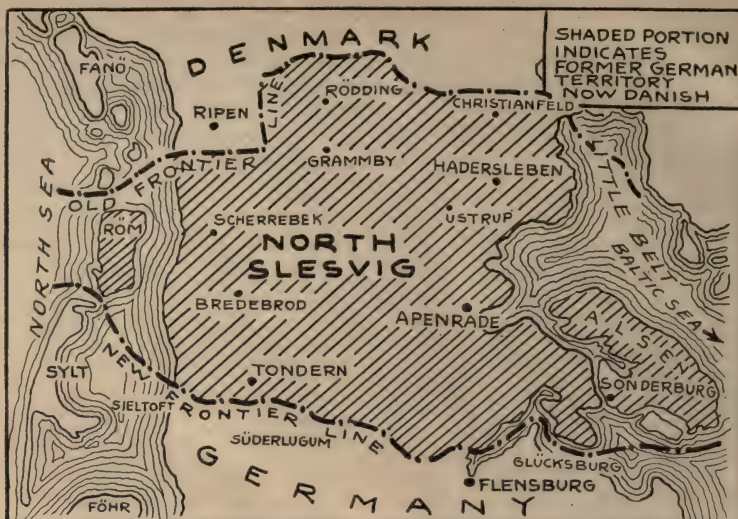
### DENMARK

DANISH educators are planning to open this Fall a novel institution to be known as the International People's College, or Folk High School (Mellemfolkelig Folkehøiskole). With the Danes the term "high school" includes not only the usual high school grades, but also approximately the first two years of college in America, and even some courses still more advanced. The curriculum is so different from ours that it is impossible to make a comparison by grades. The training is not only intellectual and technical, but also comprises ethical culture. Like the Univer-

sity of Paris in the Middle Ages, the new institution is international, but, unlike the mediaeval one at Paris, its purpose is to educate the agricultural and other working classes rather than the sons of the nobility.

The students are to be housed on a farm in the neighborhood of Copenhagen until they can build suitable school structures with their own hands. The soil they will use for agriculture and horticulture, both as a means of agricultural training and to raise vegetables, fruit, poultry and other produce to supply their commons. Thus far the institution has two buildings and an en-





MAP SHOWING OFFICIAL BOUNDARIES OF NORTH SLESVIG, WHICH IS HENCEFORTH UNDER DANISH SOVEREIGNTY

dowment fund of over 50,000 kroner (normally about \$10,000), and can accommodate fifty students at the beginning. For special agricultural instruction it has the co-operation of the State Experiment Station at Lyngby, near Copenhagen, and the Agricultural High School at the same place. About 600,000 kroner (\$120,000) is needed to erect the school, besides a reserve endowment fund of \$100,000.

As soon as possible living for the students will be arranged by the house system, twenty students to a house, under the direction of a housemaster. Part of their time will be required for productive work, mostly agricultural, toward the maintenance of themselves and the institution. The school year is to be ten months long, and the board, lodging and tuition of each student are to be about \$250 a year. The student body is to comprise members from as many countries as possible, in order to promote international understanding and good feeling. To the Danish Faculty an English and a German teacher have been added. Dr. Peter Manniche, a member of the School Committee, after traveling through Germany, France, the United States and other countries in behalf of

the institution, is quoted to the effect that English may become the principal language of instruction.

The idea is an evolution from the folk high schools of Denmark, which were founded for training in good citizenship soon after the war with Prussia, some fifty years ago. These folk high schools have taught a system of co-operative farming which has made Denmark the "larder of Europe," and enabled her to export much-needed butter and potatoes to England and America. The farmers continue to make their homes on their small freeholds, but band together to their common advantage in carrying on intensified agriculture. The butter and bacon industries, two of the largest in Denmark, are thus co-operative. With such economic advantage there has developed an interesting social life, which largely solves the problem of "keeping the boys and girls on the farm."

The Danish explorer, Lauge Koch, left Copenhagen in the middle of July at the head of a Government expedition to map the northern quarter of Greenland, no map having yet been made of that portion of Danish America, and little of it explored; though all the rest of Greenland has been explored. Mr. Koch stated



KING CHRISTIAN X. OF DENMARK

AT THE PATRIOTIC CELEBRATION IN DYBBOEL, NORTH SLESVIG, JULY 10, 1920, TO COMMEMORATE THE REUNION OF THAT PROVINCE WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY. THE KING IS SHAKING HANDS WITH A VETERAN OF THE WAR OF 1864, IN WHICH THE GERMANS TOOK SLESVIG FROM DENMARK

(© International)

before his departure that this enterprise is in the nature of a jubilee expedition in honor of the 200th anniversary of the arrival in Greenland of the Danish missionary, Hans Egedes. He added that it was necessary to put Northern Greenland on the map, so that Denmark would not have to apply sovereignty to regions that white men have not yet beheld.

He has proved to the satisfaction of American and British scientists the existence of a mountain range in Northern Greenland as extensive as the Caucasus and 2,000 feet high. He goes directly to Inglefield Gold, whence he will penetrate the interior of Pearyland, crossing the inland ice on a motor tractor. Experiments in the last few months have demonstrated that such a tractor can make as much speed as a dogsled, about four miles an hour. He will establish a depot at Warmingland and, besides making his map, he expects to bring back a very interesting geological collection. The expedition will be gone three years.

### NORWAY

A viking ship was discovered in July, in

the Bay of South Alesund, Romsdal Province, Norway, which experts declare to be as valuable as the "iceberg ship" or the more famous Gokstad ship. Some Iceland fishermen found the former some years ago imbedded in ice off the Greenland coast. The latter was found in 1880 in a burial mound at Gokstad, Norway. A model of this was built in Norway and navigated across the Atlantic, and, by way of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes, to the World's Fair at Chicago, to demonstrate the feasibility and credibility of the discovery of America by the Norsemen 500 years before Columbus.

### SWEDEN

Although Sweden took no part in the World War, the Swedish Nation is very proud of a heroine, Miss Elso Braendstroem, daughter of General Braendstroem, the former Swedish Minister to Petrograd, who cared for prisoners in Siberia throughout the war as a Red Cross nurse. Her nation was up in arms during the first fortnight of July and threatening reprisals because of the re-



port that she had been arrested by the Bolsheviks. Her return to Stockholm in July, after making her escape from Si-

beria by her own efforts, was made an occasion of great public rejoicing and ceremony in her honor.

## The Caucasus Republics

### Soviet Russia's Seizure of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia

#### AZERBAIJAN

**D**ETAILS of the Bolshevik coup at Baku (April 28), which have now come to hand,\* show that the fall of the Mussavat Cabinet was due in part to the hard economic situation and in part to the Azerbaijan Government's weak policy following the Armenian-Tartar clashes in the border region of Karabagh and Zenghezur, and in the Armenian Republic of Erivan. It was officially alleged by the Azerbaijani that thousands of the Mussulman inhabitants and soldiery of these districts were massacred by the Armenians.

The Azerbaijan Government's hesitation in sending reinforcements to Karabagh gave the Bolshevik extremists an opportunity to attack the Cabinet on the ground of subservience to the Allies. At the same time the Erivan troops began to concentrate on the Azerbaijan frontier, compelling the Azerbaijan Government to send its armed forces to Karabagh and Kosakh. Baku was thus left practically defenseless. The Bolsheviks of Petrovsk, who had seized the Caspian ships formerly belonging to Denikin, availed themselves of this weakness to send an ultimatum to the Baku Government. The Cabinet, deprived of troops and unsuccessful in its appeal to Georgia for aid, encountered further difficulties in a skillful pro-Bolshevik propaganda conducted through the Turkish Nationalists; faced also with a violent agitation begun by the Bolshevik workmen in the Baku oil fields, the Cabinet was finally compelled to withdraw on April 28 in favor of a Revo-

lutionary Committee. The Ministers left the city hurriedly; their apartments were confiscated by the Reds the next morning, and a decree of arrest was issued against them.

The Revolutionary Committee, which was made up largely of Mussulmans, at once established its power and accepted the terms of the Russian ultimatum. This step was not taken, however, before receiving assurance from Moscow that Soviet Russia would recognize Azerbaijan's independence. The military Governor of Baku, the former Prefect, several eminent persons, with the British Consul and other members of British missions, were thrown into prison. The Red forces occupied the city the following day. But great was the surprise and disillusion of the new Baku Government when, instead of the Mussulman Bolsheviks who had promised to "aid their Mussulman brothers," there entered forces made up wholly of Russians, who declared that "they had come in order to restore Great Russia." They were accompanied by Armenian Bolsheviks and others who had been expelled by the former Government. Their first step was to arrest all the foreign missions, with the exception of the Persian and Italian missions. The British Consul and a British Major were cast into dark cells and subjected to brutal treatment. Subsequently other Bolshevik troops arrived and began to plunder. Large quantities of food were loaded on railway trucks and sent north on trains bearing inscriptions such as "Gift of the Tartar Proletariat," "A Present for Comrade Lenin," &c. The Azerbaijan militia was disbanded, and replaced by Russian workmen. Profiting by the incessant attacks of the Armenians on the Azerbaijan frontier, the Reds sent armed units to seize other

\*This article is based in part on articles which appeared in two Tiflis papers—the Georgian Mail of April 21, May 5, 12 and 19, and the République Georgienne of April 25, May 2 and May 16, 1920.

parts of the country. The Extraordinary Commission began to work.

Meanwhile at Elizabetpol (Ganja) troubles began through the Bolshevik attempt to disarm the local police. Fighting ensued, and the Red troops were driven out. Levandosky, the commander of the Red troops, thereupon recalled two divisions engaged in fighting against the Georgians, subjected the town to a heavy bombardment, and forced an entrance. A carnival of murder, rape, plunder and incendiarism followed. It was said that thousands of Moslems were slain. As a result of this the Tartars in many places rose against the Reds. The leaders of the opposition were arrested and delivered over to the Extraordinary Commission. These brutal and high-handed actions, as well as the ousting of Tartar elements from the new Government, stirred Azerbaijan sentiment deeply, and this resentment has steadily grown.

Reports of June 20 stated that the Bolsheviks had nationalized and requisitioned everything, had evicted the "bourgeois" from their houses, and had dispatched great quantities of oil to Russia from the Baku oil fields without payment to the producers. The British, including civilians, were being kept in strict confinement on an island in the Caspian Sea. British officers were forced to sweep the streets. Certain responsible Tartar elements were trying to organize resistance to the Soviet Government. Advice received by the French Foreign Office on July 22 stated that the Mussulmans of the Caucasus region turned against the Bolsheviks and had reached an agreement with the Cossacks to drive out the Bolsheviks.

The hostilities of the former Baku Government against the Armenians, whose forces were attacking on the border, in the provinces of Karabagh and Zangezur, as well as against the Georgians, were taken over by the Russians after their occupation of Baku. An ultimatum was sent to Armenia summoning her to evacuate Karabagh. At the same time Russian units were sent to the Georgian frontier. Both Karabagh and Zangezur, according to reports re-

ceived on July 29, established a Soviet form of Government on July 20, on lines similar to those of the Baku Government.

## GEORGIA

Events in Georgia during the period under consideration show a curve of reaction following the Bolshevik coup at Baku ranging from apprehension to determination to resist Bolshevik inroads into Georgia from Baku. Bolshevik intrigue and underground propaganda had already been going on in Georgia for some time before the occupation of Baku, but the Government had constantly given evidence of its intention to maintain the independence of the country at all costs. Bolshevik spies had been arrested in Tiflis, and all incriminating documents showing Bolshevik designs to Sovietize Georgia were seized. With regard to the incessant activities of the Reds at Batum, the Georgian Government, owing to the Entente occupation, could do nothing; but it looked upon these activities with extreme disfavor, awaiting an opportunity to take effective action when its claim to Batum was recognized, and when this important oil city on the Black Sea was handed over to Georgia.

The news of the Bolshevik occupation of Baku on the Caspian—one of the most important oil reservoirs of the world—created intense excitement in the countries adjacent to Azerbaijan, and especially in Georgia. The appeal of the Mussavat Government before its fall did not fall on deaf ears, but the Georgian leaders of State, after full consideration, decided that such aid as was requested did not fall within the bounds of the treaty concluded between the two Governments, binding each to defend the other from military aggression from without. In the note dispatched to the Mussavat Government on April 27, the Georgian Foreign Minister stated that inasmuch as it was clear that the Azerbaijanis themselves were permitting the Bolshevik penetration within their borders, Georgia had no obligation under the treaty to lend military assistance. The Mussavat Ministry fell. The immediate effect on Georgia was to strengthen



the national resolution to maintain Georgia's steadfast opposition to Bolshevik penetration. This was set forth in an eloquent speech made by M. Jordani, President of the Georgian Republic, before the Assembly on April 30. "A glorious death," he declared, "is preferable to a shameful life." A proclamation was issued, calling for immediate mobilization, a measure justified by subsequent attacks made by the Tartar-Bolshevik forces on Georgian soil. A Council of Defense was created, and martial law proclaimed.

Despite these warlike steps, correspondence between the Georgian Government and Moscow continued, and Georgia's policy of maintaining her full military and political rights while protesting against repeated instances of Soviet aggression and reiterating her readiness to make peace with Moscow as an independent and autonomous State, was variously expressed in notes of April 14, 21 and 29. In the last-mentioned note Georgia laid down the boundaries on which she would insist, and pledged herself to prevent her territory from being used as a base for anti-Bolshevik attacks. In an answer sent by Moscow, on May 3, the demands of Georgia were fully granted, and the way to a signing of peace was paved.

This peace was signed by the Georgian representatives at Moscow in the night of May 7-8, and ratified on June 12. The main terms were as follows: The independence and sovereignty of Georgia were unconditionally recognized. Russia renounced all interference in the inner affairs of Batum, and admitted that the Batum region fell within the national boundaries of Georgia. Further frontier questions were settled favorably to Georgia. Each nation bound itself to strict neutrality in cases where the other was threatened, and pledged itself not to allow its territory to be used for the organization of attacks. The principles of a renewal of economic and commercial relations were laid down.

M. Jordani, as President of the Georgian Government, sent to M. Uratadze, the Georgian representative at Moscow, a telegram of congratulation

and good augury for the future. Tiflis was decorated with national flags, and salvoes were fired from the arsenal. A jubilant speech was made by M. Gegetchkori, the Foreign Minister, before the Constituent Assembly, in which the Soviet recognition of Georgia's independence and her claims to Batum were stressed. M. Gegetchkori, however, made no bones of declaring Georgia's resolve to see that the Soviet words should be translated into deeds, and said:

We know the value of treaties; good as this one is, it may be transformed into a scrap of paper if a watchful guard is not kept over it with arms in hand, ready at every moment to secure the rights which we have gained by this treaty. All our policy must be directed to this. You are well aware that with a weak party no agreement is concluded. Regarding it, they act as they have acted regarding Azerbaijan. And if we do not wish in future to share the fate of Azerbaijan we must increase our energy and reinforce the inner and outer front.

The premonitions of future Red aggression expressed in this speech were soon fulfilled. The Georgians on June 7 were reported to be much disappointed by the meagre results of the treaty. Though peace was restored in theory, Bolshevik troops, mostly Russians, continued to threaten the Georgian borders. Parts of two Azerbaijan divisions were identified on the border front. The Bolshevik pressure continued through July, and Georgia maintained her position by force of arms and otherwise. The large Bolshevik mission under Kirov which arrived in Tiflis toward the middle of July was forced to depart owing to the discovery that, in spite of the official assurances of Moscow, they had already begun subversive propaganda.

In Batum, also, the Azerbaijani were at last given a free hand to check Bolshevik activities. After long delay the Georgian claim to this district was finally allowed by the Entente, and the evacuation of the Entente troops was completed. Despite the protests of the British High Commissioner, the Georgian forces had occupied part of this district, and rested on their arms pending the anticipated evacuation. This had been decided by the allied Premiers at the

San Remo conference, but subsequently deferred. At last, however, the aspirations of Georgia were fully recognized, and on July 8 the British and French turned the city and province of Batum over to the Georgian Republic, completely surrendering possession. All the British and French warships saluted the Georgian flag. The day was celebrated in Batum as a great holiday, and the streets were gayly decorated for the occasion. Batum was left in the hands of the Georgian troops, who had entered the city several days before. It was stated on July 17 that the Georgians had arrested a number of pro-Turks and Bolsheviks. Georgia's relations with the Armenians at this date were improving.

### ARMENIA

The Armenian Republic of the Caucasus, meantime, had its own troubles with the Russian Reds. Through the Georgian peace representative at Moscow the Bolshevik Government invited an Armenian peace mission to come to Vladikavkaz. Its members were there directed to proceed to Moscow. On its arrival the whole mission was imprisoned on the ground of hostile Armenian action against the Bolsheviks. Up to the middle of June they had not been released. Armenia, as well as Georgia, was greatly upset by the occupation of Baku. The great need of munitions and arms was considered a serious danger. The Armenian Government, strongly representative Labor and anti-Bolshevist in tendency, maintained its popularity, and its efforts to suppress Bolshevism were unremitting. Armenia refused to obey the Soviet ultimatum dispatched after the fall of Baku, and the Russian troops subsequently advanced and occupied the province of Karabagh. A Soviet Government was ultimately established in Karabagh and Zangezur.

Armenia, nevertheless, like Georgia, continued to seek peace. The peace mission in Moscow, apparently released early in July, was for a time thought to be close to an agreement; Bolshevik representatives also had been sent to

Erivan, whence the British mission had departed on June 29. A Constantinople dispatch of Aug. 4, however, stated that the relations between the Moscow and Erivan Governments were near the breaking point, and that an Armenian delegation which had been on its way to Moscow to sign the treaty was returning to Erivan. Foreign Minister Khatisian was quoted as declaring: "The Bolsheviks apparently are planning to walk over Armenia's dead body to join Mustapha Kemal." Meanwhile General Dro was still standing guard in the mountains between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The Armenians across the old Russian boundary, in former Turkish territory, are still fighting for possession of that portion of their proposed State. The Armenian Bureau in London stated on July 20 that the town of Olti, about fifty miles northeast of Erzerum, had been captured by an Armenian detachment, driving back the Turkish force of 6,000 toward Erzerum in great disorder. On the same authority it was stated that the Turkish commander at that point, Kiazim Karabekir Pasha, had ambitions of his own and had recently disobeyed Mustapha Kemal's order to throw his forces against the Greek army.

General Antranik, Armenia's most famous soldier, who came to the United States some months ago as a member of the Armenian Military Mission, with the object of enlisting the support of our Government on behalf of Armenia, sailed for England on June 25. On leaving he said:

Armenia is very grateful for America's disinterested solicitude for her welfare and independence. I hope that with its moral and idealistic leadership the United States will assist the associated powers to supply the needs of the Armenian forces now battling the Turks in Cilicia and in the other parts of Armenia. We do not request the United States Government to send an American army of occupation to Armenia. The Armenians can raise a fighting force of 100,000 men provided the American and English Governments are willing to supply the Armenians with munitions. Peace cannot be established until Armenia is free.



# Signing of the Turkish Peace Treaty

## Greek Conquest of Eastern Thrace

### TURKEY

**T**URKEY, the last of the enemy nations to remain at war, signed the treaty of peace on Aug. 10 in the famous French national china factory at Sèvres. The Turks found little encouragement in the fact that Serbia and Hedjaz declined to sign, the former on account of her being obliged to pay a quota of the Turkish debt pertaining to the territory which was given her not by the Turkish Treaty, but by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, and the latter on account of the development of the French mandate over Syria. Nor were the Turks able to make political capital over the hesitation of the Greeks to put their signature to the treaty until they had received guarantees from Italy that the Dodecanese Islands, which the treaty, in conformity with the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915 (under the terms of which Italy entered the war), should with certain reservations be assigned to the Athens Government. (See Italy.)

Public conveyances and the press of Constantinople observed Aug. 12 as a day of mourning on account of the unfavorable character of the Peace Treaty. The press censorship was strict, but the journals were allowed to state their dissatisfaction without detailing the reasons.

The Turkish objections to the treaty had led the Allies to give a drastic reply to the Turkish delegates on July 17. This caused the Government in Constantinople hastily to reconstruct both the Cabinet and the Peace Delegation in a manner to meet, at least technically, the demands of the ultimatum of the Allies. The treaty, however, was not signed without a strong protest on the part of the Nationalists, which was to be expected, but also on the part of the new delegates themselves.

The delivery of the ultimatum instantly brought about the resignation of Djemal Pasha, Minister of Public Works,

and of Fahreddine Bey, Minister of Education, both members of the Peace Delegation; also of Durri Zada Abdullah Efendi, the Sheik-ul-Islam, or Minister of Religion. By July 31 the Cabinet, still under Damad Ferid Pasha as Grand Vizier, had been reconstructed as follows:

Durri Zada Abdullah, Sheik-ul-Islam.

Said Molla, Justice.

Muhatar Bey, Public Works.

Muntaz Pasha, Interior.

Ehen Ali Bey, Finance.

All were known for their British proclivities. Said Molla was head of the Friends of England Society. Meanwhile the decision to sign had been reached on July 21 by the Dynastic Council attended by the Sultan and many imperial Princes, so it only became necessary to have a Cabinet which should select a delegation that would attach the signature. This delegation, with the exception of the Chairman, Rechid Bey, former Minister of the Interior, who was already in Paris, was dispatched immediately after the meeting of the Dynastic Council, and consisted of Reza Tewfik Bey, formerly Minister of Education; Hadi Pasha, Minister of Agriculture, and Rechad Halias Bey, the Minister to Switzerland.

When the news of the decision of the Dynastic Council reached Angora, the headquarters of the Nationalists and the Government of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Nationalist Congress there adopted a resolution on July 25 denouncing the peace terms, and declaring that the Nationalists would oppose them by military force to the bitter end. This and the fact that the Soviet General Kuropatkin, at the head of the Bolshevik Army invading Persia, had issued a proclamation to Moslems demonstrating the advantages of Soviet administration, caused the Grand Vizier on Aug. 7 to issue a proclamation to the Nationalist rebels pointing out that Moslems could not co-operate with the Bolsheviks without abandoning their religion. While offering amnesty to all Nationalists except the leaders if they ceased fighting im-

mediately the proclamation stated that continued resistance by them might force a further dismemberment of the empire.

The attitude of the new Turkish Government in regard to the Peace Treaty is reflected by a statement made by Rechid Bey, Chairman of the delegation, just before the signing:

What has to be remembered above all about the present Government in Turkey is that it was not responsible for making war. On the contrary, I myself and certain of my colleagues were actually under sentence of death from the old régime. We have today been called into power to save what we can of the wreck. There is nothing that we would prefer more than a close agreement between England and Turkey. To secure British support we recognize fully that it will be necessary for us to give guarantees, and this we are prepared to do in full measure. As a Government we find ourselves in a position of extreme difficulty. It is not possible for us to be responsible for peace that destroys the very existence of Turkey. Supposing we were to go out of power, as we shall be forced to do rather than sign the treaty as submitted to us, and that a Government of similar complexion to our own does not come into power, there is only one alternative that I can foresee—namely, the establishment of a Bolshevik Government that will refuse to give any guarantees.

The so-called National Party argues that the proper policy is to continue stirring up local revolts and rebellions. The answer of the Allies to our policy has been Greece. That fact is being exploited by the Nationalists, who are chiefly in the hands of Russian Bolsheviks. It will be the Greek peril that will force Anatolia to go Nationalist. The handing over of Smyrna to Greece was the beginning of all the trouble.

From the juridical standpoint the treaty is an attempt to throw responsibility on Turkey without leaving to her any liberty of action. If the treaty really means a death sentence it seems illogical to ask the representatives of the nation that is condemned to death to sign it. We admit the principles on which the treaty is based, principles such as self-termination, and have not a word to say against the removal of Mesopotamia and other non-Turkish areas. We accept, for instance, Kurd and Armenian independence, but we do plead for the same principle to be applied to Turkey proper. Turkey is a proud country, and will never permanently consent to be under the yoke of Greeks. Such a fate will inevitably turn Anatolia into a focus of anarchy and disaffection.

Meanwhile, throughout the month the Greek forces in Thrace and in Anatolia continued successful operations, aided by British warships along the Marmora littoral. On Aug. 7 Kemal Pasha announced from Angora that he had completed the reorganization of his forces into two primary units called the Brusa and Ruyanti armies, with general headquarters at Eskişehir, where his staff would henceforth direct operations in conjunction with the Bolsheviks.

## EASTERN THRACE

The Greek armies in Thrace, according to the distribution indicated in the August CURRENT HISTORY, were taken over by General Zimbrakakis, and, on July 20, began an active campaign against Tjafer Tayar in order to clear the country of the enemy between the



SCENE OF THE FIVE DAYS' CAMPAIGN WHICH GAVE EASTERN THRACE TO THE GREEKS

Aegean and Black Seas, east and west, and the Bulgarian frontier and the Tchatalja line of Constantinople, north and south. King Alexander, meanwhile, had landed at Rodosto, Sea of Marmora, and followed the southern victorious army on its way to Adrianople. The campaign in its intensified form lasted five days.

On the 19th the Turks destroyed the bridge over the Maritza River, near the junction of the Constantinople line with the Saloniki railway and intrenched themselves along the former between the Maritza and Tchatalja. The civil population began to evacuate Adrianople, fleeing to Kirk Kilisse or into Bulgaria. The Turkish batteries at Sultankeus and



Eregli opened fire on the Greek and British warships which, after a few rounds, put them hors de combat. The next day Greek troops landed, and, advancing northward from Rodosto and other Marmora ports, occupied Chorlu and Muradli on the 21st. They then turned eastward along the Constantinople Railway to Cherkisskey, while their artillery prevented the enemy from destroying the bridges at Lule Burgas. The Turks attempted to bombard Karagach, which was still occupied by a French force. Here the enemy's artillery was silenced by heavy Greek guns. Meanwhile, the Turkish Grand Vizier had sent a message to Tjafer Tayar asking him to surrender and so prevent further bloodshed. On July 24 the Greeks occupied the line Cherepolis-Airobol-Babaeski and prepared to take Adrianople by assault.

It was not necessary. On July 25 the city surrendered, to the great relief of the civil population. Tjafer Tayar had decamped the day before for Kirk Kilisse with 5,000 followers, half of whom were said to have been Bulgar irregulars. His main forces marched north and surrendered their arms to the Bulgarian authorities and were interned by them. The number of men thus surrendering numbered 15,000. On July 26 King Alexander entered Adrianople amid a great demonstration indulged in by Greeks and Turks alike.

Adrianople, the capital of the former Turkish vilayet of the same name, is 137 miles, by rail, northwest of Constantinople, with a population of 100,000, half of whom were Turks and the other half Jews, Greeks, Bulgars and Armenians. Its social life is almost entirely Greek. Formerly known as Uskadama, it was renamed after the Roman Emperor Hadrian. It was the residence of the Turkish Sultans from their occupation of Thrace in 1361 until the capture of Constantinople in 1453, when the latter became the capital of the Ottomans. It was occupied by the Goths in 378, and by the Russians in 1829 and 1878, but is chiefly noted in modern times for the long siege it withstood from the Bulgars during the first Balkan war of 1912-13.

Tjafer Tayar was captured July 28 by

being betrayed by a farmer at Halsa, five miles southwest of Adrianople. He was at once taken to the latter place, where, after being entertained by General Zimbrakakis on Aug. 4, he was sent a prisoner to Athens.

## SMYRNA AND BEYOND

By the third week in July the Greek advance in Anatolia had reached the Sea of Marmora, isolating the Nationalist forces in the vicinity of Mount Ida, and covering a line nearly 300 miles long, extending from the Mendere River to Ismid, where the British had cut the railway extending southeast from Skutari, opposite Constantinople, to its junction with the Bagdad Railway. On July 28 the Greek Commander in Chief, General Paraskevopoulos, having overseen the completion of the successful campaign carried on in Eastern Thrace, reached Smyrna from Panderma and was brilliantly received by the High Commissioner, M. Steriades; the Military Commander, General Vlahopoulos, the Archbishop and other Greek notables.

At that time Kemal Pasha was endeavoring by an energetic propaganda to rally the Anatolian population, to whom he promised early Bolshevik aid and an equally early breakdown of the Entente's Turkish policy in consequence of differences of opinion between France and Italy on the one hand and Great Britain on the other. False stories of Hellenic atrocities at Panderma and of oppression of Moslems elsewhere were retailed in order to arouse religious fanaticism.

On the other hand, in the City of Smyrna the anti-Nationalist movement was reported to have gained ground. At Yozgad, between Angora and Sivas, a local notable, Iban Zade Arif Bey, followed by a mounted force 2,000 strong, drove the Nationalists from the neighborhood and established an anti-Nationalist Government in the town. At Tchorum, further north, the Nationalist military commander was hanged by order of Arif Bey in retaliation for various executions perpetrated by the Nationalists with a view to intimidating the peasantry. It

was reported that these anti-Nationalist forces at Yozgad and Tchorum were preparing to march on Sivas, in the east, and on Angora, in the west.

An order was given by Kemal Pasha to his Lieutenant, Kiazim Karabekir, in command at Erzerum, to march on Armenia, but it is said that he paid no attention to it, as he lacked transportation for supplies, and the country had been bled white.

Ever since the Greeks took the field, from Smyrna there had been a general exodus of the Turkish civilians to the coast. The refugees were principally farmers, who fled on account of the tales circulated of Greek atrocities, and left their crops to spoil. A British mission was sent and succeeded in inducing many to return home and go to work on the promise that their product would be well paid for.

Save for an attempted counteroffensive by Kemal Pasha northeast of Brusa, which gave him Demerdji on Aug. 5 only to deprive him of it two days later, there was little movement along the entire Greek front, the Greeks awaiting the effect of their campaign in Eastern Thrace and the signing of the Turkish Treaty at Sèvres. On July 26 General Paraskevopoulos, the Greek Commander in Chief, sent the following history of the campaign in Asia Minor, which began June 22, to Athens:

Mustapha Kemal's ambitious plan for driving out the Allies has now been in operation for a year. He planted batteries, sealed the Dardanelles, and attacked the British at Ismid, at first succeeding there. He then attempted to bombard Constantinople.

Mustapha Kemal planned, if successful against the British, to drive the Greeks from Smyrna later. It was at this critical moment that Premier Venizelos asked the Supreme Council of the Allies that the Greeks be permitted to take charge of the military operations against Mustapha Kemal, promising to destroy his forces in fifteen days. The success of the Greeks was due partly to their intimate knowledge of the territory and partly to the strategy they carried out rapidly.

First the Greeks cut the Turkish forces in twain. Then a Greek column marched swiftly to Philadelphia (Alashehr, eighty-five miles east of Smyrna), surrounded

the Turkish headquarters, and took 3,000 prisoners by a cavalry action. With the Greek successes the morale of our troops increased and that of the Turks diminished.

In the second place, our troops went north on the line Sema-Panderma and attacked the Turks at Balikesri. Other Greek troops debarking at Panderma caught the Turks between two fires.

The march to Brusa was not on our program, but in view of the weakening of the Turks and also the excited condition of our men, we pushed there with cavalry, which took the city (See CURRENT HISTORY for August) almost without resistance. In two days, on a front of 413 kilometers, we inflicted irreparable losses on Mustapha Kemal, many of his divisions falling into our hands.

## SYRIA

The terms of the ultimatum which General Gouraud sent "King" Feisal at Damascus on July 15 became known in detail. They were as follows:

1. French control of the railway from Risk to Aleppo.
2. French occupation of the Homs and Hama Railway stations and the town of Aleppo.
3. The acceptance of French and Syrian currency.
4. The acceptance of the French mandate over Syria.
5. The punishment of revolutionary criminals.
6. The acceptance of the foregoing conditions within four days, otherwise they will be enforced by military measures.

As no reply was received by the French Commander in Chief within the specified time, although later Feisal explained that he had sent one, military operations began, which had interesting repercussions in Paris and London and in Hedjaz, the kingdom of Feisal's father.

Justification for the ultimatum was imparted by General Gouraud to his Government, with the following specifications:

1. Marks of official hostility.
2. Co-operation with the Turkish Nationalists.
3. Aggressions and offenses.
4. Preparations for war.

As to the first, it was pointed out that Djaffar Pasha, the moderate Governor of Aleppo, had been brusquely replaced by General Buchidi Bey, who in January closed the railway necessary to France for the transport of military reinforce-



ments to the north (Cilicia). In the second category it was declared that Sherifian agents had since January last worked in concert with the Turkish Nationalists, and the complaint was made that the Syrian authorities had continually sought to prevent the French from sending reinforcements and provisions to Cilicia. As to "aggressions and offenses," there were enumerated the attack on a French post at El Rammam by a band commanded by Sherifian officers and the attacks on Barim and Antioch by Arab bands in March. Moreover, in regard to "preparations for war," it was recalled that Emir Feisal had instituted conscription from Dec. 21 last, had increased his army and armaments, incorporated into the army populations which had refused to serve in it, and had broken off economic and financial relations with the French zone of the littoral, thus aggravating the difficulties of feeding Syria.

There were in the troubled area eighty battalions of French troops—white, Moroccan and Senegalese—or about 60,000 men. General Gouraud did not at first intend to occupy Damascus and thus invite further political complications and possibly more extended military action. But he wished to make the railways running north, via Damascus and Aleppo, which fed the French troops in Cilicia from the French base at Beirut, open beyond dispute, by concentrating at Aleppo, Hama, Homs, and Ryak. Circumstances, however, forced him to occupy Damascus.

The circumstances were these: When he had been three days on the march Feisal's message accepting the terms of the ultimatum reached him on the Zahle Road. In it Feisal declared that the reply had been sent in good time, but had been delayed by an accident; he therefore asked the French commander to stop his advance on Damascus. This was acceded to, when on that very day a small column guarding the pass between Homs and Tripolis, a little east of the post of Tel Kalah, was attacked by Sherifian regulars. In consequence of this aggression and in order to prevent another attack which was threat-

ened on the Damascus-Beirut road, the French southern column, commanded by General Goybet, which was covering the occupation of the railway against attack from the direction of Damascus, drove out the Sherifian forces, whose head-



GENERAL GOURAUD  
Commander of French forces in control  
of Syria  
(Wide World Photos)

quarters were at Khan Meizelun, in the mountain region separating the plain of Bekka from that of Damascus. After a prolonged fight the Sherifians were driven to flight, leaving nine field pieces and twenty-five machine guns on the field.

Thereupon the Syrian authorities of Damascus sent messages to the French, declaring that if they came no resistance would be offered, and that the town would provision the column until the railway, which had been cut by the Sherifians, could be restored.

So on July 25 Gouraud's troops entered Damascus, and General Goybet issued a proclamation dethroning "King" Feisal. The Congress, declining to support Fei-



COUNTRIES OF THE LEVANT, INCLUDING REGION BETWEEN THE  
FRENCH AND THE ARABS

sal, had already reorganized the Syrian Ministry as follows:

Aladdin Droubi, Prime Minister.  
Abdur Raham Yusuf, President of the State Council.  
Gamil Elshi, Minister of War.  
Atta Alayyoubi, Interior.  
Faris Khuri, Finance.  
Badi Moyyad, Instruction.  
Jallal, Justice.  
Yusuf Hakkim, Public Works.

General Goybet received the new Government, and in the name of General Gouraud made the following declaration, the demands of which were accepted by it:

The Emir Feisal, who has brought the country to the brink of ruin, has ceased to reign. A war contribution of ten millions as reparation for the damage caused by the guerrilla warfare in the western zone will be exacted. General disarmament will commence immediately. The army, transformed into a police force, will be reduced. War material will be handed over to the French. The principal guilty parties will be brought before military tribunals.

Meanwhile, Feisal, just before he had left Damascus for his father's kingdom, had addressed a dispatch to the allied powers to this effect:

Although we have accepted the conditions imposed by General Gouraud, have withdrawn our troops from the frontiers, have demobilized the remainder of our forces which were at Damascus, and have exerted a strong pressure on the people who were led to rebel against the Government, General Gouraud has acted contrary to the engagements entered into by his Government, and also contrary to the personal agreements made by him. He has crossed the frontier and marched against Damascus, although the entire Arab Nation was becoming tranquilized in recognition of a formal and reasonable promise. By that act he has committed a crime and a grave betrayal, which must lead to the death of innocent persons and the useless shedding of blood. I therefore appeal to the civilized world, demanding justice, protection and succor for a people so unjustly betrayed.

On the night of July 19, in the British House of Commons, the Government was severely arraigned for permitting France to take such a "high-handed" course in Syria and thus jeopardize the friendly relations between Great Britain and Hedjaz, to which the British Government had given solemn promises for its political and territorial integrity. Bonar Law replied for the Government as follows:



The real question before the House was whether or not the French ultimatum was so outrageous that we had a right to interfere with a nation which had been duly appointed as mandatary for the territory in question. It had been suggested that the case of the Emir Feisal was not properly placed before the Supreme Council. No mistake could be greater. There were endless negotiations with the Emir in Paris, both by M. Clemenceau and by Lloyd George. Did the House realize what had happened? He submitted an analogous case. British troops were in occupation of these territories. The British Government came to the conclusion that it was not fair to expect us to bear the burden of countries in which we should have no ultimate interest. So the Supreme Council gave the mandate definitely to the French, and he thought he was right in saying that the Emir while in Paris definitely accepted it. \* \* \*

Just as we should resent interference from France, so we ought not to interfere with France, for her action was no business of ours, unless we thought it contravened the purpose of the League of Nations.

The Government had been in communication with the French Government, and a reply had been received to the effect that the French Government had no intention of permanent military occupation. As soon as the mandate had been accepted and order had been restored the troops would be withdrawn. \* \* \* To reflect on the action of the French Government in this matter was a serious thing, and a serious danger for the future.

The French press showed an inclination to resent even this degree of British discussion of the subject.

On July 28, King Hussein of the Hedjaz recalled his representative at the Peace Conference in Paris, Rusten Bey Haidar, in consequence of the developments in Syria, and at the same time addressed to Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, a protest against the action of General Gouraud, for it was with King Hussein that the British Government, acting through Sir Henry McMahon, then High Commissioner in Egypt, came to an understanding regarding the independence of the Arab provinces in the event of the Arabs joining the Entente for the overthrow of the Turks in the World War.

It should be remembered that King Hussein, in his capacity as Sherif of

Mecca and rival of the Turkish Sultan for the title of Caliph of Islam, holds a position of unusual sanctity, not only among the Arabs of Syria, but also among those under British rule in Palestine, Egypt and Mesopotamia.

In French official quarters it was believed that the action of General Gouraud came none too soon, for by July 27 the Turkish Nationals, taking advantage of the obstructions placed to the movements of the French along the coastal railway, had completely isolated the City of Adana, Cilicia, with a population of 70,000 Christians and 10,000 Moslems, in an attempt to starve it out. It was later relieved by a French convoy. The situation in Cilicia and the effect of military action in Syria to the south was thus explained by the French Foreign Office on Aug. 3:

The situation in Cilicia is much better. French troops moving from Adana have won a victory at Yenidje over large Kemalists forces. The Turks, who were stirred up by the Pasha, possessed cannon and machine guns and fought stubbornly. The French battalion made six bayonet attacks. The enemy left on the field more than 400 dead, 800 rifles, 4 machine guns and 250 prisoners, one of whom was a German officer. The column of Gracy arrived at Mersina July 31.

The situation is excellent in Syria. After Aleppo, where they were received with great joy by the population, the French troops have occupied Homs and Hamaha. All of the railroad is, therefore, in our favor. Calm reigns at Damascus. From all sides native leaders ask the privilege of surrendering.

## ZIONISTS IN PALESTINE

Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner of Palestine, announced on July 21 the abolition of the censorship, which had remained unrelaxed since the Jerusalem riots last April. He also reformed the postal service. For the first time in the history of the Holy Land the postage stamps issued bore an imprint in English, Hebrew and Arabic as symbolical of the three races most interested in the development of the country.

In London the World Zionist Conference, which opened July 5, came to an end on July 23. It concluded with the election of United States Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis as Honorary

President, Professor Chayim Weizmann, President, and Nahum Sokolow, Chairman of the Executive Committee. These three will form the Executive Committee, which will have charge of the appointments of the various heads of departments with the approval of the Greater Actions Committee, which has no fewer than eighty-eight members, including such well-known Jewish leaders as Dr. Max Nordau, Nathan Straus, Judge Julian M. Mack, Professor Felix Frankfurter and Sir Stuart Samuel, who recently made a report on the ill-treatment of Jews in Poland for the British Government—a report that was submitted to the League of Nations. Other members, Jacob De Haas, Louis Lipsky and Bernard Rosenbatt, will be connected with the Zionist administration in America.

Socialist members forced the conference on July 20 to adopt an amendment to the report of the Colonization Commission declaring that all settlers in Palestine, with or without capital, must cultivate their lands themselves. With this amendment the report adopted was as follows:

I. LAND POLICY—1. The fundamental principle of Zionist land policy is that all land on which Jewish colonization takes place should eventually become the common property of the Jewish people. The Executive is called upon to do all in its power to carry this principle into effect.

2. The organ for carrying out Jewish land policy in town and country is the Jewish National Fund. The objects of this body are: To expend the voluntary contributions received from the Jewish people in making the land of Palestine the common property of the Jewish people; to give out the land exclusively on hereditary leasehold and copyhold; to assist the settlement on their own farms of Jewish agricultural workers without means; to see that the ground is worked, and to combat speculation to safeguard Jewish labor.

3. The credit resources of the Zionist Organization are to be placed in the first instance at the service of such settlers as undertake to comply with the principles of the Jewish National Fund.

4. In order to give the J. N. F. a dominating position in the purchase of land, adequate means must always be placed at its disposal.

In order to enlarge its sphere of operation the J. N. F. shall raise loans of

which the interest and sinking fund are to be paid off through its leasehold rentals. The J. N. F. shall be entitled, even in disregard of the obligation it has hitherto been under to set aside certain sums for reserve, to invest the whole of its funds, without any restrictions, in Palestine.

The land policy of the J. N. F. must be encouraged by means of credit institutes for agricultural and urban property.

5. Land purchase in Palestine shall be centralized in the hands of an officially recognized institution under the control of the Zionist Organization.

6. In order to bring large portions of the land of Palestine into Jewish possession as rapidly as possible, the J. N. F. shall devise means by which, alongside of the capital of the J. N. F. itself, private capital can also be utilized for the purchase of land, under conditions which will assure the subsequent transference of land so bought into the national possession.

II. COLONIZATION—1. The aim of national colonization is the settlement of Jewish workers.

2. Only workers who have been successfully tested by long experience, and Jews who were working farmers in the Galuth, should be assisted to settle. Workers who have acquired agricultural knowledge in the Galuth should gain adequate working experience in the country before they are assisted to settle.

Special attention should be given to the wife's suitability for settlement.

3. For the purpose of settlements and the preparation of settlements, large contiguous areas should, as far as possible, be secured by the Zionist Organization, even if improvement and sanitation are required.

4. The settlement of candidates possessing capital of their own is of great importance and should be emphatically encouraged, in so far as these settlers accept the principles of national colonization.

5. In view of the importance of proceeding quickly to the intensive exploitation of the country, some settlements should be established with all possible speed, both on irrigated and non-irrigated soil, according to the methods of the most intensive utilization of the soil. The necessary means for this purpose must be placed at our disposal, and a commission of experts is to be intrusted with the preparation of these settlements as well as the training of the workers required.

6. Public works may not be carried out by the Zionist Organization except with a view to public utility and national benefit.

On the eve of adjournment the conference decided to convene another world



Jewish congress "constituted on a democratic basis." To this an amendment was added providing that "in order that all representatives may co-operate fruitfully, the impending congress is only to consider questions of a non-controversial nature." The purpose of this amendment was to have the future congress eschew all questions of politics and religion and have it concentrate on the reconstruction of Palestine as a Jewish homeland.

## MESOPOTAMIA

Soon after the armistice France and Great Britain began negotiations in regard to their mutual oil interests in various countries affected by the war. These negotiations, pertaining to Rumania, Anatolia, Galicia and Mesopotamia, were concluded in April last, and the results incorporated in a White Paper published by the British Government on July 23. The greatest interest, on account of recent disturbing exchanges between the London and Paris press, lay in the Mesopotamian clauses, which provided for the participation of the native Government of Mesopotamia on a basis of one-fifth share, while France and Great Britain had shares of 18 per cent. and 62 per cent. respectively. The Mesopotamian share was the result of the voluntary surrender, by the other two partners, of a proportion of the rights enjoyed by them under the original Turkish concessions.

The British lines of communication between Bagdad and Basra were several times threatened by Arab tribesmen, in spite of the elaborate system of patrols, employing cavalry, camel infantry and aviators. Although the Tigris routes were made comparatively safe, those on the Euphrates were less secure, and after Rumeitha had been relieved the garrison withdrew on July 21. On July 25 a column sent against the fortified town of Kifi (the railway between which and Hilla had been cut by raiders) was obliged to retreat to Hilla, as it encountered superior force. In the first week in August it made another attempt, was surrounded, but managed to cut its way through with the loss of 300 men, one gun, and twelve machine guns.

In the Mesopotamian region the British had 80,000 white and Indian troops, who were kept busy merely doing police duty, following up raids, and attacking distant Arab strongholds to which the raiders had retired.

## PERSIA

Concerning the advance of the Bolsheviks under General Kuropatkin from Baku on Tabriz and Teheran, no advices arrived later than the dispatch from the American Minister to Persia, John L. Caldwell, which Washington made public on Aug. 6. Mr. Caldwell spoke of the official confidence in the British and French forces sent to oppose them, but said that there was no popular confidence in them, and that the Shah's Government and the foreign legations were contemplating a movement southward. Kuropatkin's reply to a Persian message asking him to leave the country was said to have been: "Russia will quit Persia when the British do, and not before."

The Bolsheviks distributed tracts which contained what purported to be seven secret clauses in the Anglo-Persian treaty signed a year ago—clauses alleged to illustrate England's actual dominance over Persia, unknown to the League of Nations. On July 19 Mushaver-el-Mamehlik, Persian Ambassador at Constantinople, who was formerly Chargé d'Affaires at Petrograd and speaks Russian, was ordered to proceed to Moscow. He was said never to have forgiven the fact that, although he was Foreign Minister, the Anglo-Persian treaty was negotiated behind his back. The treaty has not yet been ratified by the Meiliss, or Parliament.

The defenses prepared for Teheran were as follows: A British force of 2,000 at Kasvin, ready to attack Resht and Enzeli, and the Cossack anti-Bolshevik division of Colonel Starosselsky at Mazandaran. On the other hand, it was reported on July 27 to the British War Office that the enemy deployed between Resht and Meshed-Isar, a distance of 180 miles, consisted of only 400 Muscovites, the same number of Tartars and Persians from Baku and about 400 Persian Jagalis.

# States of the Balkan Peninsula

## Bulgarian Peace Treaty Ratified

**ALBANIA**—On Aug. 11 Spiro Kolexa, the new Albanian Minister at Rome, arrived at Avlona to arrange for the details of the evacuation of Albania by Italian troops in accordance with the protocol. (See Italy.)

**BULGARIA**—The Peace Treaty with Bulgaria was made formally effective on Aug. 9 by the exchange of ratifications among the signatories. This is the Treaty of Neuilly, signed Nov. 27, 1919, and ratified by the Bulgarian Sobranje Jan. 12, 1920. The requisite number of ratifications on the part of the Allies was achieved by the ratification of the French Senate on July 31.

It is expected that a port on the Aegean will at once be assigned by the Council of the Peace Conference to Bulgaria. Lacking this port she has since the armistice been obliged to use the Danubian ports. Thus handicapped she is said to have performed wonders, particularly in the production and export of cereals. The official statistics show that the yield of cereals in 1919 for the whole of Bulgaria was 2,527,614 tons, of which 1,800,000 tons were required for consumption and for sowing, leaving 727,614 tons free for export. Of the total yield wheat provided 926,112 tons, rye 164,860, barley 228,809, oats 107,226 and maize 985,296. Information furnished by the Director General of the Bulgarian statistics and by the Ministry of Agriculture indicates an increase of at least 20 per cent. on the above figures for the 1920 yield.

The export of cereals is entirely in the hands of a consortium composed of State banks, who are under the close supervision of the Government through the National Bank of Bulgaria, Sofia. This consortium has organizations and depots in all parts of the country, and no one else can buy cereals either for interior consumption or for export.

**GREECE**—The return of King Alexander to Athens with Mme. Aspasia Mano, whom he legally but secretly married

a year ago, gave rise to much curiosity as to the future developments of the royal romance. The popular press cast aside prejudice, and was asking the Gov-



MILENKO R. VESNITCH  
*Premier of Yugoslavia and former head  
of Serbian Peace Mission*  
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ernment to recognize the woman as the consort of the King and their possible children as royal Princes with all due prerogatives. On the other hand, the press, which reflects the military spirit, was determined not to recognize her. The National Assembly will presently be asked to define her status. (See Thrace and Smyrna.)

**JUGOSLAVIA**—On July 20 the Vesnitch Cabinet resigned, owing to a difference on the school question, and on July 23 the former Premier, Dr. Milenko Vesnitch, was asked to reconstruct his old Ministry. For the future Constituent Assembly, which will determine the Con-



stitution of Yugoslavia, the members will number 414 thus distributed: Serbia, 157; Montenegro, 8; Batchka, 25; Bosnia

and Herzegovina, 63; Dalmatia, 11; Croatia and Slavonia, 92, and Slovenia, 38.

## Japanese Occupation of Saghalin

### Protest of United States

#### JAPAN

THE Japanese occupation of Vladivostok and the Maritime Provinces continued during the month under review, and was extended to the Russian portion of the Island of Saghalin. Early in July Tokio announced officially that the Japanese forces would be withdrawn from the Trans-Baikal region, as the necessity for maintaining order there and protecting the Czechoslovaks had ended with the Czechs' repatriation. The decision to maintain the occupation of the Maritime Provinces was explained in this statement:

The situation in the Maritime Provinces is different. Here, recently, the Japanese Consul and about 700 Japanese subjects were slaughtered by the Reds, who are also menacing all points in the Maritime Provinces from Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Nikolsk and Nikolaevsk (Saghalin), where there are a number of Japanese residents. The Japanese Government desires to withdraw all its troops, but at present there is no Government established with which the Japanese Government may negotiate, or upon which it can depend, while the situation along the northern border of Korea constitutes a serious menace. For these reasons the Japanese garrisons must be maintained at strategic points, pending the establishment of a Russian Government in Siberia.

The inference from this statement that Japan did not view the newly created Far Eastern Republic established at Verkhne-Udinsk as a responsible and representative Government was confirmed by Viscount Uchida, the Japanese Foreign Minister, in a speech delivered in the Diet on July 7. Viscount Uchida declared that the Government had no present intention of securing the establishment of a "buffer State" by negotiating either with the Vladivostok or the Verkhne-Udinsk Government. This meant a change in Japanese policy in Siberia,

inasmuch as the creation of a "buffer State" had been a favorite Japanese idea.

Peace negotiations with the representatives of the Verkhne-Udinsk Government had been resumed after being broken off in June without an agreement, and a suspension of hostilities was signed on July 15 by the Japanese Armistice Committee and representatives of the Verkhne-Udinsk Government. Further discussions by the Russo-Japanese committees were continuing at that time. The Japanese were not attempting to oppose the new republic, but were striving to establish boundary lines which would prevent clashes between the two peoples.

The Japanese Government decided, on July 4, to occupy such parts of the Province of Saghalin as it deemed necessary, pending the establishment of a legitimate Government and a satisfactory settlement for the massacres of Nikolaevsk.

The occupation of the Russian half of Saghalin Island followed. Government appropriations sufficient for a military and naval administration of six months were passed by the Diet. The Japanese Government, on July 28, received from the United States an inquiry regarding this occupation. The Foreign Minister submitted the inquiry to the Cabinet, which went into special session with the Diplomatic Advisory Council to discuss the subject. It later developed that the American Government had sent this note of inquiry after a conference of Mr. Colby, Secretary of State, with Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador at Washington; Sir Beilby Alston, British Minister to China, who was returning to London on leave, and Roland Morris, American Ambassador to Tokio, likewise on leave of absence. The substance of

the note was withheld by Tokio, as well as by the Washington Government, but it was understood in Japan that the note was in the nature of a protest against the permanent occupation of Saghalin, as well as of the district of Khabarovsk, facing the island.

Pending Japan's reply, the Government's action in respect to Saghalin was challenged in the Diet. An interpellation was made at a session late in July by Ichizo Hattori, former Governor of Hyogo Province. He asked whether Japan intended to occupy Saghalin permanently in case of failure to obtain satisfaction for the Nikolaevsk massacres from such a Government as might eventually be established in Russia. Hattori declared that nothing caused deeper and more sustained resentment than the occupation of part of a nation's territory by another nation. Russia, he said, in its present confusion, might prove easy to deal with, but the fact should not be lost sight of that Russia is a country of great possibilities. Her strong latent power in Siberia, he pointed out, offered a field for peaceful and economic expansion by the Japanese, whose migration there was a possible solution of Japan's over-populated condition; but this, he asserted, would meet with a serious check if bad blood existed between the Russians and the Japanese.

Premier Hara, in replying, said it would be detrimental to Japan's interests to disclose what the Government proposed to do if no satisfactory settlement of the Nikolaevsk massacres was found. He shared, he admitted, Hattori's fear of arousing a permanent resentment by the occupation, but declared that it was impossible for Japan to obtain satisfaction for an atrocious massacre of hundreds of Japanese subjects.

Japanese sentiment, as reflected in the Japanese press, indicated that the American note had come as a somewhat disagreeable surprise. One section of the press commented hostilely; another lamented the fact that foreign Governments were unable to trust Japanese policy, and blamed the actions of the Japanese militarists for this. A third foresaw many complications.

Marquis Okuma, former Japanese Premier, declared on July 30 that Japan must prepare to receive more protests from Washington, but, in his opinion, they would be only paper ones. In Washington, however, it was stated semi-officially that not only the United States, but Great Britain also, was impressed by the growing power of the Japanese military party, and was determined to press a settlement of the questions growing out of Japanese expansion, the United States particularly being opposed to any permanent occupation of Russian territory. America's insistence on this point was made clear by the note sent, toward the middle of August, by Secretary Colby to the Italian Ambassador.

An abstract of the American note was published in Tokio on Aug. 3, to the following effect:

1. America approves Japan's decision to evacuate Transbaikalia;
2. As regards continued occupation of the Vladivostok region, she reserves expression of her view owing to the absence of sufficient information on conditions there upon which to form an opinion;
3. America fails to understand the reason for Japan's occupation of Saghalin, which has no connection whatever with the Siberian mainland or incidents like the Nikolaevsk massacre occurring there.

Following this publication, the increased nervousness of Japanese sentiment became apparent, especially in view of the reported conferences in Washington between the American and British diplomats. The press, on the whole, demanded a resolute Government policy, regardless of protests, and charged that much trouble was caused for Japan by her timid and vacillating foreign policy. A note of reply by Japan to the American protest—for thus the Japanese interpreted it—was in preparation on Aug. 7. Two Tokio papers published advance summaries of this reply, according to which Japan explained why she considered the occupation of Saghalin necessary, and reaffirmed her intention of holding it until the establishment in Russia of a responsible Government from which to gain satisfaction. The occupation of Vladivostok and Khabarovsk was also explained; in the first case, some



7,000 Chinese residents must be protected from Bolshevik inroads; in the second, Khabarovsk is a strategic point on the route to Nikolaevsk.

The Japanese Foreign Office on July 23 published the text of a joint communication by Japan and Great Britain notifying the League of Nations that they would recognize the principle of the covenant of the League in connection with the Anglo-Japanese alliance, recently renewed for one year, if it is permanently renewed in 1921. Though this alliance is in sympathy with the spirit of the League, the note stated, it is not so strictly in letter, but would be made so in case of renewal for another ten-year period.

A delegation representing Japanese organizations on the Pacific Coast was in Tokio at the end of July consulting officials regarding the Californian situation. M. Ikeda, President of the Japanese Association of America, said at this date that the agitation would probably pass with the excitement of the Presidential campaign, and urged the Japanese to act with moderation. Such also was the opinion of Count Okuma.

A Congressional committee was still in California in August investigating the charges that the Japanese are gradually getting control of great areas of land and are undesirable residents. The Californian situation was described at the time of the Washington conference as acute, and it was stated that the referendum to be taken in California in the Fall would probably lead to bitter feeling in Japan, and to strained relations between the Japanese and United States Governments.

## CHINA

[SEE ARTICLE ON CHINA, PAGE 992]

The main events of the month in China turned on the civil war precipitated by the Chinese President's dismissal of General Hsu Shu-tseng, commander of the frontier defense troops. This war between the protagonists of the two military parties of North China, the so-called Chih-li Party and the Anfuites, was of considerable proportions. The cause of this dismissal was the strong attitude taken against the cor-

ruption of Hsu Shu and other prominent Anfu party representatives by General Chang Tso-ling, once a successful bandit leader in Manchuria, but now Governor-General of the three Manchurian provinces. Chang Tso-ling was supported against Tuan Chih-jui, the Anfu leader, by General Wu Pei-fu, who had left the southern frontier against orders to support the Northern Tuchuns (Governors) in their war against Anfuism, and by General Tsao-kun, Governor of Chih-li province.

The defeat of Tuan Chih-jui at a point not far from Peking threw the Chinese capital into a state of panic (July 18): the gates were closed, and only such traffic allowed as was necessary for the maintenance of the city's life. The city was quiet on July 22, though facing great scarcity of food supplies. The gates still remained closed against Tuan's defeated soldiers, who were forced to camp in the fields outside the city. The casualties in the fighting were estimated at 6,000, chiefly among the frontier defense troops. Tuan Chih-jui offered his resignation on July 22, and two days later the débâcle of the Anfu forces was said to be complete.

Fighting had ceased on all fronts in obedience to the President's order. The Peking population was regaining confidence, but the gates were still kept closed. The troops of Chang Tso-ling were surrounding Peking with the intention of enforcing the proposed terms of surrender. A compromise and agreement between the two factions was hoped for from the arrival of a peace mission at Tientsin on July 25. The President of the republic issued a mandate on July 27 restoring their ranks and honors to General Tsao-kun and Wu Pei-fu. The Anfu Ministers had resigned and taken flight.

In an interview General Chang Tso-ling declared that he was forced to take arms against the Anfuites because of their misdeeds and corruption, and denied all personal aims. He reiterated his intention that Tuan Chih-jui should go permanently into retirement and that the other Anfu leaders should be severely

punished. Ten members of the Anfu Club were arrested subsequently for corruption and for bringing on the crisis.

Plans for the organization of the Consortium project were developing at the time these pages went to press. The appointment of F. W. Stevens, formerly legal adviser to J. P. Morgan & Co., who has traveled much in the East, to represent the American group in China was announced on Aug. 8.

Announcing that the difficult task of forming a new Cabinet had at last been accomplished, the Government issued on Aug. 11 the names of the men who had been chosen to face the many perplexing problems, alike political and economical, which China must solve in the future. It was clear from this list that the new Cabinet was of the nature of a coalition Government. The War and Interior De-

partments had been given to the Northern Military Party, the Departments of Justice and Education to the Progressive Party, the portfolios of Communications and Finance to the old Cabinet group, and those of Navy and Foreign Affairs to men of no party affiliations. The personnel of the new Cabinet was listed as follows:

Premier and Minister of War—General CHIN YUN-PENG.

Minister of Foreign Affairs—Dr. W. W. YEN.

Minister of the Navy—Admiral SAH CHENG-PING.

Minister of Communications — YEH KUNG-CHAO.

Minister of the Interior—CHANG CHITANG.

Minister of Finance—CHOW TSZCHI.

Minister of Education—FAN YUAN-LIEN.

Minister of Justice—TUNG KANG.

## Mexico's Progress Toward Law and Order

### Francisco Villa Surrenders to the New Government—Cantu's Revolt in Lower California

#### MEXICO

SUCCESSFUL revolutions can afford to be generous, it is said, and such is the interpretation put on the release of General Pablo Gonzalez, Obregon's chief rival in Mexico, after his arrest for treason. He was present, it will be recalled, at the inauguration of President de la Huerta on June 1, occupying a seat beside General Obregon in the gallery of the Chamber of Deputies, in full view of the public, and apparently engaged in friendly conversation. Later he was offered a diplomatic mission abroad, which he declined, stating that he was going to Europe, but preferred to go as a private citizen. Instead of doing so, he went north, and, with a few followers, started a revolt in Nuevo Leon, attacking Monterey, near which city he was captured, as related in CURRENT HISTORY for August.

He was immediately held for trial in Monterey by a court martial on a charge of inciting to rebellion, but the court decided it had no jurisdiction. This de-

cision was communicated to General Calles, Minister of War, who ordered Gonzalez's release, "since the Government has absolutely no fear that General Gonzalez will continue to be a menace to the stability of its administration." On July 21 Gonzalez crossed the border into the United States, taking with him Ricardo Gonzalez, a nephew, who had tried to co-operate with him by attacking Nuevo Laredo.

General J. M. Guajardo, who was acting under Gonzalez's orders when captured at Monterey, on July 17, fared worse. He was executed the next morning after a summary court-martial. With 2,000 men he had revolted against the de la Huerta Government in June, near Torreón, after taking part in the attack on Carranza, when the late President fled from Mexico City. Guajardo was responsible for the deaths of eighty women and children, when his troops wrecked one of the last trains of the Carranza party. Two years ago he killed General Zapata.



Felix Diaz, nephew of President Porfirio Diaz, who was concerned in a revolt in the State of Vera Cruz, was reported, on July 24, to be on his way to Europe. Most of his forces were disbanded, and the remainder were paid off under the War Department's supervision. Colonel Juan Barragan, Carranza's Chief of Staff, who escaped from prison, was also said to be leaving the United States for Europe to avoid becoming involved in plots forming in New York against the de la Huerta Government. General Leon Martinez, rebel leader in San Luis Potosi, surrendered unconditionally on July 31.

Francisco Villa, the notorious bandit, whose tentative offer to surrender was recorded last month, finally laid down his arms after dickering for two weeks to obtain the best terms possible. Closely pressed by Government troops, on the morning of July 26, he entered Sabinas, where there is a telegraph station, and wired to President de la Huerta for permission to surrender. The War Minister replied that the surrender must be unconditional. To this Villa agreed, and was told to report to General Eugenio Martinez, chief of the campaign in Chihuahua. The latter arrived in Sabinas on July 27 to receive Villa's surrender and disarm his 600 followers there.

The Government, it was stated, considered it cheaper to accept Villa's surrender than to continue pursuit, as the pursuing army was costing more than 40,000 pesos daily. It was finally agreed that the bandit chief should retire to private life in some district designated by the Government. After signing an agreement, on July 28, he left Sabinas for Torreon, where he disbanded his troops. Villa received financial guarantees, and the men to be mustered out, numbering about 800, were each to be allotted a tract of land for farming. One of Villa's last acts before his surrender was to seize an American citizen, Carl Haeglin, President of the Sabinas Brewing Company, and hold him for ransom. He was released on Villa's capitulation.

There was some question in Washington whether Villa's extradition might not be demanded, in view of the fact

that he is under indictment in New Mexico for first degree murder, as one of the principals in the raid on the town of Columbus, on March 9, 1916. His men murdered seventeen Americans there and burned a large part of the town.

It was considered doubtful, however, under the provisions of the Extradition Treaty, whether Mexico would consent to deliver Villa.

Government officials have decided to appropriate the Hacienda de Canutillo, a huge estate in Durango, as a home for Villa. He will be allowed to keep fifty of his most trusted followers, who will be paid by the Mexican Government. Villa's surrender, it was estimated, would finally cost the Mexican Government \$2,000,000 in gold.

Esteban Cantu, Governor of the northern district of Lower California, on July 28 declared a revolt against the Federal Government. The territory, which projects from the border of California into the waters of the Pacific for 800 miles in a southeasterly direction, is an isolated region that long remained unorganized, a resort for bandits. Soon after the Madero revolution General Cantu was sent there to keep order, and was made Governor of the northern district. There he has remained for eight years, undisturbed by changes in the far-away Mexican Government, watching the country grow, collecting taxes without accounting, and growing rich as a practical dictator.

Soon after Adolfo de la Huerta was inaugurated President of Mexico, General Cantu was politely requested to go to the capital to give an accounting of his administration in Lower California, and Balamero Almada was named Governor in his place. Cantu refused to go, and Mexican troops were sent against Ensenada, a Pacific Coast town, about forty miles south of the American border, where he made his headquarters. In return Cantu called for volunteers to resist the invaders, and telegraphed to President de la Huerta:

It is my duty to call your attention, respectfully but energetically, to the fatal consequences that may result from the proceeding you have adopted, especially to

the serious international conflict which might come on account of the foreign interests established here.

General Cantu was said to have plenty of ammunition and three military airplanes, though a request to Washington late in July for permission to import war supplies had been refused. Preparations for the expected attack were made and recruiting offices opened at Mexicali. General Cantu posted 500 of his new recruits at San Luis on the Sonora side of the Colorado River to resist any Federal forces coming from that direction.

Orders stopping all official communication with the Federal Government were issued by General Cantu on July 30. Francisco Fernandez, cashier of the Tia Juana Custom House, at once left for San Diego, Cal., only thirteen miles north of the border, taking with him \$100,000 in American gold and an equal amount in commercial paper, which he turned over to Ives G. Lelevier, Mexican Federal Consular agent in San Diego, for safekeeping. All the documents of the Custom House at Tia Juana, which is on the international line, were also brought there and locked up.

First blood was shed in the new civil war on the night of Aug. 3, when the Mexican patrol ship Tecate entered the harbor of Ensenada. Word of the rebellion had not reached the patrol boat. Taking advantage of this, three Cantu officials invited Captain Zepeda of the Tecate to come ashore and dine with them. When he landed they seized him and riddled his body with bullets. Next day the crew of the Tecate was missing, and Cantu soldiers were in possession of the boat. David Zarate, former Mayor of Ensenada, fearing arrest, hid in a water tank aboard an American power schooner and escaped to San Diego, Cal.

The Mexican gunboat Guerrero sank in a hurricane on Aug. 5, just as it was starting to attack Ensenada. Officers and sailors escaped, but arms and food-stuffs were lost. A state of blockade was proclaimed against Lower California on Aug. 6. Three thousand Yaqui Indians left Mazatlan by water on Aug. 10, intending to disembark at Puerto Isabel and proceed from that city by land along

the Colorado River to attack Cantu's forces. The Mexican Embassy at Washington announced, on Aug. 12, that the Mexican Government was sending 5,000 soldiers into Lower California to subdue Governor Cantu, adding that 3,000 of these soldiers had already sailed from Mazatlan for Guaymas under the command of General Abelardo Rodriguez. On the same day the Cantu Government gave out that its men, munitions and transport service were ready to repel any invasion by troops of the Provisional Government of Mexico. The fate of the attempted revolution remained undecided when these pages went to press.

The Mexican Embassy at Washington gave out, Aug. 13, that Adolfo de la Huerta would not be a candidate for permanent President against General Obregon, and that he would not postpone the election, which is to be held the first Sunday in September.

Congressional elections were held on Aug. 1 in all the Mexican States. Four parties were represented: the Liberal Constitutionalist, or Government, Party; the National Co-operative, the Mexican Labor and the National Republican Party.

The latter represents the re-entry of Catholics into Mexican politics, and is particularly opposed to Article XXVII. of the Constitution of 1917, which vests the soil of Mexico forever in the hands of the people of Mexico, as against private monopolies of all kinds secretly striving for ownership of the land in order to control the labor of those who must live and work upon it. By its opposition to this article the Catholic Party has gained the approval of the vast oil and mining interests, and of foreigners generally, who have invested money in Mexico, as well as the Clericals, who would go back to the antiquated Constitution of 1857.

The National Republican Party held a convention in Mexico City and, on July 20, nominated Alfredo Robles Dominguez for President by a vote of 210 to 31. He was at one time Carranza's personal representative in the United States. Carlos B. Zetina, one of the founders of the Knights of Columbus in Mexico, and Dominguez himself made bitter attacks



upon Article XXVII. during the Carranza régime. The party was formed by Emilio Pimentel, who was Governor of Oaxaca under Diaz. The revival of the Catholic movement dates from the visit to Mexico of an American priest, who reconciled the different church factions.

Regarding restrictions on the oil industry, President de la Huerta, on Aug. 1, issued a statement that Article XXVII. of the Constitution, dealing with oil properties, as well as all statutes emanating from it, would be upheld, despite the efforts of "some outside interests to the contrary." General Trevino, Secretary of Industry, had previously told the oil

men plainly that there would be no modification of the law. The Supreme Court had passed on the question by denying twenty-nine petitions for appeal by the petroleum operators, and Congress had approved the Carranza decrees. This was in reply to an offer of the petroleum companies to pay to the Government 20,000,000 pesos if the decrees were annulled. They afterward paid into the Treasury more than 3,000,000 pesos as export taxes for May and June, a payment which had been delayed because the oil had been appraised too high. President de la Huerta agreed to accept a price basis fixed on the New York quotation.

## Other Latin-American Republics

### Vast Railway Scheme for South America--President Acosta of Costa Rica Recognized

#### SOUTH AMERICA

A VAST system of railway expansion for South America is proposed by Señor Briano, an engineer of Argentina. Señor Briano proposes to strike directly for the interior, crossing Colombia diagonally in a southeasterly direction to the port of Tabatinga on the Amazon, thence to San Antonio on the Madeira River, thence due south to Matto Grosso and on to Teray on the Parana River, which it skirts, afterward following the Rio de la Plata to Buenos Aires. A branch line would run from a junction in Bolivia to Asuncion. Thus the Brazilian, Paraguayan, Uruguayan and Argentine systems would be connected with those of the west coast. Obviously the scheme is one that will take many years to work out, but the announcement calls attention to vast undeveloped resources of South America that are crying to be opened up for the benefit of the world.

**ARGENTINA**—A severe storm has shaken Argentine finances owing to a not unfamiliar desire to have one's cake and eat it, too. Having procured enactment of the law imposing a supertax on wheat exports in order to obtain funds

with which to purchase wheat, the Argentine Government was confronted with difficulty in obtaining wheat. Most of the home supply had been contracted for by Great Britain, France and Italy. The Senate failing to ratify negotiations for the cereal loan, President Irigoyen withdrew the measure on July 20, and on Aug. 2 a decree prohibiting the exportation of wheat and sugar went into effect. Release of Argentine gold deposits in the United States was suspended, and exchange rapidly rose against Argentina until Buenos Aires was paying more than 12 per cent. for drafts on New York, completely reversing her position of a year ago.

Bolshevist agitators in Argentina meanwhile are seeking pledges in support of a general strike from the various labor groups, and many citizens are laying in supplies of food against an emergency. The basis for their propaganda is the growing discontent over recent sharp increases in the cost of necessities and rents.

**BOLIVIA**—Following the successful revolution in Bolivia which deposed and deported President Gutierrez Guerra, Dr. José Maria Escalier, chief of the Repub-

lican Party, which brought about the overthrow, left Buenos Aires on July 23 for La Paz, where he was appointed Minister of Foreign Relations at the head of a governing board. Bautista Savedra, who was nominally head of the revolt, was made Minister of the Interior, and J. M. Ramirez named Minister of War. Orders were sent to all Bolivian Ministers abroad to surrender their archives to the Secretaries of Legation, and a decree was issued calling for a general election in December. A registration of voters was begun and Dr. Carlos Victor Aramayo was named confidential agent of Bolivia to the United States. Peru recognized the new Bolivian Government on July 17 and Mexico the next day, but the United States did not seem disposed to recognize it, owing to our general principle of opposition to Governments established by force. That complications with Chile may still occur is shown by a declaration by José Escalier on July 18, saying that Bolivia, having ceded Antofagasta under the treaty of 1905, the Republican Party hopes the closing of Bolivia from the Pacific Coast by the treaty cannot be definite "because international pacts embodying injustices must necessarily suffer equitable modifications in consulting justice and the permanent interests of peoples." The deposed President, Gutierrez Guerra, was reported on Aug. 7 aboard a British steamer bound for New York.

**BRAZIL**—The most complete census ever taken in Brazil is now in progress. Official statistics estimate the total population at 23,000,000, and Rio de Janeiro is credited with 900,000, but the Director of Statistics says these figures are too low. There were 1,015,883 immigrants to Brazil during the twelve years ended Dec. 31, 1919. Of these only 2,062 came from North America. The greatest number came from Southern Europe, Portugal leading with 386,686; Spain second, 212,732, and Italy third, 65,709. Russia was fourth with 50,632; Germany sent 34,246 and there were 28,293 Japanese.

**CHILE**—A joint session of the Chilean Congress was called for Aug. 30 to count the electoral vote in the Presidential

campaign. Arturo Alessandri, nominee of the Liberal Alliance, had a majority of two votes in the electoral college over Luis Borgono, Liberal Unionist.

Chile is about to convert Juan Fernandez, Robinson Crusoe's island, into a national park and tourist resort. Modern hotels and other attractions are to be erected, according to plans under consideration.

**PERU**—Decided satisfaction with the result of the overturn in Bolivia was expressed by President Leguia. He charged Chile with attempting to utilize Bolivia as a tool to accomplish designs against Peru, his country, he said, must be prepared to meet attacks until international opinion forces a just settlement.

Peru denied through her envoys abroad that any mobilization of troops was being taken in view of the events in Bolivia. A significant incident of the Peruvian national holidays, early in August, was a parade of 10,000 persons in favor of the country's attitude regarding the Chilean provinces of Tacna and Arica, which formerly belonged to Peru and which have been called the American Alsace and Lorraine. Officers of the American cruiser Tacoma and the British cruisers Weymouth and Yarmouth were entertained by President Leguia on Aug. 3. During the holidays three American airplanes flew daily about Lima.

Refugees arriving at Callao report that sixty Peruvian residences and business houses were looted and destroyed in Valparaiso, Chile, on the night of July 20, and that one Peruvian was killed; 260 Peruvian refugees from Chilean ports landed at Callao on Aug. 9.

**URUGUAY**—The Uruguayan Congress on Aug. 5 passed a bill suppressing penalties against dueling; in other words, dueling is to be permitted on condition that the seconds submit previously to a court of honor consisting of three members the question of whether an offense justifying the duel exists, and, if so, who is the offended party. This action is one of the results of a duel in which an ex-President of Uruguay—now leader of a radical party—Señor Battle y Ordoñez, recently shot and killed Washington Beltran, an editor and opposition leader.



## CENTRAL AMERICA

**COSTA RICA**—Recognition of the Government of Costa Rica by the United States was announced by the State Department on Aug. 2. When the Constitutional Government was overthrown by Federico Tinoco on Jan. 27, 1917, and the Constitutional President, Alfredo Gonzales, was forced to leave the country President Wilson issued a proclamation declaring that the United States would not recognize Governments established by force or fraud. Tinoco was refused recognition on the ground that his Government did not represent the will of the people. He left the country in August, 1919, and his Government fell in September. Julio Acosta was elected President on Dec. 7, to serve for four years from May 8, 1920, and his administration is now recognized as resting upon the freely expressed will of the people.

**GUATEMALA**—Carlos Herrera, who succeeded Estrada Cabrera, the deposed President of Guatemala, as Provisional President, having been duly elected, took the oath of office on July 25. Both the Democrats and Unionists united to elect him. He is pledged to endeavor to effect a union of the Central American States and favors reduction of the Presidential term to four years with no re-election, "in order that never again may one man remain in power indefinitely."

**NICARAGUA**—As a result of diplomatic aid extended by the United States, Nicaragua has paid since July 1 the last of its wartime and current obligations, leaving no indebtedness except that which is bonded. There was a surplus in the national treasury on July 15 of \$750,000, most of which it was intended to spend on good roads.

The Government has decided on the construction of a railroad from Monkey Point on the Caribbean to San Miguelito on Lake Nicaragua. It will be 118 miles long and will be operated in connection with the present line from Granada to Corinto.

**SALVADOR**—The invitation of Salvador asking the other Central American republics to send delegates to her capital to devise a scheme for the unification

of the five States has been accepted by Costa Rica and Honduras. Guatemala and Nicaragua also approve the project, but Nicaragua makes the condition that Salvador announce a discontinuance of the Central American Peace Treaty signed in Washington in 1907. To this Salvador has replied that the treaty lapsed with the termination of the Central American Court of Justice in March, 1913. Delegates from all the republics are expected to meet in San Salvador on Sept. 15. Guatemala has been intrusted with the task of planning the program for the conference.

Dr. Noguchi's discovery of the yellow fever germ at Guayaquil last year was confirmed in July by Dr. Peralta Lagos, a prominent Salvadorean bacteriologist, who announced that he had succeeded in isolating the micro-organism of the disease.

**PANAMA**—Dr. Belesario Porras, candidate of the Liberal Conservative Party, was chosen President of the Republic of Panama in an election held on Aug. 1. He recently held that office, but resigned early this year in order to enter the campaign for re-election, the Constitution providing that no one elected President may succeed himself. Dr. Ciro Uriola was his opponent. The latter's partisans late in July filed a protest with the State Department at Washington asserting that Dr. Porras was ineligible, as his resignation six months before election was merely a subterfuge to evade the evident intent of the Constitution.

Panama took a census this year, which shows a total population of 401,428, not including Indians, an increase of 33 per cent. over 1910.

## WEST INDIES

American firms have been warned by the United States Consul at Trinidad that, in drawing drafts on customers in the British West Indies, they should take precautions to insure collection in terms of American dollar and not of the local West Indian dollar currency. Until the recent slump in exchange the two currencies were practically at par, but the difference later rose as much as 40 per cent. in favor of the American dollar.

**BERMUDA**—On Aug. 1 Bermuda celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of the Colonial Parliament, which held its first session on that date in 1620, a year after the first General Assembly for Virginia met on the mainland. The Bermuda Parliament consists of thirty-six members elected by the people, forming the House of Assembly, and a legislative council of nine members appointed by the Crown. Any man, white or colored, may be elected to the Assembly if he possesses a freehold valued at \$1,200, and there is also a property qualification for voters. Women can neither vote nor be elected to office.

**BARBADOS**—A dispute regarding cable rights caused President Wilson to order five destroyers to patrol the entrance to the harbor of Miami, Fla., early in August to prevent by force, if necessary, the landing of a cable from Barbados, where work had been begun on the shore end there by the Western Union Telegraph Company. A British concern, the Western Cable Company, now has a monopoly of cable rights in Brazilian waters and owns a line from Brazil to Barbados. An American company desires to construct a direct cable line from the United States to Brazil. The Western Union Company intended to connect with this line and thus get an outlet to Brazil. The position taken by the United States was that the cable would not be allowed to land at Miami if such an arrangement added to the British company's monopoly, as such addition would be in violation of American law.

**JAMAICA**—Following the example of British Guiana, Jamaica is about to send a delegation to England to urge that the government be changed from that of a Crown colony to one under a representative system. The island had representative government from 1682 to 1865, when the negroes rose at Morant Bay and murdered most of the white inhabitants. The Assembly proclaimed martial law, and the Legislature, after abrogating the

Constitution, passed out of existence. Now the people want the Constitution restored.

The growing of sugar cane and bananas and the breeding of cattle have so encroached upon the production of cereals that Jamaica was threatened with a food famine this year only to be relieved by the importation of cereals. It was announced on July 23 that the Government would in future make it compulsory for big growers and breeders to set apart a certain area of their lands for food crops for home consumption.

**CUBA**—Never before has Cuba been as prosperous as this year. It is estimated that the sugar crop has produced a value of \$400 for every human being who lives on the island, with consequent gayety and lavish expenditure in all the large towns. Havana Harbor has become so congested with outgoing and incoming freight that an American commission was sent there, arriving July 31, to co-operate with Cuban officials in arranging plans for relieving traffic conditions. Owing to the panic in Japan and the slump in the rice market, shipments of rice valued at more than \$20,000,000 were held up at Havana, the Cuban importers declining to accept it, although American exporters stated that the rice was shipped under contract.

A touching tribute to the late Theodore Roosevelt was the presentation of a check for \$100,000, contributed in small amounts by the people of Cuba to the Roosevelt Memorial Fund. Colonel Aurelio Hevia, who was Secretary of the Interior under American administration of the island, made the presentation and informed his hearers that among other things done to perpetuate the memory of Colonel Roosevelt is the custom of reading every day in every schoolroom in Cuba some passage from one of Roosevelt's works.

President Dolz of the Cuban Senate on July 19 was nominated by the Cuban Conservative Party for the Vice Presidency of Cuba.



# The League Council at San Sebastian

## High Court at The Hague

**A**N important session of the League of Nations Council was held at San Sebastian, Spain, from July 30 to Aug. 5, 1920. Various matters were discussed, including the plan for a world tribunal elaborated by the Jurists' Conference at The Hague.

The conference had ended on July 24. The international jurists, assembled at the Dutch capital, by a final vote on July 22 agreed unanimously to the entire project of the High Court of International Justice on the lines proposed by Mr. Elihu Root—a signal tribute to the American representative. Among the speakers were Mr. Root and M. Adachi, the Japanese delegate, who congratulated the conference on the "magnificent result" of its work. A recommendation that the League of Nations call a series of similar conferences on international law, to which the Central Powers would also be invited to send delegates, was made by Mr. Root, and adopted in principle by the conference.

The farewell ceremony of the conference on July 24 was attended by the whole Diplomatic Corps, all the important Dutch Ministers and the official world. M. Descamps, President of the conference, delivered the farewell address, reviewing the work accomplished. The final project, signed and sealed, he stated, would be delivered by the Secretariat to the Council of the League at San Sebastian. Jonkheer van Karnekeek, the Dutch Foreign Minister, replied, expressing pleasure over the honor conferred on Holland by the decision to have the seat of the permanent court at The Hague. With this decision, it may be said, The Hague is destined to become an important centre of international justice, for besides the permanent court, The Hague Tribunal will continue to function, and the Academy of International Law, established in 1913, is to begin its sessions immediately for students.

The eighth meeting of the League Council opened in San Sebastian on July

30. The place of meeting was the Palacio de la Diputacion, in the centre of the old town, overlooking the Plaza de la Constitucion, a former bullfight arena.

## MEETING OF LEAGUE AT SAN SEBASTIAN

The delegates arrived by special train from Paris on the morning of the 29th, and were met by Señor Dato, the Spanish Premier, and by the Marquis de Lema, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The delegates after arrival held informal conferences. The opening session of the council was held at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the following day. This first meeting was presided over by Count Quinones de Leon, the Spanish Ambassador to France.

Measures to make all Europe safe for travelers were debated, following consideration of a report from the Council of Ambassadors, which cited many complaints, including extortionate prices, passport difficulties, confiscation of personal property, detention and even arrest of travelers. It was decided to summon representatives of all countries to a conference at the end of October, at which the different States would be asked to harmonize their regulations.

The payment of the expenses of the Sarre Basin Boundary Commission was discussed. It was subsequently decided that the League had no power to determine whether Great Britain and France should be asked to share the heavy expenses of the commission, instead of the people of the district; the League confined itself to repealing the former resolution, which had been interpreted as declaring for the latter.

The report of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen on the repatriation of Russian prisoners was read. From this it appeared that the whole project had been blocked by the Soviet Government, which refused to guarantee that Russian prisoners re-

patriated to Vladivostok would be allowed to return to their homes.

A report was presented by Mr. A. J. Balfour on the relations between the council and the assembly of the League, upon which was to be based a report to the assembly at its Geneva meeting in November.

At its session of Aug. 2 the council adopted in its entirety the plan of the Advisory Jurists' Commission for the International Court of Justice. It was subsequently stated that final acceptance would be confirmed only after reference to the League Assembly. At this session the question of establishing an economic blockade, in case of violation of the covenant of the League by member or non-member nations, was discussed in detail. Signor Tittoni of Italy urged co-ordination and mutual support in the declaring and execution of this blockade. It was decided to recommend to the Geneva meeting that an International Blockade Commission be appointed to organize the method of application of the blockade.

Plans for forming a permanent international hygienic organization were also laid, following the reading of a report by Dr. Gaston de Cunha, the Brazilian representative, on the organization of an International Hygienic Bureau. It was resolved to ask the United States to participate in this International Health Office. It was also decided to ask the United States to participate in the international conference on the freedom of transit to be held in Barcelona early in 1921, the object of which was to prevent any country from profiting by its geographical situation to hinder the free movement of international traffic.

The date of the International Financial Conference, which failed to meet in Brussels after the Spa Conference, was set for Sept. 24. A permanent advisory committee on military, naval and aerial affairs was created to study and report on questions of military character on

which the council may be called to act, but only within the scope of the League covenant. M. Bourgeois, representing France, defined the task of this committee as in accordance with the provisions of the covenant to regulate the armament of the forces of new States admitted to the League, and the reduction of armaments.

A permanent commission was named to receive and examine the annual report of the mandatory powers on the administration of territories confided to them. The council had declined an appeal from the King of Hedjaz to obtain the release of deputies in Lebanon on the ground that it would have no function until peace with Turkey was finally signed. The question of budget had been discussed, and it had been decided to ask the member nations to contribute £500,000 to meet the growing expenses of the League with all its commissions, including the estimated outlay of the International Labor Bureau and the cost of the assembly meeting at Geneva. Member nations would contribute according to seven categories.

With these decisions reached, the San Sebastian Conference came to an end. No fewer than thirty-nine nations were expected to be represented at the meeting of the assembly at Geneva, called by President Wilson for Nov. 15. Meanwhile the new office for the registration and publication of treaties, approved by the council in Rome in May, and the International Labor Bureau have begun their functions. A number of important speeches in favor of the League were made in Great Britain in July, including two by Lord Birkenhead, the Lord Chancellor. A debate on the League in the House of Lords, which occurred in the last week in July, called forth a full discussion of Great Britain's relation to the League, its inability to intervene between Soviet Russia and Poland and the prospects of its finally taking over the functions of the Supreme Council.



# A Month in the United States

## Governmental Activities, Political Developments, Economic and Industrial Problems

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1920]

IT was announced by the War Department on Aug. 6 that an order had been prepared abolishing the six army departments now existing and establishing nine corps areas as provided in the Army Reorganization act. The geographical boundaries of these areas had not been definitely arranged. Each area would be under a Major General, as are the present departments, and four divisions would be located in each. Two of these would be reserve organizations, which would exist largely on paper and be called only in case of national emergency.

The Bureau of War Risk Insurance stated on Aug. 2 that ex-service men disabled by reason of wounds, injuries or disease incurred in the World War and in need of hospital treatment were to be gathered into hospitals owned and controlled by the Government within the next year. This transfer of patients from private hospitals constitutes part of a general plan of the bureau, so authorized to act by recent legislation, to concentrate the convalescent veterans in institutions in which the Government will be able to give them better and more specialized treatment.

There are 17,981 disabled ex-service men and women being cared for in more than 1,000 hospitals scattered throughout the United States under the supervision of the War Risk Bureau. Of this number 8,123 are in hospitals owned or operated by the Government and 9,858 are in private hospitals, including State and county institutions.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt announced, July 23, the appointment of a special board to consider readjustment of the wages of 75,000 navy yard employes and to submit recommendations for a new schedule on or before Aug. 20. Practically all classes

of employes, including the supervisory and clerical forces, it was said, would be affected by the readjustment, the first revision of a navy yard scale since October, 1918. In announcing the forthcoming readjustment Mr. Roosevelt said that inasmuch as the Government's shipbuilding program would probably be completed within three months, Chairman Benson of the Shipping Board had decided that the new wage schedule would not be applied to shipyards engaged on it.

### TRANSCONTINENTAL AIR MAIL

A new era in American aviation dawned July 29, when three J.L.-6 all-metal monoplanes left Central Park, L. I., bound for San Francisco and carrying with them the first transcontinental United States mail ever to be carried from coast to coast through the air. The trip was preliminary to inauguration in September of a regular daily transcontinental air mail service. Mapping cameras, still cameras, moving-picture machines and aeronautic instruments were carried. New landing fields and mountain passes in the Rockies were to be photographed, emergency fields and supply stations located and the whole air route "blue-booked" like an automobile highway. At Omaha one of the planes crashed into an unoccupied house, fortunately without serious injury to the aviators, though the plane was so damaged that it could not continue the journey. The other two reached Oakland, Cal., safely on Aug. 8 and delivered their New York mail to the Postmaster. The actual flying time was about twenty-seven hours.

### ARMY FLIGHT TO NOME

The four army air service planes which left Mitchel Field, Mineola, N. Y., July 15, bound for Nome, Alaska, landed

on the flats of the Stikine River, seven miles from the town of Wrangel, Alaska, at 4:30 o'clock, Aug. 15. After reaching Prince George on Aug. 10 they had been delayed to await new parts that had been shipped from San Francisco.

The whole distance to be covered to Nome and back is 8,690 miles. The purpose of the trip was to establish an aerial route to the northwest corner of the American Continent so that in case of military requirement it would be possible to move the army air-service units to Asia by direct flight. It was also proposed to photograph an important area in Alaska—south of the Tanana River—which is comparatively inaccessible and never has been surveyed. These were the first heavier-than-air planes to land in Alaska from outside. The four army De Havillands made a successful landing in highly favorable weather.

#### PRESIDENTIAL NOTIFICATIONS

Senator Harding was notified of his nomination for the Presidency by the Republican Party at his home town, Marion, Ohio, July 22. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts made the speech of notification and Senator Harding accepted the nomination in a speech of over an hour's duration. Perhaps the most important and interesting part of his address to the great throng that heard it was that in which he declared against the League of Nations covenant as drafted and advocated in its stead a "free association of nations," which he declared he would do all in his power to secure if he should be elected President.

Governor Calvin Coolidge, the Republican nominee for Vice President, was notified at Northampton, Mass., July 27. The address of notification was delivered by Governor Morrow of Kentucky. Governor Coolidge, in accepting the nomination, indorsed Senator Harding's position on the League of Nations, and declared that the Republican Party was not narrow enough to limit itself to one idea in peace keeping.

Governor James M. Cox was notified of his nomination by the Democratic Party for the Presidency at Dayton,

Ohio, Aug. 7. In his speech of acceptance, which he read from manuscript, he attacked the United States Senators who had stood in opposition to the ratification of the Versailles Treaty without modification. He was unexpectedly clear and definite in indorsing the League of Nations covenant, and seemed to be in substantial agreement with President Wilson on that question. He attacked the profiteers, and promised that if he were made President they would find themselves in the grip of the criminal law.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic nominee for Vice President, received his notification on Aug. 9 at his home in Hyde Park, N. Y. Chairman George White of the Democratic National Committee made the speech of notification. Mr. Roosevelt in his response paid a tribute to Governor Cox, and indorsed the League of Nations, which, he declared, was a practical solution of a practical question. Through it, he asserted, we may with nearly every other duly constituted Government in the whole world throw our moral force and our potential power in the scale of peace.

#### PROHIBITION CONVENTION

The Prohibition Party, assembled in convention at Lincoln, Neb., on July 21, nominated William Jennings Bryan by acclamation for the Presidency of the United States. This was in spite of the fact that Mr. Bryan had stated in advance that he could not accept the nomination. The following day, when Mr. Bryan, who was on a fishing trip in Montana, learned of the action of the convention, he sent a telegram of declination, in which he stated that, while he shared the disappointment of the convention at the stand of the Republican and Democratic Parties regarding the prohibition amendment and the Volstead law, he still expected to continue as a member of the Democratic Party and serve his country through it. Upon receipt of the telegram the convention nominated Aaron S. Watkins of Germantown, Ohio, as its candidate for President. Mr. Watkins was chosen on the second ballot. The platform demanded vigorous en-



forcement of the Volstead law, favored the League of Nations, though expressing no opposition to interpretative reservations, promised aid to farmers in equalizing prices, and demanded industrial courts to end industrial warfare.

### DENVER STRIKE RIOTS

Serious rioting took place in Denver, Col., Aug. 5-7. Five persons were killed and thirty-four injured. The rioting was the outcome of a strike for higher pay by the street car employees. An injunction had been sought and secured by the city to prevent the men from striking, and also to prevent the street car companies from lowering wages while negotiations for settlement were pending. Agitators instigated the strikers to deeds of violence. Street cars were overturned, and men dragged from them and beaten. The civil authorities were powerless to cope with the disorders, and a call was sent for Federal troops. Five hundred of the latter were ordered to the city from Camp Funston, Kansas. Besides their rifles they were furnished with armored motor cars equipped with machine guns. Other machine guns were mounted on tops of buildings near the centres of disturbance. After three days of rioting order was restored, and negotiations resumed for a settlement of the strike.

### COAL STRIKE CALLED OFF

As a result of the coal strike in the central competitive field, 90 per cent. of the coal mines in Illinois were closed by July 24 and almost an equal percentage of the Indiana mines. The situation became so serious that on July 30 President Wilson intervened. In a telegram to John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, the President declared that if the coal miners on strike in Illinois and Indiana would return to work at once he would call a joint conference of the Scale Committees of the operators and the miners to adjust any inequalities in the present scale. He asserted that the action of

the strikers undermined not only the basis of their own and the community's prosperity, but, by violating their solemn obligation, destroyed their own good name. "No Government, no employer, no person having any reputation to protect," he added, "can afford to enter into contractual relations with an organization that repeatedly or systematically violates its contracts."

The President's appeal met with a prompt response, and Mr. Lewis sent telegrams to the local unions of the miners ordering a resumption of work at once. In the main his orders were obeyed, though they met with a flat defiance from Howat, the mine leader in the Kansas field. President Wilson on Aug. 4 sent a telegram of thanks to Mr. Lewis for his quick action, and on Aug. 10 the Scale Committees of the bituminous coal operators and miners in the central competitive field to meet in Cleveland, Aug. 13, to try to compose their differences. Both sides acquiesced on the same day that the request was made.

### HUGE PROFIT-SHARING PLAN

An event that, as regards size and scope, is unique in the annals of American business was the voting by the stockholders of the International Harvester Company, July 30, to set aside \$60,000,000 stock to be divided among employees, under an extra compensation and stock ownership plan, open to all workers for the company in this country and Canada. The program provides for special disbursements of stock and cash each year, beginning Jan. 1, 1921. It is planned to divide annually an amount equal to 60 per cent. of the company's net profits in excess of 7 per cent. upon the corporation's invested capital. On the basis of the 1919 income, the amount available for distribution under the new plan would be approximately \$4,675,000. The company has about 40,000 workers. The funds will be distributed in proportion to the actual earnings of each employee for the year.

# Railway Labor Board's Award

## Wages of All Railroad Workers Raised—Corresponding Increase of Passenger and Freight Rates Ordered

THE long-awaited wage decision of the Railway Labor Board was made public July 20. The board granted the 2,000,000 railroad workers of the country wage increases of 20 to 27 per cent., aggregating approximately \$600,000,000. The increases were retroactive to May 1. They were divided among the classes of employes as follows:

Class.	Amount of Increase.	P.Ct.
Railway clerks and freight handlers .....	\$103,900,000	25
Maintenance of way employes .....	160,298,000	25
Engine and train men...	157,000,000	23
Railway shopmen.....	139,237,000	19½
Station employes.....	21,282,000	23½
Yardmen and dispatchers	4,767,350	23
Marine employes.....	250,000	†
†Not given.		

The wage award adds a little more than \$300 to the present average annual compensation of all railroad employes, which, on the basis of the payroll for January, 1920, was \$1,587. The award places the figure in the neighborhood of \$1,900, an increase of about 117 per cent. over the average wage of \$830 for 1915 and 90 per cent over \$1,004 f 1917.

The announcement of the award was received with guarded comment by the leaders of the railway unions and brotherhoods, although there was a general agreement that the amount was too small. After spending three days and the greater part of two nights in a fruitless attempt to get unanimous action, the Grand Council, composed of the sixteen chiefs of the unions, voted July 22 to accept the award under protest. The Brotherhood of Railway Telegraphers alone refused to join in the action of the other fifteen and decided to refer the proposition to its membership with a proposal for a strike.

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, declared on July 22 that the award was only "a sop" to the individual railway workers

and was grossly inadequate. He asserted that the public should not be deluded, through the huge figures, into believing that the employes under the award received a suitable living scale. He pointed out that the average wage of an engineer, the highest paid employe, would be less than \$70 a week, while the section worker, the lowest paid, would receive less than \$25 a week. The weekly wage of machinists would be less than \$45, of carpenters less than \$39, of telegraphers less than \$40. This wage, Mr. Gompers contended, was inadequate, considered in relation to cost of living figures recently issued by the Department of Labor, which showed that the index number for twenty-two listed basic commodities was today 269 in comparison with 100 in 1913.

On July 31 the Interstate Commerce Commission granted increases of rates to the railroads that, it was calculated, would bring in between \$1,400,000,000 and \$1,500,000,000 additional annual revenue. Under the commission's ruling the Eastern group of railroads was granted a 40 per cent. increase in freight rates, the Southern group 25 per cent., the Western group 35 per cent. and the mountain Pacific group 25 per cent. In addition to the freight rates the commission granted a passenger fare increase of 20 per cent., and a 50 per cent. surcharge upon sleeping and parlor car rates. On excess baggage rates and milk tariffs a 20 per cent. advance was permitted.

The commission placed a valuation of \$18,900,000,000 upon railroad properties, against a book value of \$20,040,572,611 submitted by the roads. A return of 6 per cent. upon their property investment was allowed the railroads. This per cent. upon the valuation fixed by the commission would mean a flat figure of \$1,134,000,000.

Railway executives decided on Aug. 3



that the new passenger and freight rates should be put into effect Aug. 26. Every effort was being made to have the new rates in effect before Sept. 1, the day upon which the Government guarantee to the railroads would expire. It was stated by Alfred P. Thom, general counsel for the Association of Railway Executives, that advances of intrastate rates, freight, passenger and Pullman, to correspond with the interstate increases authorized by the Interstate Commerce Commission, would be asked of the various State Railway Commissions by the carriers.

Differing opinions were expressed as to the effect the increase in rates would have upon the cost of living. Walker D. Hines, former Director General of Railroads, had previously stated that an increase for the railroads would mean an increase in cost to the public of four or five times as much, since the manufacturer, wholesaler and retailer would each try to add a new burden. W. Jett Lauck, the economist who represented the railway employes in their application for a wage increase, declared on the other hand that by no possible computation could the increased freight rates be made to justify an increase of 1 cent per pound in the price of meat to the consumer, of 5 cents per pair in the price of shoes, of 10 cents in the price of a suit of clothes or of one-fourth of 1 cent in the price of a loaf of bread. Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, stated as his belief that the rate advance, instead of increasing the cost of living, would have directly the opposite effect, as it would result in an enlarged volume of business, which would mean a greater supply to the markets and a consequent lowering of prices.

It was stated by officials of the Department of Justice in Washington that there was sufficient law to deal with any added price placed on a commodity in

excess of the freight rate increases, and that the law would be rigidly enforced.

Almost coincident with the announcement of the wage increase was the action of the Pennsylvania Railroad, July 19, in arranging for the dismissal of approximately 12,000 men, or about one-tenth of its personnel. The object alleged was to curtail expenses and bring about improved efficiency in the operating forces. It was estimated that the payroll saving would be \$15,000,000 annually.

Increases in pay aggregating \$30,000,000 were granted, Aug. 10, by the United States Railway Labor Board to the 75,000 railway express workers of the country. The average flat increase to the men involved is 16 cents an hour. The increase was awarded according to the monthly earnings of two classes of employes. The actual average rise for express workers on trains, numbering 10,000, is \$38.40 a month. For the 65,000 other employes, including chauffeurs, clerks, &c., the actual average rise is \$32.64 a month. The award dates back to May 1, at the rate of pay the men were getting March 1. All express employes who did not benefit by the railroad wage award were included in the increase except the big executives. Among the beneficiaries are 30,000 chauffeurs, helpers, conductors and drivers, at present receiving wages ranging from \$85 to \$125 a month; 20,000 depot men, truckers, sorters, callers, billers and foremen, at present receiving from \$100 to \$125 a month; 15,000 office clerks with wages of from \$95 to \$150 a month, and 10,000 messengers and road men getting \$80 to \$145 a month.

Officials of the express unions declared themselves satisfied with the award, and it was practically assured that the companies would abide by the decision and use it as an argument to obtain permission for higher express rates from the Interstate Commerce Commission.

# CURRENT HISTORY



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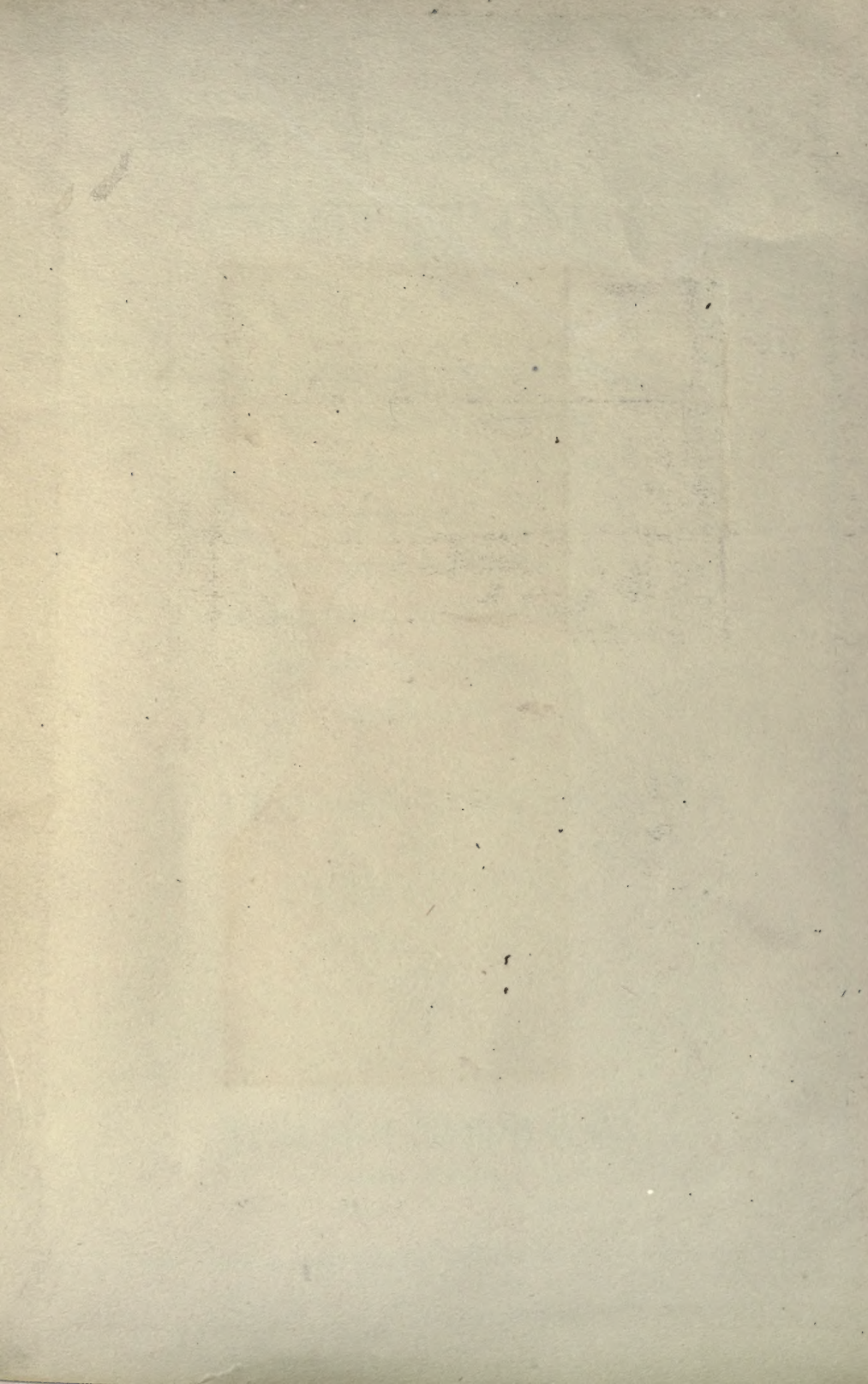
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